

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

VOL. III. No. 1.

Telephone: DRYdock 1656.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1939. NEW YORK, N. Y.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Industrial Depression Growing

Austrian Crisis Hundreds Killed by Anti-Labor Drive Now Under Way and Communism Marines in Haiti

By L. D. Trotsky

The Austrian crisis is a partial manifestation of the crisis of democracy, the fundamental form of bourgeois rule. The too high tension of the international, as well as the class, struggle leads to the short circuit of dictatorship in which the safeguards of democracy are burned up one after the other. The process began at the European periphery, in the most backward countries, at the weakest links in the capitalist chain. But the process goes even further. What is called the crisis of parliamentarism is the political expression for the crisis of the entire system of bourgeois society. Democracy stands and falls with capitalism. The social democracy defends democracy which is being ruined and thereby drives social development into the blind alley of fascism.

The Strength of the Social Democracy

The great weakness of the Austrian bourgeoisie after the war and the revolution, combined with the economic and political dependence of Austria, became the most important sources for the strength of the Austrian social democracy. While the Austrian social democracy fulfilled its office of savior and consolidator of the bourgeois regime, it had the opportunity, in its agitation, to repel either the national or the foreign bourgeoisie (English and American). In the first period of the stabilization of the bourgeois regime after the revolution, the social democracy was the direct agent of foreign capital. This permitted it not only to throw the responsibility for all evil upon the national bourgeoisie, but it could also adopt—at least, in appearances—a more independent, a more critical position towards this bourgeoisie than was accessible to the social democracy in other countries, not even excluding Germany. The further the consolidation of the bourgeois regime progressed, the more frequently did the social democracy accuse the national bourgeoisie that it merely executed the commands of Anglo-Saxon capital. For the workers, however, it kept one argument ready, which excused the inviolability of private property: "Naturally, we would be able to finish off with our bourgeoisie, but it isn't a question of them, but of the bourgeoisie of England and America."

The bourgeois parties of Austria lost their distinctiveness all the more easily because they were compelled to hang on the lips of the Anglo-Saxon host. The social democracy, in essence, played the same role, but it is compelled to come forward as an Opposition to the bloc of the bourgeois parties, because it bases itself upon the workers. This "Opposition" alone permits it to save the bourgeoisie. We see similar processes and phenomena in Germany too. They have contributed in an extraordinary manner to the self-preservation of the German social democracy. But since the German bourgeoisie is much stronger and more independent, the German social democracy had to make agreements with it more plainly and openly, and assume the direct responsibility for it before the working masses. This circumstance created great possibilities of development for the German Communist Party.

Austria is a small body with a big head. The capital city is in the hands of the social democracy, which has, however, less than half the votes in the national parliament (43 percent). This unstable

Continued on Page 6

NEW YORK—Not five but hundreds of Haitians were killed in the uprising of Haitian peasants at Aux Cayes recently, states the Amsterdam News, Harlem Negro weekly on the authority of a letter smuggled out of Haiti to Capt. N. P. Marshall, head of the Save Haiti League. The writer of the letter said he did not dare sign his name for fear of reprisals from the marine-controlled Haitian government.

"Hundreds of Haitian peasants," reads the letter, "who were coming into Aux Cayes to protest, without arms, simply with their usual small canes, against the way alcohol, tobacco and coffee are taxed, have been slaughtered. Women and children were killed. Officially they acknowledge 12 dead and 40 wounded but there are hundreds."

Illinois Miners Urgently Need Relief

After having encountered the gun-point terrorism of the operators' thugs and the state militia during the strike, the Illinois miners who responded to the call of the National Miners Union are being met with a vicious blacklisting campaign by the operators, calculated to drive the militants in the field either to starvation or out of the mining territory.

The men who went on strike include some of the most courageous fighters in the mining industry and to have them driven out of the field would involve a great setback for the progressive and Left wing movement and leave the workers exposed to the machinations of the Lewis and Fishwick machines and their employers the coal operators. The workers who fought so militantly and who ready to fight with even greater sacrifices deserve the support of the whole labor movement. The operators are not only trying to starve

The obscure pages of the capitalist press are giving part of the picture of growing industrial decline in the United States which all the optimistic declarations by 'experts', printed on the front pages, cannot conceal. As the weeks go by since the colossal stock market collapse, it becomes all the clearer that the blow at the industrial and financial structure of American capitalism was neither accidental nor just an episode.

The far-reaching significance of the growing industrial decline in the country for the working class, which is the one most bitterly affected, may be gathered from the figures just made public by the spokesman for American big business, the New York Times (12-29-1929):

"Iron and steel operations are at a low ebb. The ratio is now the lowest of the year and for the industry as a whole will not top the fifty percent fig-

ure. . . . Merchandise shipments, as measured by car loadings figures, are slower, emphasizing the let-down which has occurred generally. . . . Business generally is quiet as the year ends, especially in manufacturing and wholesale and jobbing lines. New purchasing is characterized by cautiousness and the disposition to buy only for immediate requirements. . . . Of the ninety-four lines of business in New York City reporting to Bradstreet's last week, five were better than, fifty equal to, and thirty-four below a year ago. No lines report collections better than a year ago, forty-six were equal to a year ago and forty-eight were below a year ago."

From the New England area, Times reports that textile mill operations are "still subnormal", with shoe production pretty light. "Building operations continue the smallest of the year." The Chicago district reports the steel output down to 55 percent for the area, with new business "light". Philadelphia reports the market for building materials, including timber, to be slow, with dwelling house construction out of sight. In the Ohio territory, iron and steel operations are down to about 50 percent, with prices reduced to the lowest level in more than a year. St. Louis acknowledges that "practically all industrial plants have reduced production and cut forces, which has aggravated the employment situation." With little change the same downward movement exists throughout the country.

The sharp slow-down in American industry is already having a telling effect on the working class. That unemployment is on the increase, is obvious. The employers are attempting as usual, to get out from under their difficulties by laying off as many men as possible and speeding up those who are left to the highest possible peak. A period of the most severe intensifying of labor "efficiency" and "rationalization"—at the expense of the workers' health and lives—has set in on a nation-wide scale. Bitter struggles of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up and unemployment are scheduled for the coming year in defense against the hammerblows of the bosses. Unless the labor movement begins immediately an intense and widespread drive to organize the millions of unorganized workers in the basic industries of the country, unless a break is made conclusively with the suicidal policy of collaborating with the capitalist class and a policy of militant combat substituted for it, the workers of the United States will face the coming struggles with a minimum of preparedness as against the maximum of determined ruthlessness, consolidated organization and governmental assistance that the bosses have at their command.

Exports Increase

What is especially significant about the present industrial situation in the country, is the increase of foreign exports. The National Chamber of Commerce has just announced that the American exports for the first 9 months of this year were more than 8 percent larger than for the corresponding period in 1928. This indicates with doubled emphasis that the home market of the U.S. has narrowed considerably, because industrial production has declined in spite of the increase in exports. It indicates further that the United States will make every effort to escape the consequences of its crisis by exerting the harshest possible pressure on its competitors in the world market.

The crisis in the United States, irrespective of its duration or depth, is a reflection of and at the same time an impetus to the crisis in world capitalism

Lost Fliers and Hoover Refuse 6-Hour Day

WASHINGTON—Why the Hoover administration failed, during five weeks of bitter winter weather, that followed its knowledge that two American fliers were lost on the ice of Arctic Siberia, to ask the Soviet government for help in rescuing them, is the central mystery in this grim story which the explorer Stefansson has brought into the light of publicity.

When at last a telegram from Stefansson to Secretary of the Interior Wilbur drove Wilbur to ask the Moscow Foreign Office for help, the fliers had been down on the ice seven weeks, and their original food supply was enough for only eight weeks. Temperatures of 70 below zero Fahrenheit are recorded in that region in December.

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, attorney for the Airways Transport Co., employers of the fliers, appealed to Hoover, Borah, Wilbur and to Boris E. Skvirsky, unofficial representative in Washington for the Soviet government. Wilbur's request that Soviet ice-breakers be sent to rescue the fliers was sent to Moscow through Skvirsky. Borah cabled Foreign Secretary Litvinov direct.

Did non-recognition alone cause the Washington administration to stand inactive until the fliers had but one week's food supply left—with one chance in a hundred of their early rescue?

NEW YORK—(FP)—The five-day week in the building trades is not keeping pace with growing unemployment. That is evidenced in the appeal of Plasterers Local 60 for the 6-hour day for the months of January and February, to ease the tension of unemployment. One of the arguments leading to the adoption of the 5-day week was lack of jobs.

The boss plasterers have curtly rejected the appeal stating that it would increase building costs. An agreement for the 5-day, 40-hour week has three years to run.

CONCEDE CLEVELAND UNEMPLOYMENT

CLEVELAND—(FP)—The open shop American Plan Assn., basing its report on employment in member firms, states that 54,000 were on the payroll in 231 Cleveland plants in November, compared with 51,000 in November, 1928. The report admits however that unemployment is greater this year than last, many workers having come to Cleveland from Detroit and other cities where unemployment is bad.

HOOVER PROSPERITY

RALEIGH, N. C.—The Associated Charities has 142 "cases" on its hands this winter against 84 last winter. The greatest need is for fuel, for which the Charities has no money, because the Community Chest has had to cut its budget.

French Aim Blow at U. S.

Raise Tariff on American Autos

A stiff blow at American automobile competition in France is being contemplated by the French government in a project to be submitted to the parliament for the increase on tariff duties on foreign automobile and parts. While the raising of the tariff is formally directed against all foreign auto imports, it is the real aim of the project to strike at the United States, which does practically all of the importing in this field.

The extent to which the foreign market in France would be cut down for American automobile and parts manufacturers is indicated by the fact that the estimates made of American cars and trucks sold in France in 1919 runs to about \$32,000,000—with about two-thirds of the cars being Fords.

Plan High Auto Tariff

The French project covers two laws, which American capitalists expect to drive them clear out of the market. The first would raise the duty on parts for assembly and replacement to three times the previous rates, or 125 percent of the sales value of the product. The second measure would raise the duty on complete cars from the present 45 per cent ad valorem to about 90 percent. It is said that the Ford plant, for instance, which is the only one assembling cars, would have its parts subjected to such a high duty as to make further operation at a profit virtually impossible.

American sales in France do not form a very large part of the total automobile sales, but what alarms the French is the fact that the share of the U. S. is steadily on the increase. The market equilibrium of any of the capitalist countries is so delicately "adjusted" nowadays that any larger increase of America's share in the French trade would undoubtedly have a serious effect upon the domestic industry, where the French bourgeoisie is priding itself upon the relative lack of unemployment. It is both the fear of losing a larger portion of its own market in France, and the radical consequences of increased unemployment in the country, that impels the French to attempt this severe blow to the American master.

That the American automobile interests will not stand by silently while this attack is consummated is quite apparent. Already the State Department and the Department of Commerce of the U. S. have received urgent appeals from the automobile manufacturers to "do something" about the French project. A difficulty, from the American capitalist view, arises at this point because the French have drawn the drafts of the laws so cleverly that formally there is no direct discrimination planned against the U. S., since the laws are to cover "all" foreign imports, although it is quite obvious that Italian and British auto trade being insignificant in France, the bills are in reality intended against the U. S.

U. S. Will Fight Back

Nevertheless there is every certainty that the American government, true to its role of faithful servitor to capitalist interests, will exert the heaviest pressure to prevent the project from becoming French law. Its passage would be an especially hard blow at the American producers because of the severe depression in which the industry is now found in the U. S. Thousands of workers are laid off every month; plants are either being shut down entirely or working part time; the prospects for the coming year are very poor and greater decline is freely predicted by practically everyone. The main hope of the American auto manufacturer does not lie in the maintenance of the domestic market, and certainly not in its increase in the coming period. That is universally acknowledged. Their eyes for the maintenance of production even at a moderate pace are pinned mainly on exports, not only to the Orient and in America, but also to Europe.

The growing resistance of European manufacturers, the persistent talk among them of a cartel or alliance to ward off the aggressive movements of the Americans, the steps being taken against U. S. competition all along the line and now mani-

festing in the planned acts of France—all these indicate that the export hopes of the Detroit industrial kings are not in such a cheerful position as they pretend. It also indicates that their promises to the auto workers that increased exports will mean a renewed wave of employment, are not founded on very substantial grounds.

These factors indicate that the most anxious resistance to the French project will be made by the American interests. If the French are under the impression that they will put through their plan without meeting the hardest opposition from the

U. S., they will very quickly be disillusioned. The U. S. imperialists have more powerful and ruthless means of pressure at their command than mere diplomatic notes.

And the olive branches of peace that the god-fearing statesmen of the world have been handing to each other with so much publicity, what about them? They disappear, as always do all pacifist fantasies, in the living realities of the mad, cut-throat rush for profits, territory, spheres of influence, colonies, markets which is the foundation of modern imperialism.

Another Haymarket Cop Dead

By T. P. LEWIS

CHICAGO—Twice in 43 years Pat Nash made the first page. The first time was in 1886. He was one of the Haymarket cops. The papers marked him for special attention in those days of heroic policemen because bits of the Haymarket bomb wounded him.

The second time was Monday. Someone noticed the lights in Pat's squalid attic room on West Monroe St. burning in the afternoon. This time the papers intoned a half column paean of glory to the hero and grew sad at the thought that a noble defender of Chicago's good name should have died of want and inattention.

Boss Press Upholds Tradition

For the press of Chicago never misses a chance to call back to mind the march of 180 cops against what it invariably describes as a mob of 2,000 anarchists on May 4, 1886. There is never mention of the fact that this "mob" was a mass meeting of union men protesting against the murder of four strikers by police the previous day at the McCormick Reaper works.

SUPPRESS MOONEY REPORT

Young Hid Evidence Hound Trotsky's Kin

SAN LUIS OBISPO, Cal. (FP)—Murphy McHenry, San Luis Obispo editor, in an open letter to Governor Young, quotes Charles Whitmore, once Young's secretary and now state building and loan commissioner, as saying: "I don't understand why Gov. Young doesn't act in the Mooney case. Mooney deserves to be pardoned and I told him (Young) so." McHenry says in his letter that Young turned the case over to that he would make his decision from Whitmore's findings. Whitmore reported that Mooney and Billings were innocent, but the governor took no action. Young denies that this is so.

Both the state supreme court and the advisory pardon board are working on the two cases, but there is no probability of a decision in the near future. Both bodies are preparing for a long set of hearings, and are going over the whole transcript of testimony, which Young has had in his hands for several years before he passed the buck to the board and the court. Meanwhile Mooney spent Christmas working as a waiter in the guards' mess hall at San Quentin, and Billings spent his, not in his former healthful job of gardener to the warden of Folsom, but at work in the prison laundry.

Φ

FORD'S TREATMENT OF LABOR

Henry Ford, who says he likes older workers but whose Detroit plants throw them out without compunction, comes in for criticism from Sec. A. Epstein, of the American Assn for Old Age Security. Calling attention to Ford's recent utterances concerning the value of skill and steadiness of the older workers, Epstein points out that the U. S. labor department recently published a study showing Ford plants to be more ruthless in drawing the deadline against men over 40 than any other firm studied.

Φ

SWEDISH WORKERS PROTEST BARBARITY IN CAROLINA

NEW YORK (FP)—Informed of the course of "justice" in North Carolina which is sending labor men to the penitentiary and white-washing the slayers of strike leaders 500 workers meeting at Holmstad near Gothenburg, Sweden have sent resolutions of protest to Gov. O. Max Gardner of North Carolina. A collection netting 30 crowns, is being forwarded for strikers defense.

STALINIST REPRESSION

At the same time that he announces—once more—the final liquidation of Trotskyism, Stalin is redoubling the brutality towards the supporters of the Russian Opposition who do not capitulate.

News that we have just received from deportees inform us that the health of our comrade Rakovsky is seriously shaken. His heart especially is in a bad way and there is hardly any possibility of treating it at Barnaul, where he was recently exiled.

The repression is extended even to the children of Oppositionists. A month ago, the daughter of comrade Trotsky, who lives in Moscow, was suddenly imprisoned. She remained in prison a few days, then she was set at provisional liberty, under surveillance, so that she might take care of her three children. But then her husband was arrested... on the pretext of putting him through an examination: since then there has been no news. The agents of Stalin know full well that he is so seriously ill that any political activity on his part is impossible. They want to crush us Opposition at any cost for they are quite well aware that it is not liquidated. But their efforts will be in vain.

Φ

SAN FRANCISCO (FP)—Wallace D. Fogan, 55, was "too old to work". His money was gone. He turned on the gas in his two-room apartment, and when his wife came home she found his dead body and a note which began: "Dear Lottie: Please forgive me. I am leaving you all my money—13 cents and 6 cents in stamps." With this fortune Mrs Fogan must now face the world.

Φ

THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

"As a token of friendship M. Karachan (Soviet ambassador to Turkey) presented to President Mustapha Kemal two valuable paintings."

—New York Times, 12-29-1929

Open Forum of the New York Communist League

The coming semi-monthly Open Forum lectures announced by the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) include the following speakers and topics:

James P. Cannon, on "Gastonia and Marion", a comparison of the two historic labor struggles of the past year in the Southern textile fields and their significance to the Left wing. To be held Saturday, January 11.

Martin Abern, on "The Left Wing and the Labor Unions" a discussion of this much-disputed question from the point of view of the Communist Opposition. To be

held Saturday, January 25.

Max Shachtman, on "Can Capitalism Disarm?", in which the results of the London Naval Conference will be dealt with and the standpoints of Communism and pacifism in the question contrasted. To be held Saturday, February 8.

Speakers for subsequent meetings will include S. M. Rose, Joseph Friedman, James Russell, and others. The Open Forum meetings begin at 8 p. m., are held at the Militant Hall, 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, (near 8th Street), and admission is free. All workers are cordially invited. Questions and discussion follow all lectures.

Mellon's Pa. Domain Rises

Workers Squeezed for Profits

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

PITTSBURGH (FP)—Control of this city by the Mellons' millions is soon to be visualized by another great shaft of steel and stone in the downtown section. The new Gulf Refining Co. building is to rise 37 stories above the street opposite the magnificent new Koppers Bldg., home of the "General Electric and Coal." Both Gulf Refining and Koppers are Mellon concerns, typifying their progress toward supremacy in the control of coal properties and a rapidly shaping monopoly of manufactured gas.

The symbolic domination of Pittsburgh by the castles of the mighty Mellons is every day matched by their actual march onward to unchallenged control of the industrial area of western Pennsylvania, with its wealth of unmined coal and huge steel mills. Dairy combines, chain store extensions and fuel monopoly are sidelines in the Mellons' financial sway. These latter ventures are financed through bond issues which free Mellon capital for further expansion while leaving actual control in the power-greedy hands of this grand ducal family.

Workers Make His Wealth

Gulf Refining Co. station workers, when they look at the new Mellon skyscraper downtown, will have cause to think of their contribution to their employers' wealth. They get only \$75 a month, while Mellon truck drivers average \$90, or half the union scale.

Station managers had their day lengthened by one of those interesting devices used alternately to cajole and coerce them. At a periodic "experience" meeting they were asked if they didn't think that "any manager who was truly interested in his station would stay on the job during the day's rush hour." All present agreed readily, whereupon it was announced that the rush hour was between 5 and 6. The managers' workday ends at 5.

Mellon Advances in New York

NEW YORK—Clever evasion of the New York state law preventing a holding company from acquiring more than 10% interest in a public utility corporation is noted in the current *Annalist* in recording the gobbling up of Brooklyn Union Gas by the Koppers-Mellon interests of Pittsburgh. The Mellon firm, which is fast becoming a gas monopoly in the east, organized 10 separate holding companies to acquire 100% of the Brooklyn gas company's stock.

These dummy companies are named Aden, Burma, Canton, Dover, Etna, Farley, Gorham, Hector, Irving and Java and according to Mellon's high-priced experts, cannot be challenged under the New York law, the purpose of which was to "prevent" a holding company controlling a public utility.

The Koppers monopoly is acquiring holdings in the Consolidated Gas Co., the gas and electric monopoly of Manhattan.

Φ

THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

"As a token of friendship M. Karachan (Soviet ambassador to Turkey) presented to President Mustapha Kemal two valuable paintings."

—New York Times, 12-29-1929

By Albert Glotzer

The possession of naval bases will play a tremendous role in the coming conflict of the seas. They serve as an intermediary point for supplies, refueling and ammunition. An examination of these naval bases

The most decisive factor in the event of war is the resources of the various contenders. Increased building and expenditures presents a problem to all of the powers with the exception of the United States. Her resources place her in a most favored position. This is indisputable. While France demands her share of extended naval construction she is at the same time in favor of a let-up because of lack of resources. Likewise Japan, and England feel the difficulties. America alone can continue with a steady building program and will maintain this position. In addition no other country has its industries so completely

Question 10: Whom did Lenin denounce as disloyal, rude, unreliable, etc., etc., etc.

Any comrade can think up lots more of these questions.

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

By L. D. Trotsky

That the present-day Martinovs conceal themselves in the shreds of Bolshevik quotations of the year 1905, the quotations with which Stalin, Kamenev, Rykov and others covered themselves in 1917 against Lenin, is a masquerade that can deceive only idiots or illiterates*. The Comintern, under the leadership of Martinov-Bucharin-Stalin, carried on in China with a furious howling against the permanent revolution. That is now the fundamental question for the countries of the East, and consequently also one of the essential questions for the West. Has comrade Urbahns an opinion in this question? No, he has none. He hides behind separate words, or what is worse yet, behind Radek's article, which he prints "at all events".

Thermidor or Party Rehearsal of Thermidor?

If things are in a bad way with comrade Urbahns with regard to the Chinese revolution, they are still worse, if that were possible, with regard to the Russian revolution. I mean primarily the question of the Thermidor and therefore also the question of the class character of the Soviet state. The formula of Thermidor, like every historical analogy, is naturally a conditional one. When I employed this formula for the first time against Zinoviev-Stalin, I immediately emphasized that it was conditional. Nevertheless it is entirely legitimate, in spite of the difference between the epochs and the class structures. Thermidor signals the first victorious stage of the counter-revolution, that is, the direct passage of power from one class to another, which is necessarily accompanied by civil war; but it remains concealed politically by the fact that the struggle is conducted between fractions of a yesterday still united party. In France, Thermidor was preceded by a period of reaction which developed while the Plebeians, the lowest section of the city, still held the power in their hands. The Thermidor completed this process of preparation of the reaction by a political catastrophe, in the course of which the plebeians lost the power. In this way, Thermidor does not signify a period of reaction in general, that is, of ebb, of running off the rails, of the weakening of the revolutionary positions, but it has a much more precise significance: it indicates the direct transfer of power from one class to another, after which the revolutionary class can reconquer power in no other way than an armed uprising. For the latter, again a new revolutionary situation is necessary, the appearance of which depends upon complicated internal and international uses.

In 1923, the Marxist Opposition already established the beginning of a new chapter in the revolution, a chapter of ideological and political recession which, in respective, could signify the Thermidor. It is then that we employed the word for the first time. Had the revolution triumphed in Germany at the end of 1923—which was entirely possible—the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia would have been purified and consolidated without internal convulsions. But the German revolution ended with one of the most frightful capitulations in the history of the working class. The defeat of the German revolution gave a powerful impetus to all the processes of reaction in the Soviet republic. Thence the struggle in the Party against the "permanent revolution" and against "Trotskyism", the creation of the theory of socialism in a single country, etc. The ultra-Leftists in Germany did not understand this turn of events. With one hand they supported the reaction, in the Russian Communist Party, with the other they carried on a formally aggressive policy in Germany, ignoring the defeat of the German revolution and the beginning

*Martinov was for twenty years long (1903-23) the principal theoretician of Menshevism. He joined the Bolshevik Party, when Lenin was already ill and the campaign against Trotskyism had begun. In 1923, Martinov accused the October revolution prior to the N.E.P. of Trotskyism. Now he is the principal theoretician of the Comintern. He remains what he was. But he covers his old, fundamental line with quotations from Lenin. For the selection and forging of such quotations there exist several factories.

of its recession. Like the Centrists in the R. C. P., the ultra-Leftists in Germany Maslow, Fischer, Urbahns) concealed their erroneous policy behind the struggle against "Trotskyism" which they represented as "liquidationism", just because they considered the revolutionary situation not behind them but ahead of them. In this case, "Trotskyism" was called the ability to estimate the situation correctly distinguishing the periods. Be it said in passing that it would be very useful if Urbahns had finally drawn the theoretical balance of this whole struggle, for it is precisely this struggle that deadened the minds of the German workers and prepared the victory of the idealless officials, adventurers and careerists.

The false "ultra-Left" course of 1924-25 still further weakened the positions of the European proletariat and thereby accelerated the reactionary down-sliding in the Soviet republic. The expulsion of the Opposition from the Party, the arrests, the deportations were only further stages in this process. They marked an ever greater weakening of the party and consequently also declining power of resistance of the proletariat in the Soviet republic. Nevertheless, it did not by far signify that the counter-revolutionary coup d'Etat had already been accomplished, that is, that power had passed from the hands of the proletariat into the hands of another class.

The fact that the Soviet proletariat was unable to prevent the organizational destruction of the Opposition was naturally a very alarming symptom. On the other hand, however, Stalin was compelled, simultaneously with the crushing of the Left Opposition, to commit plagiarisms from its Platform in every field, to direct the fire to the Right and to transform the inner-party maneuver into a sharp and prolonged zig-zag to the Left. In spite of everything this shows what powers of pressure the proletariat still possesses and how dependent upon it is the state apparatus. The Russian Opposition must continue to base its policy upon this fundamental fact, a policy which is one of reform and not of revolution.

Even before the organizational crushing of the Opposition, we said and wrote repeatedly that after the Left is cut off, the Right wing would present its bill to Stalin. The elements that supported Stalin in the struggle against us would exert a pressure with redoubled force as soon as the Left barriers were let down. That is just what we predicted. We formulated it as follows: "The Thermidorian tail will strike a blow at the Centrism head." This has already happened and will still be repeated. I do not mean Bucharin-Tomsky here, but the deep-going Thermidorian forces of which the Rights in the party are only the pale shadows.

In spite of the organizational demolition on the Opposition and the weakening of the proletariat, the pressure of its class interests together with the pressure of the ideas of the Opposition proved themselves sufficiently powerful to compel the Centrism apparatus to make a prolonged zig-zag that created the political pre-conditions for the latest capitulations. The composition of the capitulators is naturally very varied, but the leading role is played by those who formerly imagined the process of down-sliding as proceeding in a straight line and were prepared, at every new stage, to proclaim: Thermidor is completed. The Zinovievist, Sefarov, on the eve of our expulsion from the party, cried out, first in Berlin and then in Moscow: "It is five minutes to twelve!" that is, five minutes before Thermidor. Five minutes ticked off and Sefarov capitulated. Radek, before Sefarov, intended, on the occasion of Zinoviev's and my expulsion from the Central Committee, to proclaim that Thermidor was here. I tried to show him that this was only the Party rehearsal of Thermidor, perhaps not even the general rehearsal, at any rate it was not the Thermidor, that is, not the counter-revolutionary overthrow accomplished by the classes. Since 1926, Smilga was of the opinion that the then policy of Stalin-Bucharin ("enrich yourselves", the Anglo-Russian Committee) the Kuo Min Tang led only in one direction, to the Right, that the October revolution had exhausted its internal resources and that aid could come only from the outside, something upon which he based no hopes at all. He wrote theses on this theme. The possibility of a break between the Centrists and the Right, and of a swing

of the Centrists towards the Left under the pressure of the internal forces, was entirely absent in his calculations. On the question of the Thermidor and two parties, Radek and Smilga represented the extreme "Left" position in the Opposition. And that is why events took them by surprise and why they capitulated so easily.

These brief particulars should make it clear to the reader that Urbahns' question as to whether "Trotsky goes far enough in the question of Thermidor" or "does not go far enough" (Urbahns' formulation), contains nothing new: we discussed this whole group of questions long ago and revised them at every new stage.

On May 26, 1928, I wrote from Alma-Ata to the exiled comrade Michail Okoudjava, one of the old Georgian Bolsheviks: "In so far as the new course of Stalin sets itself tasks, he undoubtedly endeavors to approach our position. In politics, however, what is decisive is not only the what but also the how and the who. The fundamental struggles that will decide the fate of the revolution are still before us. . . We were always of the opinion and we have said more than once that the process of political odwsliding of the leading faction could not be envisaged as a constantly descending curve. Even the down-sliding does not take place in a vacuum but in a class society with profound internal friction. The masses of the party are not a unit, rather they form, for the most part, the raw material of politics. Under the pressure of class blows from the Right and from the Left, processes of differentiation are inevitable. The grave events of the recent period in party history, whose consequences we suffer, are only the overture to the further development of events. Just as the overture of an opera anticipates the musical theme of the whole opera and gives a condensed expression of it, so our political "overtures" have anticipated the melodies that must develop to their full extent in the future, to the accompaniment of trumpets, double-basses, drums and other instruments of serious class music. The development of events confirms with unmistakable certainty the fact that we were correct not only as against the turncoats and weather vane of the type of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Platakov, etc., but also against our dear friends of the "Left", the ultra-Left muddle-heads, insofar as they are inclined to take the overture for the opera itself, that is to assume that the fundamental processes in the Party and the state are already at an end, and the Thermidor, which they heard about for the first time from us, is an accomplished fact. . ."

Comrade Urbahns, does this not hit the nail on the head?

Urbahns' Mistake in the Question of Thermidor

The source of a whole series of false conclusions of comrade Urbahns lies in the fact that he considers Thermidor an accomplished fact. It is true that he does not draw all the conclusions from this, but the few that he has already drawn, in the event that they were definitely affirmed, are enough to ruin the cause of the Leninbund.

In an article devoted to my expulsion from the U. S. S. R., *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* wrote that the "Stalinist domination can no longer be considered the representative of the working class and must therefore be fought by all means." (February 1, 1929). The expulsion of Trotsky from the country was made equivalent in this article, to the guillotining of Robespierre and his companions. In other words, Thermidor was declared to be an accomplished fact. Were this declaration dictated only by the heat of the moment, it would not be worth while dwelling upon it. The political struggle is inconceivable without exaggerations, isolated mistakes in perspective, etc. What must be considered is not the details, but the basic line. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Leninbund persistently attempts to transform the mistake into a basic line. Volkswille of February 11 prints a resolution on the situation in Russia in connection with my expulsion. The resolution says plainly: "That is the Thermidor" (*Das ist der Thermidor*) and the Stalinist regime for all liberties, so that it may find itself at the top in the approaching conflicts with the open counter-revolution." The editorial of *Volkswille* of February 13 says that "with the expulsion of Trotsky the final balance is drawn under the revolution of 1917." It is not astonishing that Urbahns, having adopted such a position, is ever more frequently obliged to declare that he is not "one hundred percent" in agreement with the Russian Opposition because it "does not go far enough". Alas! Urbahns himself continues to go far . . . along the road of his original mistake.

Of a very important analogy with Thermidor in the class sense, Urbahns (like Radek) has made a formal, and partially personal analogy. Radek said: The expulsion of the Opposition from the Central Committee is equivalent to the elimination of the Robespierist group from the government. The guillotine or exile to Alma-Ata is only a question of technique. Urbahns says: The smashing of the Opposition and the expulsion of Trotsky is equivalent to the guillotining of the group of Robespierre. The broad historical analogy is replaced here by an arbitrary and cheap comparison of a personal and episodic character.

The Russian revolution of the twentieth century is immeasurably broader and deeper than the French revolution of the eighteenth century. The revolutionary class on which the October revolution bases itself is infinitely larger, more homogeneous, more compact and more resolute than the plebeians of the French cities. The leadership of the October revolution, in all its currents, is more experienced and penetrating than the leading groups of the French revolution were or could be. Finally, the political, economic, social and cultural changes that the Bolshevik dictatorship has accomplished are incomparably profounder than the changes that the Jacobins made. If it was impossible to tear power from the hands of the plebeians without a civil war, although they were weakened by the growth of class antagonisms and the bureaucratization of the Jacobins—the Thermidor was a civil war in which the sans-culottes suffered defeat—how then can it be assumed or believed that power can pass from the Russian proletariat to the bourgeoisie in a peaceful tranquil, imperceptible, bureaucratic manner? Such a conception of Thermidor is nothing but an inverted reformism.

The means of production that formerly belonged to the capitalists are today still in the hands of the Soviet state. The land is nationalized. The exploiting elements are still excluded from the Soviets and the army. The monopoly of foreign trade still exists for protection against the economic intervention of capitalism. These are not small matters. Still more: By the power of its attack, the Opposition has compelled the Centrists to deliver blows against the Thermidorian class forces and the expression of their tendencies in the Party—even if they were not mortal blows and naturally not decisive ones. One must not close his eyes to this. In general, the policy of the ostrich is a bad policy.

The Stalinist zig-zag to the Left is just as little a "final balance" under the Thermidorian danger as the expulsion of the Oppositionists was the "final balance" drawn under the October revolution. The struggle goes on, the classes have not yet spoken their final word. Centrism remains. Bolsheviks must remain Bolsheviks. Capitulators merit only contempt. And the ultra-Left muddleheads must be called to order.

On May 1, 1928, *Arbeiterstimme*, organ of the Austrian Communist Opposition (comrade Frey's group), developed the following thoughts in an article entitled "In Spite of Stalin Soviet Russia is a Proletarian State":

"There are political questions that act as inflexible touchstones. For the Left Communist Oppositions, which appear today in all possible groupings and shadings, there is also such a touchstone: the question of the proletarian character of Soviet Russia. . . There are Left Communist Opposition elements who, indignant at the policy of Stalin in all its forms, throw out the baby with the bath. In certain minds, for example, the idea is beginning to take form that should the policy of Stalin persist, then Soviet Russia will be transformed in a purely evolutionary manner into a bourgeois state. . . All the degeneration in Soviet Russia is the result of the undermining work with which the bourgeoisie is occupied with in which it is seconded, objectively speaking, by the Stalinist course. In this manner, the bourgeoisie seeks to prepare the overthrow of the

Throughout the World of Labor

The Leninbund on the Wrong Road

The misfortune of the Leninbund consists in the fact that it wants to play the role of an independent party when in reality it is only a weak faction. I do not doubt for a instant that if you persist in the present way, you will lead the organization to a catastrophe in a few months.

—Letter of comrade Trotsky to the leadership of the Leninbund, October 13, 1929.

Eighteen months ago the Leninbund received 40,000 workers' votes in Prussia, 8,374 of them in Berlin alone. During these eighteen months it has not been able to consolidate the positions gained, extend its influence into new fields and thus strengthen its ranks. For some time, comrades have tried to demonstrate that the absence of a clear political line, the perpetual floating between Korsch and Brandler could have nothing but disastrous consequences for the Leninbund. The facts have justified their predictions. At the last municipal elections, the Leninbund lost more than half the votes it had in 1928. In Berlin, where its paper, *Volksstimme*, appears, it fell from 8,374 votes to 3,784.

The comrades of the minority asked that lists of candidates should not be presented everywhere, on principle—which would be the act of a second party—but that we should limit ourselves to presenting them only in those places where we have a strong position and where we represent the party in the mind of the masses. That is the case at Neulissenburg, for example, where we were not only able to get all the Communist votes, but even to carry four mandates from the social democrats. That is a real success. Unfortunately, at other points in the Reich, the act of presenting candidates served the social democracy and thereby discredited communism in the eyes of the masses.

The presentation of independent tickets at all costs and on principle was serious enough, but the methods employed in the electoral campaign were often such as could only make the Leninbund ridiculous. One of the members of the national committee did not hesitate to issue a leaflet which is a model of opportunism and could be claimed by any sort of social democrat at all.

These are the manifestations of an extremely grave nature, which must engage the attention of all the members of the Leninbund if they wish to hold back their organization from the dangerous declivity down which it is slipping.

The masses still have reformist illusions that must be taken into account. It is precisely a question of carrying out a policy which in the hard daily struggle, leads the masses by means of their own experience to the limits of democracy and proves to them practically that only the overstepping of bourgeois democracy by revolutionary action can really improve their situation.

Instead of undertaking this serious and fruitful work, it is imagined that these illusions can be destroyed by decrees and hollow phrases which are based on no concrete experience. That is how the working

Soviet power. But to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship, really to seize power for itself—this can be done by the bourgeoisie only by a violent overthrow . . . We are fighting the Stalinist course. But Soviet Russia is something else than Stalin. In spite of all the degeneration which we fight and will continue to fight most resolutely, so long as the class-conscious workers are armed, Soviet Russia is a proletarian state to us, which we defend unreservedly in our own interests, in peace as in war, in spite of Stalin and in order to defeat Stalin, who is incapable of defending it with his policy. Whoever is not absolutely firm in the question of the proletarian character of Soviet Russia, hurts the proletariat, hurts the revolution, hurts the Left Communist Opposition."

This formulation is theoretically entirely irreproachable. Comrade Urbahn would have done better to reprint it in the organ of the Leninbund than to publish Korschist and semi-Korschist articles.

Continued in Next Issue

class is left without direction in the decisive moments and lives without being capable of drawing any profit from events, as was the case in Germany in October, 1923, at the last First of May, and as is the case at present in Austria.

On November 30, the congress of the revolutionary elements who form the trade union opposition, was held in Berlin. The representatives of the opposition existing in a certain number of trade unions, those of the red factory councils, and those of the unemployed, assembled to deliberate on the organization of a vast front of defense against the offensive of capital.

The reformists are attacking this congress ferociously, and particularly the Communist Party of Germany which they denounce, as "the organizer of the trade union split". But all the revolutionary workers will support this initiative, for the congress can give a new and powerful impetus to the exploited masses on the condition, it is understood, that it is conscious of its tasks, that it appreciates correctly the situation in Germany and that it elaborates a program of revolutionary struggle capable of drawing the workers together and assuring their defense.

It is to be feared, unfortunately, that the German Communist Party is failing once more in its role and does not know how to give effective aid to the assembled delegates. On the eve of the congress it had done nothing, studied nothing and prepared nothing serious.

What will it bring to the congress in order to group together the millions of German proletarians into a powerful front of defense? Everything indicates that it will seek to cover the absence of a maturely considered policy by the customary petty methods concerning organization exclusively: they will speak of creating new committees! And they will repeat the mistakes that have so often been committed. What account will the central committee of the German Communist Party take of the systematic splitting offensive of the reformists? Continue to allow itself to be isolated until there is no longer a single Communist left in the trade unions? Until the reformists will have succeeded, without even having to fight, in demoralizing the millions of trade union workers?

And how does the party think of acting practically in order to lead the enormous mass of unemployed workers into the struggle, so as to avoid that misery does not discourage them and throw them into the arms of fascism? It is hardly permitted to hope that the present leadership will show itself capable of tackling these problems seriously.

Finally, it is inconceivable that the Leninbund, which wants to be and should be the organization of the Communist advance guard, has not yet taken a position towards this congress, that it makes no efforts to send delegates to it, and does not occupy itself with problems that it has to solve.

Berlin, November 29, 1929.

—KURT LANDAU

The Betrayal in Austria

On Saturday, the national council made the constitution reform that gives dictatorial powers to Chancellor Schober a law after an eight-hour session.

Since noon today the Austrian parliament has been meeting under a strong police guard in order to push through the fascist constitutional bill in all three readings at once. Since firm agreements have been made on all important points between the government and the social democrats, the adoption of the bill is assured.

About nine in the evening, the second reading was ended. The bill was adopted in the draft of the sub-committee. Various amendments, including social democratic ones, were rejected. The third reading begins about 10 o'clock. The last vote is still expected today.

The reporter on the bill was Schuschnigg, the Tyrolean Christian-socialist supporter of the Heimwehr leader Steidle. After him spoke Schober, who announced the extension of the constitutional reform, and thereby joined in with the proclamations of the Heimwehr and bourgeoisie press that the present bill should only be an installment, the first stage.

Schober declared, among other things, that he thanks (!) the parliament for the great work (!) it accomplished so swiftly.

The "popular movement conducted by the Heimwehr" must now recognize the constitution after the change, and there is already a "plainly visible pacification", so that the hope exists that Austria can finally proceed upon the upward grade. "Much good" was attained through the conversations with the opposition (!) Now it is necessary to fill the changed constitution "with real life".

On the unity with the social democracy, Schober declared that the government did not surrender a single point of its program and the "Opposition" participated much more positively in the completion of the work on the constitution (!)

The social democratic deputy Eisner declared that his party had voted for the constitutional bill "in order not to keep the parliament from the more important questions of Austrian economy." (!)

The whole region around the parliament is occupied by a strong police reserve. A large number of fascists with sticks and blackjacks has marched up to the support of the police. In spite of this, a few hundred revolutionary workers succeeded in penetrating the parliament on the steps of which a speaker was arrested after a few words by a large number of policemen.

Protest demonstrations also took place in the provinces. A protest meeting in front of the Rohrbach spinning mill, near the industrial center of Neunkirchen in Lower Austria was violently dispersed by the gendarmes.

The Austrian social democrats have brought their treason to a crowning point. In a "legal" way, they have put the fascist dictatorship in the saddle; they are delivering the Austrian proletariat to fascism.

The revolutionary crisis in Austria is by no means "solved" by the vote in the national council. Fascism, which has temporarily found a cover under the Schober constitution, is determined to go the whole way. It will not shrink from civil war and terror.

Various bourgeois papers are emphasizing the provisional character of this "constitutional reform." The Austro-Marxists are not doing the slightest thing to organize the defense front of the proletariat. The difficult task of organizing the masses for the counter-offensive against the further plans of the Austrian reaction lies before the Communist Party of Austria.

Vienno, December 8, 1929.

In France: A la Americaine

A l'Americaine is the slogan of the Tardieu bourgeoisie. It has launched its good fellow like a new moving picture is launched, with the most modern methods of commercial advertising. All over the front pages of the newspapers, in shop fronts, across the screen of passing events is displayed the optimistic smile of Tardieu, succeeding the surly countenance of Poincare. Big posters on all the walls of Paris vaunt the merits of the new product and rail at the unhappy rivalry of Daladier and company. The citizen standardized by advertising has let the new popular heroes be imposed upon him like Cadum soap. Scientific methods are being tested for manufacturing popularity. A l'Americaine, the new government is making interchangeable parts, without worrying about the old party labels, which put the old, outmoded and slow machines on the scrapheap in order to set the traditional political parties in motion. Tardieu is beating the speed record in establishing his government. He does not spare expense to get a better and quicker yield. He takes men from here, from there, from the Right and the Left, in the largest possible number in order to satisfy the largest possible amount of appetites and to assure himself of the largest clientele.

The old political parties of democracy are indignant at these new methods of competition which disarm and beat them on a ground that isn't their own, like the petty tradesmen protests against the methods of big stores. This ministry of confusion, composed of anomalous and unprincipled personages, is gravely denounced. It is gravely demonstrated that it cannot last because it violates the traditional rules of the game of the parties in a democracy. It is predicted that the unprincipled ministry will not last, that it will succumb to the joint assault of the Right, discontented with the foreign policy, and the Left, dis-

contented with the domestic policy, and then they will see how they deluded themselves.

The success of Tardieu is stirring up a fever of political Americanism. The Right wing of the Socialist Party has not borne the torment of Tantalus inflicted upon it for many weeks in order to lead it to the final deception—it also hoists the banner of political rationalization inside the Party, of autonomy for the parliamentary group, of the revision of the statutes, of the struggle of the young against the old. Like Tardieu speaks to the "country" above the heads of the deputies, it threatens to speak to the voters over the heads of the militants and the regularly constituted organs. The struggle between the Right and the Left in the S. P. appears more and more as the struggle between the modernizers and the mossbacks. While the Left remains attached to the old revolutionary forms, devoid of all content, which petrify and demobilize it into a grandiloquent dogmatism, the Right wants to arm itself with the methods of the most modern political technique so as to make its way along the new pathways of the bankers' democracy.

With American methods, American results. Prosperity! Tardieu cries after Hoover. Optimism is on the order of the day. After the period of the 'san kine, the period of the fat; after the days of penitence, great merriment. The economy of the speculator succeeds that of the father of the family. New days, new people. The countenance of Poincare, draped in "the old honesty of a republican in the days of the empire", watching at the bedside of his sick mother, the bourgeoisie, and his little franc, has given way to the broad smile of the cynical and corrupted Tardieu, the man of N'Goko Sangha and Homs Bagdad, who is leading the dance of the five billions and the reduction of taxes. Poincare and the other republicans are in the discard, Tardieu triumphs with the methods of efficiency. And the political parties beaten in the competition, like the radical party and the socialist party, raise a loud outcry by accusing him of having stolen their program. But Tardieu moves fast and well. . . This proves only one thing: all the bourgeois political parties (including the S. P.) are in accord on the general policy to be carried out. Their estimations of the kind of merchandise fit to pour upon the political market, converge for the moment but they are more or less well stocked up for the competition and all of them have let themselves be outdone by the "unprincipled" crew of Tardieu.

This fever of Americanism, of rationalization and of efficiency in every field, is not peculiar to France. It reaches right into the U. S. S. R. where the International Press Correspondence informs us of the manufacture in series of young "Soviet Americans" (sic!). And that is normal, inasmuch as American capitalism is the firmest, the best equipped with the most modern methods. But wait! The moment that Tardieu chooses to tire our ears with his standardized screechings about prosperity, is the same time that the colossal crash in New York bares the underside of this renowned prosperity. We learn of the formidable inflation of credit that lay at its base and which, all of a sudden, gives way, reducing it to its real and doubtless respectable proportions. The electoral myth of Hoover gives way before the reality of the crisis that they sought to hold back. It is the law of the capitalist regime that all prosperity is unstable. By the American reality can be judged the value of Tardieu's American myths!

In the language of the coarse mountebank, Tardieu promises prosperity precisely at the moment when events make the very possibility of this prosperity questionable, at the moment when the Bourse, in spite of the flattery and encouragement of power, is seriously weakening.

To be sure, French capitalism no longer suffers from post-war agonies; it lives and grows. But the harbingers of the international crisis which it will have to undergo are already apparent. The workers must take cognizance of them and gather together their forces. No decade will pass before Tardieu's prosperity shows its real face: the furious efforts of capitalism to assure a stable rule, which allow of nothing, ruins everything, and which the workers will batter down.

PIERRE NAVILLE
Paris, November 1929

The Austrian Crisis and Communism

Continued from Page 1

equilibrium, which is maintained thanks only to the conservative-conciliatory policy of the social democracy, extraordinarily facilitates the position of the Austro-Marxism. What it does in the Vienna city council is enough to distinguish it from the bourgeois parties in the eyes of the workers. And what it does not do—that is, the most important things—it can always put to the responsibility of the bourgeois parties. While Austro-Marxism exposes the bourgeoisie in articles and speeches, it very skillfully utilizes, as we have already said the international dependence of Austria in order to prevent the workers from rising against class enemy. "In Vienna we are strong, but in the country we are still weak. Besides we have a master over us. We must retain our positions within the democracy and—wait." That is what the most important idea of Austro-Marxist policy looks like. All this made it possible up to now for Austro-Marxism to play the role of the "Left" wing in the Second International and to retain all its positions against the Communist Party, which continues to heap mistake upon mistake.

An Important Instrument of Capitalism

The Austrian social democracy helped the Entente make an end of the Hungarian revolution, helped its bourgeoisie to issue from the post-war crisis, and created a democratic asylum for unstable private property. Thus, it was the most important instrument for the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

But this instrument is an independent organization, with an independent, numerous bureaucracy and a labor aristocracy which has its own interests and its own pretensions. This bureaucracy, flesh of the petty bourgeoisie, bases itself, according to its ideas, manners and customs upon the working class and constantly fears its dissatisfaction. This circumstance is the main source of friction and conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the social democracy, that is, between the master and the servant.

No matter how tightly the Austrian social democracy has enmeshed the working class in its net of political, trade union municipal, cultural and sport institutions, it is nevertheless plain—and the July 1927 days showed this especially clearly—that the reformists-pacifist methods alone do

not give the bourgeoisie the necessary guarantees.

What has been said explains the social functions of Austrian fascism. It is the second servant of the bourgeoisie, distinguishable from the first and standing opposed to it. The lower ranks of the social democracy are impelled forward by a proletarian instinct, even if a falsified one. The lower ranks of fascism feed upon the hopelessness of the petty bourgeoisie and declassed elements, in whom Austria is so rich. The leaders of the social democracy weigh down upon the class instinct of the proletariat with the aid of the slogans and institutions of democracy. The leaders of fascism show the despair of the rotting petty bourgeoisie a way out in the perspective of a saving overthrow, after which the "Marxists" will no longer be able to hinder the good headway of agriculture, of handwork and trade.

Fascism, Bolshevism and Social Democracy

We thus have in Austria the classic refutation of the philistine theory that fascism is born out of revolutionary Bolshevism. Fascism begins to play an all the bigger role in a country, the more plainly, the more revolting and intolerable becomes the contradiction between the policy of the masses, and the unpostponable requirement of historical development. In Austria, as everywhere else, fascism appears as the necessary supplement to the social democracy, feeds upon it and comes to power with its aid.

Fascism is the legitimate son of the formal democracy of the epoch of collapse. The principles of democracy are carried through in Austria, with special crassness, to absurdity. The social democracy lacks a few percent for a majority. It can however be said—and that is no paradox, but the naked truth—that the political stubbornness of the Austrian social democracy is based not upon the 43 percent of the votes it has, but upon the 7 percent which it lacks for a majority. The foundations of capitalism would remain inviolable were the Austrian social democracy to conquer the majority. But such a conquest is by no means guaranteed. It is idiosyncrasy to believe that all questions will be settled by propaganda.

If one proceeds from the premise that the life of Austria will continue to develop within the limits of democracy, then one can absolutely not believe that in the course

of the next 25 to 50 years the Austrian social democracy will positively attain a majority. The economic life of all capitalist Europe stands before a great danger coming from the United States and other overseas countries. The economic decline of Austria, which is inevitable with a perspective of peaceful development, would sooner bring a loss of votes to the social democracy than a gain. Consequently, according to the logic of democracy, in spite of the fact that a further domination of the bourgeoisie dooms the nation to decay and cultural decline, in spite of the readiness of the overwhelming mass of the proletariat—this backbone of the nation—to take a step towards socialism,—this step cannot be taken because a few percent of the voters, the darkest, the most backward, the most depraved, stand aside from the struggle, vegetate in the dark, and are ready at the decisive moment to

give their votes and fists to fascism.

Democracy has reached absurdity. In the epoch of the organic and planned development of capitalism, which was combined with a systematic class differentiation of the country, democracy played a historical role, including that of the education of the proletariat. Its greatest role it played in Europe. But in the epoch of imperialism, which primarily in Europe, is the epoch of decaying capitalism, democracy has landed in a blind alley. That is why we see in Austria, where the constitution invented by the social democracy, where the social democracy occupies a big place, holds the capital city, and where, consequently, we should be seeing the democratic forms of the transition from democracy to socialism in the most perfect manner—we see in reality that politics is regulated on one side by attacking bands of fascists and on the other by retreating troops of half-armed social democratic workers, and as the orchestral director of the democracy there comes forward an old police agent of the Hapsburg school!

To Be Continued

What Now?

The Bolshevik Opposition and the C. P. S. U.

By the Editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition

Continued From Last Issue . . .

The Question of Unity

To the proposal of the Opposition to reestablish the unity of the party upon Leninist bases, Yaroslavsky slavishly repeats the reply that the social democrats make to the Communists when the latter attempt to establish the united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the social democracy, we know, invariably affirm that the Communists do not desire the united front, their aim being, on the contrary, the division of the working class, and that in proposing a united front they are doing nothing but deceiving the working masses. In order to do this, the social democrats do not refer to confiscated (and distorted) personal letters, but to the articles and speeches of the leaders of Communism. The indignation of the social democrats feeds in this case on the knowledge of its impotence in the struggle. The Communists, know, however, that we cannot and do not want to struggle against the bourgeoisie,—why do they offer us the united front? You are deceiving the masses!" —No, reply the Communists, it is you who, by passing yourselves off as fighters, deceive the masses and we are unmasking you before them. If you do not want to be unmasked, prepare to fight!

It is by representing the faction of Stalin as the guardian of the unity of the party that Yaroslavsky receives the party. Not only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but all the parties of the International are divided into three parts. All the organizers and directors of the Comintern in the epoch of Lenin have been removed, and, in overwhelming numbers excluded from the party. The prestige of world Communism continues to fall: he who says the contrary deceives the party. The five year industrial plan, the statistical draft for economic development—that does not settle the question. The party is the historical and fundamental arm of the proletariat. In its present state, with its present orientation of principle, its present regime and direction the party cannot succeed in its task.

In the Soviet Republic, the facade of the government apparatus, heritage of the October revolution, conceals the real situation of the party. This concealment does not exist in capitalist countries. International Communism is suffering losses all along the line and continues to fall back. And without a well-directed International, no five year plan will lead to socialism.

Under these conditions, the Opposition has once attempted to reestablish unity of the party. Naturally, we never doubted for a minute that this attempt would be repulsed. Now it has happened. The reply is given. The light necessary for those who needed it is given. Many Oppositionists who signed Rakovsky's declaration will still separate themselves from their fundamental nucleus. Let them go their way! For this fundamental nucleus has been able, in these last months, to recover completely from the stab in the back from those who capitulated. The effect of this blow, for the moment, was inordinately strong because of the isolation of the Oppositionists. The worse moment was in June-July. Therefore, it is not for nothing that Yaroslavsky is obliged to quote the June

letter. The editorial board of the Bulletin is now receiving dozens of letters indicating that the crisis of the Opposition is overcome. The reply of Yaroslavsky emphasizes a whole period. The Left Centrists who, out of necessity were a part of the Opposition up to the split of the Center-Right bloc, withdrew from it when official Centrism turn to the Right. That is in the nature of things.

The Leninist opposition closes its ranks again. We must regroup ourselves on a national as well as an international scale. Towards the U.S.S.R. and the C.P. S.U., as towards the International, our method remains as before the method of reforms. But we are not ready to fight for these reforms within the limits of legality which, in the struggle for their preservation, Stalin and his Yaroslavsky constantly narrow down. We esteem it necessary to double our efforts to organize the Bolshevik-Leninists as a faction within Communism, to publish systematically the Bulletin of the Opposition, to introduce it into the U.S.S.R., and to distribute it normally among the vanguard workers of the Soviet Republic. We call upon those who think as we do to determine to help us in this cause.

The Pot of Gold for Unemployed

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT-(FP)—While members of the mayor's committee on unemployment confess they can do nothing with the problem and a local poster company is putting up posters to the effect that "Business is good; Keep it good! Nothing can get ahead of the U.S.", the Volunteers of America has this to say:

THE POT OF GOLD!

A local manufacturer announces the placing of thousands of workmen on his payroll. Papers print a pleasing picture of prosperity. Everywhere the story is repeated. With extra enthusiastic exaggerations each time.

Debt-ridden, destitute, despairing husbands in hundreds of hamlets read the story with a ray of returning hope. Pitiful, personal belongings hastily heaped into a bundle. A wedding ring—a few last little luxuries pawned to pay the fare.

Hurry up, hurry on, to Detroit. That's where happiness is to be had. We long looked for Pot of Gold has been located! Its in Detroit....don't the papers say so?

The arrival; and then the slow sodden sinking in of the terrible truth. "They ain't takin' on men....just now!" ...So there's another destitute, down and out family here. Another hopeless husband. Another weary, work-worn woman with children hanging hungrily to the hem of darning dress.

Despair...and a final, piteous plea for help from the Volunteers of America. Is it any wonder we NEED and ASK you to help us handle our terrifying task? you to help us handle our terrifying tasks?

Larger numbers of class conscious rebels are looking to

the weekly Militant as their organ of expression. Free from futile bombast, exaggeration, falsehood and hysteria, the Militant aims to give its working class readers the news of the class struggle in this country and throughout the world, based always on facts and illuminated by a Marxist analysis.

To be without the Militant every week is to lose contact with the greatest problems of the labor and revolutionary movement. The articles by Leon Trotsky alone demand and deserve the serious study of every worker. You can make sure of getting the paper every week, and independent of casual visits to the news-stands by becoming a subscriber.

For a short period we are offering a combination of a yearly subscription to the Militant and a copy of Leon Trotsky's brilliant analysis "The Draft Program of the Comintern", together for \$2.00. The blank below is for your convenience. Fill it out and mail it with your check, money order or cash.

The Militant
25 Third Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Name

Address

City State

I am enclosing \$2.00 to cover the subscription and the book

Convention of the Textile Workers Union

The delegates who gathered at Paterson to attend the second convention of the National Textile Workers Union had an enormous problem before them: the problem of organizing the hundreds of thousands of textile workers in the U. S., who are among the most miserably paid and unorganized in the country into the trade union movement. The extent to which this problem was tackled correctly is a reflection of the state of affairs both in the left wing movement in general and the labor movement as a whole.

Of the approximately one million textile workers in this country, only an insignificant handful are organized in the trade union movement. Those that are unionized, are divided in rival organizations, which at one time reached the number of sixteen but are now down to three important ones: the National Textile Workers Union, the Left wing organization under the influence and control of the Communist Party, the United Textile Workers Union, the A.F. of L. conservative organization, and the mildly progressive independent Associated Silk Workers. None of them has more than a few thousand members.

The Problem of the South

A big handicap in the work of organizing these largely unskilled workers is the fact that a large share of the industry is located in the reactionary South, with a working class that was only recently agricultural in customs and ideas, which has had practically no experience in struggles, and which, in its general outlook and as a general rule is far behind the northern workers.

Add to these conditions the fact that the textile barons are extremely powerful and arrogant that they never have had to work with unions as a recognized factor, that they resist the most modest proposals of their workers with a feudal ruthlessness and terror, and some conception of the hugeness of the problem can be gained.

But since the power of the capitalist class as a factor by itself, never been the only reason for the lack of organization, the causes must be sought elsewhere. One of them is the division of the labor movement itself. And that also, is as much or more an effect than a cause. Independent textile unions—outside the A. F. of L.—have arisen in the past because of the criminally neglectful policy of the well-fed bureaucrats, who have done as much and more for the textile barons as the government, its armies and police have done. Their role has been to prevent militant action by the workers wherever possible. And when it becomes impossible for them any longer to restrain the pressure of the workers, they have joined with and led strikes only to direct them into harmless channels, that is, harmless to the textile bosses.

The National Textile Workers Union was not born out of any academic decision to oppose the A. F. of L. union, but out of live and bitter struggles, out of the Passaic strike, out of the New Bedford strike, and out of the increasing need and desire to organize the hundreds of thousands of slaves in the industry.

That the N. T. W. had the wisdom, the foresight, the militancy and policy of struggle that were and are lacking in the leadership of the old unions is evident from even its brief period of history. It is inconceivable that the Wm. Greens or Wolls or McMahoos should ever have the initiative or desire to plunge into the dangerous, vast field of the South, or conduct such a strike as Gastonia, or show even the most pallid resemblance to the spirit of battle, self-sacrifice, courage shown by the N.T.W. union members and leaders in spite of all the errors they made. Nor can one imagine a convention of the McMahon controlled union to resemble the convention of the N. T. W. U.

A Workers Convention

The tendency so profoundly developed of late among the Stalinist "leadership" of the Communist Party, to hold fake, inflated conventions was reduced to a minimum in Paterson. The delegates represented workers and were themselves workers from the mills of New England and the new-born South of the working class. The Southern delegates in particular most of not all of them new recruits in the movement were the liveliest section of the convention and discussed the problems of the union with a confidence that does not promise well for the Southern bourbons.

In fact, so prominently a place did these Southern non-Communist and non-

that they frequently took the C. P. fraction by surprise, so that hectic, anxious meetings of the fraction had to be held so as to push "the party face" more assertively to the fore in the sessions. Nevertheless, the activity of these workers is a healthy sign in two senses: it bodes well for their development as active, independent fighters in the class struggle and is a lively refutation of the new Stalinist theory that no trade union can make a step forward unless it is hugged in a mechanical, artificial, stifling embrace by the Communist Party. This is all the more true because these workers are not at all animated by any anti-Communist or anti-Communist Party motives.

Another step forward marked by the convention was the improvement of its directing staff. The chaotic conditions existing up to now in the national office of the Textile Workers' Union constantly worsened by the petty battles of the Lovestones and Fosterites, were partially alleviated. Unfortunately, there are far from adequate assurances that the new central office force will function as properly as the situation requires. The mediocre people who were put into the "office staff" were not chosen for their abilities as much as they were for their readiness to rubberstamp any decision made by the present party leadership.

The Stalinists were so frightened by their previous experiences with Weisbord, Dawson, Keller and others that they calculated upon avoiding any future "deviations from the line" by installing a hand-made, hand-picked committee distinguished by nothing except a vast capacity for obedience and an even drabness of ability. Worse yet, there is not a single non-party worker on the staff, although any number of them might have been chosen, much to the profit of the organization and its proper working, as compared to some of those who were selected by the party.

Shortcomings of Conference

Another, and more serious shortcoming of the conference, was the program of work and policy it adopted. The main resolution on the situation and tasks of the union was drawn in the style, tone and content of the political resolution at a Communist Party convention. There is no question of a technical distinction here, but of the documentary reflection of the position taken by the party for the creation of simon-pure Communist unions which result in the final analysis to narrowing down these organizations to party members and their sympathizers. Whoever fails to draw these lessons from the decline of the Left wing needle trade unions under that policy is riding for a fall in the textile union as well.

The main problem before the union—the organization of the textile workers into a militant class union—was not properly dealt with in the convention or the resolution. To read the latter, one would never imagine that it was adopted by a body incorporating approximately five to six thousand members out of about a million workers in the industry.

What the resolution particularly failed to consider adequately was the coming campaign of the A. F. of L. in the South. For analysis, it substituted denunciation. While all the attacks made upon the A. F. of L. bureaucracy are justified a thousand times over, it is insufficient simply to declare that "we must carry on a continual campaign of exposure and open struggle" against it. The fact remains that the bulk of the Southern textile workers do not yet distinguish between the militant Left wing unions and the reactionary A. F. of L. unions. To assert the contrary is self-deception and nothing else.

The workers learn to separate friend from foe by experience in the struggle and not by decree or thesis. The American workers particularly will yet go through a thousand betrayals and defeats before they take the path of revolutionary struggle. The task of the Communists and the Left wing is to hasten this process by exposing the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the very heat of the struggle, by diminishing and trying to eliminate the experiences of defeat and treason by guiding and teaching the workers while they are fighting.

In the United States at the present time the best means to this end is the tactic of the united front. For those who have conceived of the united front in the past as an alliance of leaders at the top, the proposal now may seem to be a "conservative"

ed front as an instrument for uniting the advanced, revolutionary workers with the backward, conservative workers in a struggle not only against the capitalists but also against their labor agents, the proposal still holds good.

The tactic of the united front is the way in which the true role of the Greens, McMahoos, and Mustes of all varieties—who do not want to and will not unite with the militants for a common struggle because that is not their function in the labor movement—will be demonstrated even to the most backward worker. And they are the ones to consider in the South,

The Daily Worker Gasps for Arguments

At a complete loss to reply with any reasoned political arguments to the viewpoint and criticism given by us in the *Militant*, the *Daily Worker* has constantly been compelled to resort to the old, reliable but not very honest expedients of misrepresentation and slander. Throw a lot of mud—some of it must stick! The new experts in fighting Trotskyism calculate that Mark Twain was probably right when he remarked that a lie will travel all around the world while truth is pulling on its boots. One of the purest (in the chemical sense) examples of this method of argument can be found in the *Daily Worker* (12-30-1929) under the title "Economic Crisis and the Crisis Among the Opponents".

The section of that editorial devoted to Lovestone is too obvious and needs no particular comment. Nowadays, anyone, even the muddled Centrists of the Stalin school, is capable of politically and theoretically annihilating the national-reformist and petty bourgeois ideology of the Right wing throughout the International. All the Centrists have to do—and that is what they actually do—is to look up the articles and documents of the Opposition written years ago and borrow their arguments wholesale from this inexhaustible arsenal. The veriest pop-gun from this store of weapons, even when it is held in the unskilled and trembling hand of the Centrists, is heavy enough against the primitive defense of the Right wingers.

Centrism Out of Its Element

But when the Centrist turn to attack the Communist Opposition, he finds himself gasping out of his element. He dares not, and does not any longer pretend, to discuss the fundamental questions of principle and strategy that divide the Communist movement: national reformism (socialism in one country) versus revolutionary internationalism; subordination of the proletariat to the colonial bourgeoisie (Chinese revolution) or the socialist path in the colonial countries; workers and peasants versus proletarian parties; etc., etc., etc. The same holds true in virtually every important issue of the day in the class struggle, be it in the trade union field where the Centrists hop from one position to another without the slightest knowledge of where they are going, or in any other. The only thing left, then, is misrepresentation, insinuation and slander. The above-mentioned editorial is a classic example. It says:

"The Trotskyite opportunists waited more than two months before they could pick up courage to utter a word of analysis of the crisis... But finally they have decided they simply must speak, even without the long-awaited directives from Constantinople." As for the "blistering" sarcasm about the "long-awaited directives", it is to laugh considerably. But before you laugh, bear in mind that the people who write so "ironically" about directives from afar are precisely the same ones who did not know for many long months whether American capitalism had reached its apex or its Victorian age, and finally had to be told in the "long-awaited directives from Moscow" that they were all wrong on everything but their mutual charges of unprincipledness. They are the very same people who cannot sleep, eat, drink, think, white, act or do anything at all without first inquiring from Stalin whether it is in accordance with the latest "line". They are the people who make "analyses" and work out "lines" yesterday only to repudiate and condemn them today

where they predominate. They are the ones who will at present follow the A. F. of L. if it arrives first on the scene and shows the necessary initiative and they will follow the National Textile Workers Union if it is the one that gets to the workers first. It is to show the workers that the Left wing holds the banner of unity in struggle, that it is ready to unite its forces with every worker, no matter if he still has some faith in the Greens for the moment, that the N. T. W. must adopt the tactic of the united front. That this was neither done nor considered at the Paterson convention marks a weakness in the union's position traceable to the present line of the Communist Party leadership. But the course of the struggle will convince the militants in the organization of the right path to pursue.

discarded—by command—tomorrow. Their political life is the survival of the fittest—stomach, i. e., the stomach that can digest or give forth any and every policy rammed down its throat by the ruling regime in the Russian Party.

We already outlined and analyzed the character and the outcome of the American depression and crisis in the Platform adopted by our first national conference in Chicago seven months ago. Since our analyses were not made and remade to fit some fatcat emergency, our platform stands, and its predictions are steadily verified by the course of events. Anyone who reads the *Militant*, and certainly the avid readers of the *D. W.* knows that we have referred to this analysis and repeated it on numerous occasions in the recent past. Therefore, when the *Daily Worker* says, "In the *Militant* of December 28, we finally receive the first word of Trotskyist analyses of the economic crisis", it is stating a limping falsehood calculated to avoid the discomfort of arguing against our analysis.

Not satisfied with this, the *D. W.* needs resort to the shabby trick of yanking a sentence or two out of a news story and presenting it as though it were our first and last word on the economic situation. The scintillating facetiousness of the *Daily Worker* on the question of long skirts is merely unvarnished dishonesty: "The quotation it makes from the news story in the *Militant* refers exclusively to the dress industry and the factor played in it by the so-called 'long skirt models'. The upright *Daily Worker* 'overlooks' this 'little point' and makes it appear as though the *Militant* maintains that what is wrong with American industry today is the failure of the ladies to buy long skirts instead of short ones! Is this not profound? Is it not a conclusive proof of the renegacy of the Trotskyists? Does it not expose and annihilate them the thousandth time, annihilate them?"

Well, we can be even more "revolutionary" than the *Daily Worker* on the question of the crisis. It says for instance, in the same issue: "Crisis Becomes Severe in 50 years; 5,000,000 Jobs" and proceeds to remark that "no one mentioned a specific figure of national employment of the working class. *Daily Worker* has placed the number, excess of 5,000,000!" We think that to a genuine revolutionist in these momentous days of the Third Period and the New Line, the *Daily Worker* should have written "Crisis is worst in world history. American capitalism on the brink of collapse. Communists ready for power. Trotskyists shamelessly announce 5,000,000 unemployed. *Daily Worker* places number higher than 10,000,000. We are twice as radical as Trotskyists."

As it hobbles painfully to the conclusion of its "arguments", the *Daily Worker* announces that "pending their formal amalgamation", and "while the Right wing (Lovestone) and the Trotskyites are formally separated at the top, they already have a practical amalgamation of the machinery of distribution of their papers at the bottom." (This penetrating wisdom flows from the fact that the *Militant* and *Revolutionary Age* are sold at the Rand School news stand). As for our "formal amalgamation", the *D. W.* has probably confused us with the recent amalgamation of Stalin and Bucharin. Nevertheless, we would be very much obliged to the *D. W.* if it would answer a question:

Why not fix the final date for our amalgamation with the Right wing thereby getting the matter off your mind and laying the suspense of your new nerves

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

The NEW YORK BUILDING TRADES

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

Marching the sidewalks of New York looking for employment, one is reminded of the advice by that good fellow known as Prosperity Hoover who suggests that the salvation of the unemployed is to...find employment. Simple as it sounds, it is not quite so simple in its application.

As is known, there is a vast army of workless seeking work not only in New York but throughout the country. It is no exaggeration when we say that the number runs well over 4,000,000 and is still going strong.

Among the industries that have been hard hit is the building trades. In "good" times we always had a few thousands out of work in the industry, but of late the number has soared pretty high. Bricklayers, iron workers, steam fitters, plumbers, painters, tile layers, etc.—about one-third of them are unemployed right now, not to speak of their helpers, laborers, and men who are engaged in the manufacture of building material.

Well, some explanation of this can be found in the report of the Chamber of Commerce that in the year 1929 there was \$360,000,000 less building work done than in the year 1928—a normal year. That is how it looks in general, let us examine the particular trades.

Take the bricklayers, for instance. Today there are concrete buildings coming. It requires less material, less labor to pour in buildings than to lay single bricks. The framework of a building or the iron structure, as we know, is all made and patterned according to the architect's plan. That is also the case with fixtures, window and door frames which are done in shops and put in according to the plans of the building. Such methods have existed in these lines of work for quite some time.

Take the plumbing trade, where practically 100 percent, or at least 90 percent of the pipe work was cut and threaded on the job by union mechanics. It is today cut to sketch, brought on the job and then put together by lead and screwing the fittings together, thus eliminating about 40 percent of the work. Well, if 40 percent of the work is done on the outside, in open shops, how about getting the unemployed plumbers, whose job it is, to demand that this work be given to them? Didn't they get the 40 hour week? What does it matter if union or non-union material comes in?

One of the biggest plumbing bosses in the city, who formerly had about 35 jobs on the go, has now about 10 jobs and not small ones either, but jobs ranging from 48 stories down. On a big job, such as 48 stories, the Durham system is applied or, simply, a screw pipe job. That means that all the piping has to be cut and threaded. In such a structure 12 inch to 3 inch pipe is used. Generally, pipe up to 4 inches or even 6 inches used to be cut on the job, but since 1927, when the plumbers lost their strike, all pipe ranging from 2 inches upward is done to sketch on the outside. This boss has a shop with three machines running two shifts. Employed at this work are young workers or plumbers' helpers who get 50 and 55 cents an hour. One machine alone replaces about 10 sets, that is, ten plumbers and ten helpers. Not only do the labor bureaucrats refrain from getting these machines run by union men but they won't even organize the workers who run them.

In the steamfitting trade it is known that all pipe work ranging from 3-8 inch up is cut to sketch in an open shop. Yet there is new mechanization taking place. The welding of large pipe is beginning to appear in buildings and more and more men are replaced. Where formerly it took 4 sets to do the work, one set can do it more simply and quickly.

That is how it runs in the other trades. The army of unemployed being on the increase, the cutting of wages will take place, hours of work made longer, the unions smashed, etc. However, the building trade proletarian will see all the glorious "prosperity" he enjoyed for a while, gradually fading away. After all it will not be so easy for the building trade worker, after having such a relatively good standard of living, to let it pass by so lightly. He will fight and fight desperately to maintain a standard of living for himself and his family.

The Communists must be on the alert in the growing radicalization of these workers in the forefront of their

struggle. No matter how reactionary the old unions may be, we must get into them and fight with the workers for real militancy, connecting their economic struggle with the political fight for the working class. In the bulk of the building trades today, it is absolutely ridiculous to keep yelling at the workers to break their unions and form new ones at the present time. It is by working as Communist workers with these workers who are not yet conscious of their tasks that we will win them for the cause.

JACK SPRAGUE

TWO KINDS OF CORRUPTED PRESS

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

I was extremely pleased in reading your article in reply to the falsifications published in the Daily Worker by Browder that we are in a united front with the Love-tonites. We thought that only the capitalists, with their corrupted press, were capable of misrepresenting and distorting whatever was against their own interests, but we see that these malicious tactics are finding their place in the Stalinist press.

Because they have no concrete arguments to present against us, in the great ideological (?) struggle against Trotskyism, they use such methods only in order to prejudice and blind the members. The only thing they know about Trotskyism is that we are "renegades" and "counter-revolutionaries". They willingly accept any discussion with members of the S. P., the S. L. P., the I. W. W. (even with the Fascists!), but not with the Trotskyists. As for the Militant, not only don't they dare to read it, but even do not touch it for fear of being contaminated. And how they dare to call renegades such comrades as Trotsky and Rakovsky! I knew the latter personally in Rumania when he was secretary of the Socialist Party and one of the most prominent figures in the labor movement of that country.

For these reasons, I think it necessary that the Militant not only unmask such calumnies as are published in the Daily Worker, but also begin publishing regularly, in a fixed space on the front page, our political platform so that the revolutionary workers will know what is the real position of our Communist group.

We indeed realize the great difficulties and obstacles which confront us. History teaches us that in every new movement the masses—the multitude, do not think rightly. Their minds are mainly dominated by a certain ruling class. We also know that such great struggles require self-sacrifice and persistence until our final triumph and victory.

Therefore we are determined to work consistently with unshakable confidence in building a movement based on the revolutionary experience of history as taught by Marx and Lenin. Let us then devote all our efforts, energy and honest Leninist determination to our ideological struggle.

JAMES ECONOMOU

MERRY CHRISTMAS IN YOUNGSTOWN

Youngstown, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

"Merry Christmas and Happy New Year," say the bosses of the mills of this Valley of Iron and Steel. This hackneyed expression, bulging with irony, is nothing less than insult added to injury at a time like this.

The mills have been idle since the first week in November. Some departments are working a few days each week and others are not working at all. Many workers had not a dollar coming on last pay day, which was supposed to be our Christmas pay.

They wish us "Merry Christmas" and invite us to church to sing Glory, Glory, Hall-a-lula, and to commemorate the birth of Jerusalem Slim. But the willingness to sing and the desire to commemorate cannot emanate from the body which carries an empty stomach.

How can we be merry, how can we be happy when we are walking the streets from place to place, begging some master's leave to let us toil for him, while poverty and starvation stare us in the face?

When the mills are going at their best we receive nothing more than a sustenance wage. For this wage we are the victims of a diabolical speed-up system. The speed-up system, the twin baby of capitalism, has filled the bosses' warehouses, has precipitated the present industrial slump and has thrown us out on the streets as slaves without the means of existence.

Our only chance of fighting this speed-up system is through organization. "In union there is strength." A considerable number of the mill workers are ready and hoping for organization, industrially at least. But they cannot so easily see how their working conditions can be improved by joining a political party which issues a bulletin once in a while, telling them lies about the job on which they are working.

These workers cannot be blamed for their views on the "Workers Party". When they attend a public meeting called by the official party, they can see at first glance that the Youngstown branch of the party is not run by workers, but is dominated, steered and warped by second hand shoe peddlers, storekeepers, by the lowest grade of petty bourgeoisie. And of course they go home from such a meeting with feelings of disappointment, disgust and contempt.

We were amused, in addition to being assured of our correct political line, by the Daily Worker outburst of Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek Browder, the present day Wolfe. Well, what's the use of a watchdog if he doesn't bark? And how can one play the role of a Wolfe without howling?

We do not forget that Browder was Stalin's Yankee priest in China, and that he carried out the orders of pope Stalin. Even though Chiang Kai-Shek was murdering the workers of China, Browder aided him until such time as Chiang thumbed his nose at Stalin.

It is preposterous; and if one did not know the recent role of the C.I. leadership, it would seem impossible to imagine a character like Browder having cheek enough to open his mouth. He may or may not (I don't know which) be competent to play the role of a Wolfe, but if he had the conscience of a mongrel he would forever see the blood of the Chinese working class looking him in the eyes. He would not consider himself absolved from the sin of helping Chiang Kai-Shek just because he has since done penance by denouncing Chiang, the Chinese hangman, his former idol. If this man Browder had any sense of decency left he would go behind the curtain where he could keep his eyes and ears open and his mouth shut.

With revolutionary greetings,

CHARLIE BYRNE

NATIONALISM vs. INTERNATIONALISM

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

I think it is pertinent that the Militant give voice to the subject: Nationalism versus Internationalism in the labor movement. The time is ripe for every worker to understand the full meaning of Marx' saying: "Workers of the world, unite!"

We all know that skilled labor, the aristocracy of labor, and its trade unions are essentially nationalistic in their outlook. Their heads are puffed up with nationalistic prejudices. Hence they are enemies of internationalism, enemies of workers' unity.

One reason why the millions of auto workers, textile workers, etc., have not been organized into trade unions is because the average aristocrat of labor looks with contempt upon an unskilled worker. Unskilled laborers to him are "rabble", an "undesirable", "disloyal" element.

But we have arrived at a stage of capitalist development where trade unionism is being sorely tried. Through improved machinery, thousands upon thousands of skilled workers are being pushed down the ladder into the "gutter" among the unskilled. The circle of trade union aristocrats is getting smaller and smaller, while the circle of the unskilled, semi-skilled and those workers who have lost their trade through the machine, grows larger and larger. It falls upon the shoulders of the Communist movement to gather and organize the unskilled, semi-skilled and all those workers disinherited by the machine, under the banner of internationalism. The time is here to bring home to every worker the incomparable words: "Workers of the world, unite!"

PAULINE GUTRINGER

GREETINGS FROM ALABAMA

Birmingham Ala.

Dear Comrades:

Three cheers for the Weekly Militant and the brave boys behind it! Well, here I am again with another little piece of my mite. Put this down for a half-year sub and here's hoping I may be able to come again soon.

Your comrade,
SARAH F. J. LINN

Where to Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Belmont News Co., 101 East 5th St.; Western News Stand, Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's Book Shop, 65 Sixth Street

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 203 Tenth St. N. W.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; and on various newsstands.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.

BOSTON, MASS.: Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach St., near Washington.

ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.: On various newsstands.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and Branches Communist League of America.

Workingmen and women who wish to get in touch with Branches of the Communist League of America (Opposition) or to obtain The Militant are requested to write THE MILITANT, 25 THIRD AVENUE, Room 4, New York, N. Y.

In German In English In Jewish

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA BY L. D. TROTSKY

After reading this book by Leon Trotsky, now available in three languages, the reader will have a clear picture of the viewpoint of the Russian Opposition and the origin of the present state of affairs in the Soviet Republic. This volume includes a detailed exposure of the campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood conducted against the Russian Opposition and its leader, Trotsky.

TWO DOLLARS A COPY

Order from
THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III No. 2.

Telephone: DRYdock 1656. NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, January 11, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

KARL LIEBKNECHT DAY

A.F. of L. Opens Up in the South

As we go to press (Monday) the American Federation of Labor opens its long proclaimed conference in Charlotte, N. C., "to map out a plan for organizing the wage earners of the South". It is composed exclusively of A. F. of L. officials, coming largely from the United Textile Workers and its affiliated groups.

The whole record of the leaders of the A. F. of L., from William Green to Thomas McMahon, president of the U. T. W., is a living refutation of the statement that they will organize the Southern workers for a genuine struggle against their Bourbon masters. One need go no further than the textile field to evaluate the "work" that the fat boys of the A. F. of L. will do in the South.

Remember Passaic!

About two years ago, the A. F. of L. leaders entered the Passaic strike, after the Left wing had led one of the most spirited struggles in American history, took over the union created by the Communists and the Left wing, offered the workers up to the bosses on a silver platter, and then strangled what was left of the union. In the New Bedford strike, the leaders of the A. F. of L. organized the skilled workers, kept them separated from the unskilled who formed the mass of textile operatives, and then worked their fingers to the bone in order to break the strike.

In the more recent Elizabethton, Tennessee, strike, the sellout by the U. T. W. leaders was so raw that many of the workers struck over again spontaneously, in spite of the lid that had been put on the union by the imported bureaucrats. The same story can be told in Marion and elsewhere.

What is most significant of the A.F. of L.'s entry into the South at the present time is that it only comes after the work accomplished by the Left wing particularly in the Gastonia strike. As the press announces, without an attempt at concealment, the A. F. of L. is going into the South in order to wipe out the Left wing and its union, the N. T. W. This is precisely the aim the bosses have set themselves. The latter understand their William Green very well. While he is not needed by them in ordinary peaceful times he comes in very handy when the problem arises of fighting the militant Left wing and its union. It is clear from the whole situation in the South today that: 1. The bosses will use the services of the A. F. of L. to displace the Left wing union or to ward off the danger of the Left wing; when the Left wing menace is removed for the time being, the bosses know how easy it is to handle the accommodating Greens. 2. The bosses will fight against the A. F. of L.'s mildest attempt at unionization in those places where it is not needed to head off into harmless channels an existing or impending struggle.

The coming of Green and McMahon to the South is not "a step forward" for them, but a sinister move against the Left wing, and therefore against the textile workers. The blunders made by the Left wing, under the direction of the present leadership of the Communist Party, will only facilitate Green's work. Instead of intensifying its activity in the South, the Left wing has had its most capable and experienced people withdrawn until only a skeleton of the forces required is left there. Besides this, the Left wing still persists in its policy of self-satisfied isolation and sensational ultra-Leftism. Its present course only doubles and trebles the difficulties with which it is confronted by the latest A. F. of L. move in the South.

KARL LIEBKNECHT



At the Martyr's Grave-side

By Karl Radek

With your tears you have bathed his dead body, whose wounds cry to the heavens against the socialist betrayers; with the red banner of the proletarian world revolution you have covered him and placed him in your hearts so that he may rest there forever. Millions of you know no more of him than that, in the black night, illuminated only by the flash of cannon, he broke out of the trenches with a small force to fight for peace; that cast into prison by the mighty, he stoically endured every torment and hardly liberated from his chains raised anew the banner of struggle and fell with it in his hands, fell on the threshold of a new life.

But I want every proletarian to know about Liebknecht, to love him, not only as the blood-bedecked symbol of a martyr, but as he was in life, with his faults and merits, not as a "puzzled-out book" but as a man with his "contradiction". The man Liebknecht should be our great model, a model for our youth who should learn to fight, a model for our women who should not let themselves be oppressed by life, a model for our weather-beaten men who are haunted by doubts. The time has not yet come to proceed to a detailed biography of Karl Liebknecht. In his house of mourning the soldiers of the German counter-revolution still rule, and as I write these words, an inspection of the papers he left behind is impossible, yes, myself illegally in hiding, I cannot even gather the printed documents. But I believe that I see at a glance his rich life in its peculiarity and I want to describe it here.

At Liebknecht's Cradle

...Songs of heroes were sung at Liebknecht's cradle... The first impressions that the boy received were the persecutions of the Socialist Law. The German bourgeoisie and the Hohenzollerns sought to stifle the first socialist stirrings of the German proletariat. For him who spread the criminal teaching: "the putrid belly shall not waste what diligent hands have earned", who aroused the poor and disfranchised, there was no peaceful working place; he had to wander, persecuted, from place to place nowhere secure from police spies.

Wilhelm Liebknecht remained at his post and did not suspend the struggle for socialism even when it was again necessary to show by suffering that we live for the liberation of humanity. Karl may often have asked himself as a child what the strange men were ferreting for in the house of his father, why people came into the house secretly at night, whispering quietly like thieves: good people they must have been, for warmly welcomed by his parents, they would stroke his little black head. Thus he grew up in the years of persecution as the son of the soldier of the revolution. To be a soldier, a warrior of the revolution, that was the gift conferred upon him in his cradle.

The Socialist Law fell. The growing, strengthening capitalism simultaneously also strengthened the working class numerically, and with the growth of the working class, the German social democracy grew in spite of all the persecution. There began the "new course", the endeavor to win the working class through social concessions, and although it apparently retreated immediately to a new sharp course, yet the spirit of the epoch was such that, while strengthening capitalism accorded the

Continued on Page 3

Velvet Words Conceal U. S. Arms Growth

By SCOTT NEARING

Velvet words, hiding the growing claws of naval and military power: thus might be summarized the position of the American Empire during recent years. Coolidge followed this policy. Hoover has adopted it. Both have talked persuasively about peace. Both have been preparing the country for war.

Recently the London Economist published a detailed report on the 1929 cost of war to the various nations. The United States leads the list with 4,553 million gold francs. Great Britain, second on the list, spends only 2,800 million gold francs on war. If, to the figures of Great Britain are added the figures of arms expenditures for the remainder of the British Empire, the result shows the American Empire and the British Empire together are spending more than two-fifths the total for the entire world.

Military costs are greater in the United States than they are in any other single country. These costs, with some modification for the increase in the cost of living show very clearly the direction in which the country is moving.

As lately as 1926 United States expenditures on the army and navy totalled only \$580 million. They were \$685 million in 1929, and the 1932 budget calls for \$891 million.

Even clearer, as indices of military preparations, are the figures showing the actual fighting machine of the United

States.

Begin with the army. Up to the time of the Spanish-American war the United States army numbered about 27,000 regulars and 113,000 members of the national guard, or a total of some 140,000. In 1910 the total strength of the regular army was 80,000 and the national guard, 120,000, making a total of 200,000.

In 1927, the regular army numbered 133,000 and the national guard 181,000. In addition to these two branches of the army, however, there were 110,000 in the officers' reserve. These, with some incidental figures, make the total army strength of 1927, 430,000, or more than twice the figure for 1910, and more than three times the figure for the period immediately preceding the Spanish-American war.

There were 276 vessels in the United States navy in 1906, having a total displacement of 693,000 tons. For 1927 the number of vessels was 734—nearly three times the figure for 1906. The tonnage had more than trebled—2,225,000 tons.

Whatever Hoover, or any of his subordinates may say, the fact remains that the American Empire is spending more for military purposes than any other nation in the world, and that these expenditures, and the military machine which they are building up, are growing rapidly, year after year.

(Prepared for Federated Press by the Labor Research Assn.)

1930 to Be «Lean Tough» Year

NEW YORK (FP)—Nineteen-thirty will be a "lean, hard, tough" year according to *Business Week*, published by McGraw Hill, which also sponsors the leading industrial and trade magazines. Intense competition, with disaster for weaker firms, is foretold. Workers can interpret for themselves the meaning of this competition in speed-up, low wages and unemployment.

Economists, statisticians, and the glorified soothsayers employed to shed prestige on big corporations have been filling the business press with their usual prognostications. Usually these oracles stress the inherent "soundness of business", namely people must eat and live and therefore will not cease all buying. Sec. of the Treasury Mellon typifies their viewpoint when he says that "I see nothing in the present situation that is either menacing or warrants pessimism. During the winter months there may be some slackness or unemployment, but hardly more than is usual at this season of the year." In this jaunty manner does the great Pittsburgh magnate toss off the plight of millions of wretched workers.

What About the Workers?

In the deluge of words published concerning the industrial depression whose beginning was seen last summer, hardly any consideration is given the workers who bear the brunt of hard times. Statisticians bend their brains to the task of estimating whether profits will decline 15% or 25% in 1930, but no attention is paid to workers' income and hardly any more as to whether he is to have a chance to make a living.

Construction and automobiles are considered the leading forces in depression and recovery. The auto slump that started last fall continues unabated, and the industry looks to the production of 1,000,000 fewer cars in 1930. That means a smaller demand for steel, textiles, electrical equipment and all the products that go into auto building. In construction no marked recovery is expected.

Profits Rise

Workers' attention is called to the prospect that many employers will attempt to justify wage cuts with stories of falling profits. But the net income available for dividends for 1929 is estimated at \$3,500,000,000 for 550 leading industrial firms. This is an increase of 17.6% over the previous year.

Poverty Spreads in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS (FP)—With more than 1,000 workers' families applying for charity during the first 17 days of the month, December, 1929, has seen destitution establish new records in this city unequalled during the history of organized charity.

These facts are revealed by the official journal of the St. Louis Provident Assn. family case work agency, which says that "district superintendents report unemployment the major cause of the flood of applications".

Joblessness shows the greatest increase says the report, in foundries, shoe factories, paper box factories, automobile assembly plants and construction companies. Workers over 40 years old are hardest hit. The survey takes account only of able-bodied unemployed.

Thirty-one cents of every dollar spent for relief during December, the report estimates, will go to families where unemployment is responsible for the need. This is the largest proportion of relief chargeable to any one cause. When it is considered that a family case work agency must also care for families where the wage-earner is dead, incapacitated, too old to work, non-supporting, or where earnings are insufficient for the family's support, the seriousness of the situation is apparent.

N. C. WANTS ANTI-LABOR LAW, TOO

NEW YORK—Condemnation of three Ohio workers to long terms in the penitentiary for anti-militarist agitation has suggested to the *Gastonia, N. C. Gazette* and the *Charlotte, N. C. Observer* the desirability of such a law in North Carolina to curb the union agitators.

WASHINGTON (FP)—Information received at the U. S. Department of Commerce and at the Chamber of Commerce of the United States shows that the coming six months will witness nationwide unemployment in the industries which supply the foreign export trade. Due to the severe business depression in South America and Cuba, caused by a drop of 35 to 55 percent in prices of coffee and sugar, and due to the steady drift of many European countries

toward hard times, American export trade faces the worse crisis since the war. Millions of American wage workers may suffer between now and July, from the collapse of foreign buying.

The Department of Commerce expert on Latin America, writing in the *Commerce Reports* for January 6, predicts serious political unrest in Brazil, Colombia and other countries of South America as a result of the present business disaster.

Pullman Co. Absorbs Notorious Union Foe

PITTSBURG (FP)—Standard Car Corp., ruthless and conscienceless foe of unionism in western Pennsylvania, has been absorbed by the Pullman Co., whose own record against labor is unparalleled.

Typical of western Pennsylvania feudalism is Standard Steel Car's plant at Butler, near Pittsburgh. Fearful evidently of the results of its anti-union policy among workers, the company had one of the five state police barracks placed in Butler when the plant was built. The company donated the ground and many facilities.

A Company Town

The inevitable company town was built at Lyndora, inhabited chiefly by immigrant workers and their families. It was through streets lined by miserable company sheds that the police patrolled its force during the steel strike of 1919. Often these sheds had barn doors for the entrance of what the company considered its human cattle. On occasion the figure of the mounted cossack bent on mowing "guineas" and "wops", sent women and children fleeing through the doors into their sheds.

Across the street car tracks was the city of Butler inhabited by native born workers and bosses. Here the Mellon car company domination was more polite but just as effective. Years ago an old pioneer land owner and county judge controlled Butler, today his sons are in charge of the Republican city and county machines, and are physician and attorney for the car company.

Boy Scout Movement Anti-Strike

Standard Steel Car benignly fathers all civic affairs from the Salvation Army and the Community Chest to the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scout secretary once told the

Federated Press correspondent that car company officials hoped to decrease the possibilities of strikes through careful fostering of the Boy Scout movement in Lyndora.

Decline in the demand for steel cars led to perpetual unemployment in Butler, as the plant alone could have cared for the entire national demand in 1927. Orders were shuffled between the Butler and Hammond, Ind. plants as well as Osgood-Bradley at Worcester, Mass., involved in the latest merger.

In 1926 part of the idle car plant was made into a modern rolling mill unit of the Columbia Steel Co., unit of the American Rolling Mills Co. (Armco) which recently crushed a steel workers' strike in Middletown, Ohio.

This year the Austin Automobile Co., a British concern, took over another idle section of Standard Steel Car plant on the understanding that common labor was not to be paid above 36 cents an hour, the rate prevailing for such labor in all Butler industry.

Φ

FREE MEALS PASS OUT IN YUMA

YUMA, Ariz.—Free meals for out-of-workers who trudge through Yuma on their way from the valleys of California to the valleys of Arizona in quest of the illusive job aer a thing of the past for the associated charities has had a large wood pile placed in the yard of the city hall. Applicants for charity will be obliged to split wood for one hour before they will be given the price of a meal.

Racketeer is Pal of Matty Woll

By Harvey O'Connor

NEW YORK (FP)—Pres. Paul Vaccarella of the Loyal Labor Legion is back on the first pages of the metropolitan press again. This time it is because of the inclusion of his name on a telephone list kept by a drug ring raided by federal authorities.

Matty Woll's Pal

Vaccarella, alias Kelly, is best known in the labor world as the sole owner and proprietor of the Loyal Labor Legion, a racket which fetes prominent labor men on Labor Day. Its performance on last Labor Day was held at a Long Island resort, where Mathew Woll, a featured guest, pinned a medal on Edward F. McGrady, of the A. F. of L. as the outstanding labor man of the year.

Vaccarella also burst into the public prints recently in connection with charges by Maj. F. H. LaGuardia, Republican candidate for mayor of New York in the recent election, that the labor racketeer headed a gang of gunmen who terrorized Italian voters in the Bronx. His latest appearance in print is in connection with the sensational disclosures concerning City Magistrate Albert Vitale, whose connections with the New York underworld and the dope ring in particular are now under closest scrutiny by the federal government, the Bronx grand jury and the Bar Assn.

The Loyal Labor Legion was organized in war time to break strikes on the New York waterfront and assure loyalty to the government. Vaccarella was later closely associated with Czar Brindell of the Building Trades Council, who rounded out his career in Sing Sing. Then he preyed on his fellow-countrymen, organizing them into municipal service unions, exacting tribute from them in turn for deals with Tammany Hall. One racket was the publication of a magazine for which 18,000 members of New York Laborers Union had to subscribe at \$2 a year.

Notorious Gangster

Vaccarella was described in the *American Mercury* recently by Herbert Asbury as perhaps New York's outstanding racketeer and gangster and owner, in his heyday, of the "flashiest palace of sin in New York City." He was kicked out of the Longshoremen's Union by T. V. O'Connor then president, but later held a lucrative job in the New York District Council.

The Loyal Labor Legion's only apparent activity is social and is concentrated on the Labor Day affair, at which liquor and oratory are the "pieces de resistance". The culmination of the affair is the award of a medal to the "most outstanding labor man of the year." McGrady was rewarded last Labor Day for his efforts in "smashing the Left wing in the New York Needle trades."

12 Lynchings Known in 1929

NEW YORK (FP)—Twelve known lynchings were reported for 1929 by the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Not a single lyncher was punished during the year.

Among those lynched were four whites, including a white woman, Ella May Wiggins, Gastonia union organizer, who was shot to death on a highway in broad daylight.

One of the Negro victims, reported the N. A. A. C. P., was a 72-year-old man, who was brutally beaten, his hands severed, and then thrown into the Sewanee River to drown.

Philadelphia:

Meeting in Philadelphia

Comrade Max Shachtman will speak before the Liberal League Forum of Philadelphia, Pa. on Sunday, January 19, 1930 at 8 p. m. The subject of his talk will be: "The Crisis in the Communist Movement".

Philly Class

A study class in the elements of political education has been organized in Philadelphia by the branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The class is under the direction of K. M. Whitten. The class is open to members and sympathizers of the Communist League.

The Militant
A Subscription to the Weekly for One Year
L. D. Trotsky
Booklet on the Program of the Comintern

Both:
\$2.00

THE MILITANT is making a special offer. A one year subscription (52 issues) to the *Militant* is two dollars. A copy of L. D. Trotsky's brilliant criticism of the draft program of the Communist International (150 pages) is thirty-five cents. Under the terms of the special offer, both the yearly subscription and the booklet can be obtained for only two dollars (\$2.00). The blank is for your convenience. Fill it out immediately and send it in.

The Militant
25 Third Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Name

Address

City State

I am enclosing \$2.00 to cover the subscription and the book

KARL LIEBKNECHT

Murdered January 15, 1919 by the German By KARL
Junkers and their Socialist Allies RADEK

Continued from Page 1

masses of skilled workers more endurable conditions of living, it thereby restrained them from sharp revolutionary struggle. In appearance, socialism became "red-cheeked". The party organizations grew, the trade unions bloomed. Revolutionary resolutions were adopted at branch meetings and the party conventions. But in practice the struggle was carried on only for small improvements in material conditions of the workers, not for the revolutionary overthrow. And since deeds are as decisive in the character of a party as they are in determining the character of a man, the social democracy became a party of reform and not of revolution, no matter how revolutionary were the words it employed.

Imbued with Revolutionary Traditions

Karl Liebknecht, who grew to his youth in the period of this moderation and petrification, who followed political and social events with the greatest concern, even if he had not yet then put his hand actively to politics, was in a way already insured by heredity against this bourgeoisification and mechanization of the revolutionary spirit. In the house of Wilhelm Liebknecht lived the traditions of 1848, the traditions of the revolution and the struggle for the republic.

Ten years ago it had already struck me, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted for the first time with the German party leadership, that Karl Liebknecht was the only one of the "permanent" leaders for whom republicanism was no purely theoretical creed, but a practical burning question. And, secondly, what caught one's eye was the fact of how little petrified he was in the conception that the evolution would be slow, that neither the state nor social relations would be set into motion before long. In this connection, it was for him no question at all of the theoretical weighing of forces, that would soon bring quiet, "peaceful" Europe into rebellion. The situation was not yet revolutionary, it was necessary to go to the masses in order to arouse them. And here another characteristic feature of Liebknecht comes to light. Before the war he was frequently reproached because he was very "broad" in his conceptions, that every form of activity was dear to him, even if it were not of much importance "in principle". The basis of this accusation was formed by the, for Germany, unusual animation of Liebknecht which did not allow him to give up any method of influencing the workers on the ground of some doctrinaire considerations. This also explains his intervention in the movement for withdrawal from the church. He had a good eye for new requirements, for new movements opening a road.

When he entered politics, the first signs of the imperialism that was growing stronger in Germany also, began to be marked, the strides of capital beyond the "fatherland's frontiers" for new sources of profit. The party divined the dangers of war arising from it, but only Liebknecht saw it in real life as the Moloch that stretched out its arm for millions of proletarian youth. That is how he was one of the few who hurried to the threatened youth to summon them against these dangers. The party forbade special anti-militarist agitation. It declared that the education of the proletarian youth must by itself arm them against the militaristic spirit and that the whole struggle of the proletariat against capitalism was at the same time a struggle against militarism. But Liebknecht felt the falseness of these objections "in principle". He saw that the "education" of the proletarian youth alone did not suffice, but that the youth must be stirred up specifically against militarism. He knew very well that militarism could only be smashed together with capitalism by the proletarian revolution, but he understood how important it is for the revolution to make it clear to the young proletarians forced into a uniform that their liberation from militarism could only be part of the general political struggle for freedom. The party leaders shook their heads over the special actions of this "hot-head" but the young Liebknecht stuck tenaciously to his cause. His revolutionary feelings drove him to it inexorably.

The consciousness of the threatening international danger fortified the inherited feelings of internationalism in Liebknecht. He was one of the few in Germany who

had the most ardent desire to know how things stood in the brother parties, not only in France and Russia but in any small Balkan party.

His trips to America and France, his close relations with the Russian comrades sprang from the consciousness of how immeasurably important it is to keep up international relations. And how thoroughly, how tirelessly he had himself enlightened on the complicated Russian questions during the trip to the International Congress in Copenhagen we made together with Leon Trotsky from Berlin: We know that for Liebknecht the International is no formal alliance of various parties, but it is his real fatherland as the principles of the Spartakusbund later said. The most precious political qualities of Liebknecht, even before the war, had to make him unpopular among a section of the leaders, while they created popularity for him in the working masses and in the International. He sprang too far beyond the limits of the German party not to be accused by the small minds of being ambitious. To this are still added his human qualities by which he also diverged from the prescribed type of a worthy party leader. He loved life; unrestrained and unconcerned, he clutched at it wherever it called. There was so little philistinism in this youthful Absalom, so little hypocrisy, so much of the childish joy of life, that because of them many overlooked the deep seriousness, the mildness and graciousness of his nature. I will never forget how we once came to Peer Gynt in a conversation during a walk. He knew the drama in the translation by Passarge and I told him of the gracefulness of Morgenstern's translation. He came to me and for three hours—it was already long past midnight—read Morgenstern's translation. When he came to the scene in which Peer Gynt hears the song he did not sing, the tears he did not weep, the battle he did not fight, lament in the rustling of the leaves, lament a life that was not whole, the features in Liebknecht's face tightened and he said: "That confounded half time, and in spite of it we can, and must lead a full life." Thus he was before the war, a fiery agitator, an energetic politician, a hothead, animated and jovial, a favorite of the women, a man good—as the Poles say—for fighting and drinking. In every gesture he was the son of his father, of the great leader of the people, of the great, lively man who could laugh like a child.

There came the war and its fire forged out of all these elements of the Liebknecht temperament the hero of the German working class.

The Imperialist War Comes

The war came. With the first reports the rumor reached the outside that Liebknecht together with Rosa Luxemburg, had been shot. The report over-anticipated the reality, but it showed that outside of Germany friend and foe knew from whom the struggle against the powers of war might be expected. Liebknecht was stirred by these precipitate events. On the threshold of the heroic period of his life he paid his last obligation to the party whose revolutionary power was his vanishing dream. The belief that August 4 would remain only a dismal episode caused him to maintain discipline and to abandon an open protest against the war on August 4. After a few days he saw that he had committed a great mistake. He drew closer to Rosa Luxemburg, whose strictly laid-down theoretical line was foreign to his broad, questioning nature and there arose between them, in spite of all differences in their natures, a life and death alliance.

In the first weeks of the war, they seek to go to the working masses; the government prohibits public meetings. Liebknecht is determined to raise the banner of rebellion at the second voting of credits. He endeavors to arrive at a concerted action by the fourteen deputies who voted against the granting of war credits in the Reichstag fraction. They refuse. Liebknecht, whom the cravens later accused of acting only out of conceit so as to shine as the only one, fought to the last moment in order to draw with him, out of the troop of hesitant colleagues, at least two, or even one, into the path of the joint struggle. It was miserable to see how, although he employed every means of intellectual and moral suasion, he was nevertheless unable to shake a single one in a fraction of over

a hundred men, to make it clear to one of them that it was necessary to break with all putrid compromises. It showed how much, in the final analysis, the collapse of leadership was a moral problem. Liebknecht remained alone. His features hardened, a bitter line was drawn around his lips. He determined to proceed by himself, despite the dissuasions of his friends. In that hour I saw how the last doubt vanished in Liebknecht, the last softness, how the great moral power was released that did not depart from him until death: the iron determination to open the road of the reawakening of socialism even if it were necessary to parry every spear with his own breast.

Workers Stand By Liebknecht

The struggle for the mud-trampled banner of socialism was taken up entirely in the open. The entire press sought to suppress Liebknecht, in part by calumniation, in part by making a bagatelle of his deed. He was to be terrorized by threats and by the suggestion that his sacrifice was futile. Yet thousands stood up for him. The declaration on his motive for his separate vote was copied and mimeographed by thousands of workers; it passed from hand to hand, aroused a feeling of responsibility and united men and women in struggle. Liebknecht became the storm center of the decisive opposition. Towards the end of December, 1914, when I arrived in Switzerland, it became clear to me to the full extent how fruitfully his deed had taken effect internationally. It was the first sign visible from afar that there were revolutionary forces in Germany. Lenin, that man devoid of all phrase, who probably measured most deeply the collapse of the International immediately understood that the decision to raise the banner of rebellion against the whole fraction was a decision that gave the signal for imperishable deeds. Liebknecht's name became one of the best beloved in the growing vanguard of the Russian proletariat, and it was no different in France, in Italy. In his *Le Feu*, Barbusse erected a monument to him as the only German, who illuminated the last point of French socialism like a star in the dark night... In October 1915, when the dispersed parts of the militant remnants of the old international gathered in Zimmerwald, and Ledebour, answering attacks from the Left, declared in the name of his partisans (later the Independents) that there was no Liebknecht fraction, Trotsky shouted out to him, amid the lively acclaim of the French and Italians: "For us there is only the fraction of Liebknecht."

When the report arrived of his arrest on Potsdamerplatz, many friends outside of Germany asked why one in his exposed position participated in the demonstration. Many saw in it a sign of a great internal agitation that must be capable of dominating a leader. What drove him to the streets was however, also consciousness of duty. Confidence in the social democratic phrase had, thanks to the betrayal of the social democracy, sunk so low that whoever wanted to form a new revolutionary power could not limit himself to intellectual general staff service behind the battle-front. Liebknecht's "recklessness" was profound wisdom and his prison martyrdom did more for the revolution than all the "cautious" endeavors of a whole party could do. The nucleus of Karl Liebknecht became a center of a radiating moral power that no measures of isolation could dam. The "I dare it!" reverberated throughout the world, stirring up imitation.

The Russian revolution broke out, the first army of imperialism mutinied, the first army of socialism began to be formed. As we sat in Brest-Litovsk around the conference table with Count Mirbach and General Hoffmann, we spoke over their heads to the prison convict and his people. The German proletariat responded to our call. The January strike broke out. None of us assumed that this was the victory, that German imperialism would yield, and in spite of it Trotsky rejected every compromise. It was necessary, despite the greatest danger, to show the German proletariat that we had confidence in it. It was necessary to show the world proletariat that German imperialism might smash us but that we make no voluntary compromises with it. Later, when we were nevertheless compelled to conclude the peace, to take the cross of Brest upon us and to retreat, we often asked ourselves uneasily: Do Liebknecht and his comrades understand our position and tactics? And Liebknecht

told me later of the torments he suffered in prison when he thought that all our sacrifices might be futile, that the German working class might not rebel in time so as to unite with us. He feared that we would go too far with our concessions, and summoned his friends from prison to act so that we would be spared the last bitter ter cup.

Fearful of the impending revolution, he was released by the government of German imperialism, which stood on the brink of bankruptcy. His first steps were to the Russian embassy. On the night of his release Bucharin let us know by telegraph that Liebknecht was in full accord with us. The joy of the Russian workers at Liebknecht's liberation cannot be expressed. Could he have come to us at that time no king was ever welcomed as Liebknecht would have been welcomed by the Russian workers.

When I came to Germany towards the end of December and could press his hands again after four years, he said calmly, without the slightest disappointment: "We are only at the beginning, the road is still long." And we agreed with Rosa Luxemburg and him that the distance to the end could only be shortened by tireless agitation, propaganda and action. Whoever saw how both of them worked from early morning to late at night, how resolutely they cut the last ties that still bound them to the world of half-heartedness by founding the Communist Party of Germany, whoever was there to see how they warned their own supporters against exaggerations in the midst of the revolutionary ecstasy, could grasp their profound confidence in the Communist movement of Germany.

Fallen in Battle

Liebknecht was not alive to see the new times. The first wave of the proletarian revolution bore him further than he wanted, tore him with it. In the storm he did not see the distance far enough. When the January uprising was suppressed and the social-patriotic government pursued him, no one dared urge upon him the thought of flight, even though it was clear that his imprisonment contained the danger of death. He wanted to fling himself against the pogrom incitement. On the day the assassin's bullet struck him, he brought up the idea of calling public meetings in the next few days. Then he fell into the hands of the executioners who wanted to strike in him and Rosa Luxemburg the German, the International revolution. He fell in the first phase of the struggle, full of confidence and the consciousness of victory. He fell as he lived: captured at the battle position. And we, who knew him intimately with his merits and weaknesses, we who understand the immeasurable loss the revolution suffered when this iron warrior was torn from its ranks, we say at his grave: "For us he will be a model of loyalty to socialism, of devotion and courage without which the revolution cannot triumph."

Liebknecht was not only inspired by a deep insight into the objective necessity of Communism but the still deeper personal yearning for the completely harmonious life that is possible only on the basis of Communism, and this yearning sprang from an infinite love and kindness a sympathy for every suffering creature, a readiness to give assistance without which socialism is a delusion. The world knows only Liebknecht the heroic warrior. Broad sections of proletarians, who applied to him as an attorney, received humane assistance from him, loved him as a man. Liebknecht's courage was the union of his love for every man and his discernment that in the period we live in, individual suffering cannot be helped without beginning the life and death struggle for socialism. He fell in the raging struggle. And thousands will follow him to the martyr's death until naked, hungering, wound-bedecked humanity will have the leisure to remember its martyrs with love. Soldier of the Revolution his father called himself. To Karl Liebknecht fell the honor of earning this title with death in the struggle. The Soviet republic has created the insignia of the "Red Star" for its most valiant son. Lay it on Liebknecht's grave, and may all of our friends know no greater honor than, through the achievement of this insignia, to approach the spirit of Karl Liebknecht who went the road that we want to tread to the end, even should each of us win the Red Star only at the bier. Berlin, January 18, 1919.

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

By L. D. Trotsky

Not Centrist in General, but a Certain Kind of Centrist

The article in the organ of the Leninbund, analyzed by us, endeavors to attack our standpoint from another side. "While Centrist," the author objects, "is a current and a tendency inside the working class it differs only in degree from the other current and tendency in the working class reformism. Both serve, even if differently, the class enemy." (*Fahne des Kommunismus*, No. 31, page 246.)

This sounds very convincing. In reality, however, the Marxist truth has been transformed here into an abstraction, and consequently, into a falsehood. It is not enough to say that Centrist in general or reformism in general constitute currents with the working class. One must investigate what functions are fulfilled by a certain Centrist in a certain working class in a certain country and at a certain epoch. Truth is always concrete.

In Russia, Centrist is in power. In England, it is reformism that now governs. Both of them—Urbahns teaches us—are currents within the working class that differ only in degree (graduell); both serve, even if differently, the class enemy. Very well, let us take note of that. What tactic follows from this, for example, in case of war? Must the Communists in Russia be defeatists like the Communists in England? Or should they be partisans of national defense in both countries, not unconditionally, to be sure but with certain reservations? Defeatism and defense of the fatherland are lines of class policy and cannot be influenced by "secondary differences" between Russian Centrist and English reformism. But here, perhaps, a number of things will occur to comrade Urbahns himself and alarm him... In England, the factories, railroads, the land belong to the exploiters; the State owns colonies, that is, it is a slave-holding state; the reformists there consequently defend the existing bourgeois state—defend it not very skillfully nor very cleverly; the bourgeoisie regards them half distrustfully, half contemptuously keeps them under a jealous surveillance, hoots at them and is ready to run them off at any moment. But at any rate the English reformists who are in power defend the domestic and foreign interests of capital. The same holds true of course, for the German social democracy.

Now, what does Centrist in the Soviet Union defend? It defends a social order produced by the political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It defends it very badly, very unskillfully, arousing distrust and disappointment in the proletariat (which does not, unfortunately, possess the experience of the British bourgeoisie), weakens the dictatorship, helps the forces of Thermidor, but as a result of the objective situation, Stalinist Centrist nevertheless represents a proletarian and not imperialist regime. That is not, comrade Urbahns, a difference of "degree", it is a difference between two class orders. They are the two sides of the historical barricade. Whoever loses sight of this fundamental difference is lost to the revolution.

«A Kerenskyism Upside Down»

Then what is the meaning, Urbahns replies, to your own words, according to which the Stalin period is a Kerensky period upside down? Improbable as it may seem, it is nevertheless precisely out of this formula that Urbahns endeavors to draw the conclusion that the Thermidor is already an accomplished fact. In reality, it is precisely the contrary that flows quite clearly from my formula. The Kerensky period was a form of bourgeois domination in the period of the impending proletarian revolution. It was a vacillating, irresolute, uncertain form of domination, but domination of the bourgeoisie nevertheless. For the proletariat to attain power, neither more nor less than armed insurrection, than the October revolution, was required.

If Stalinism is a Kerenskyism upside down, it means that ruling Centrist, on the road to Thermidor, constitutes the last form of the domination of the proletariat weakened by internal and external contradictions, by mistakes of its leadership, by lack of its own activity. But it is nevertheless a form of proletarian domination. The centrists can be replaced only by the Bolsheviks or Thermidorians. Is any other interpretation possible?

Still I recall that one is conceivable. From my formula: "a Kerensky period upside down", the Stalinists drew the conclusion that the Opposition is preparing an armed insurrection against domination of the Centrists, just as, in days gone by, we prepared the uprising against the Kerensky. But this is an obvious knavish interpretation, not dictated by Marxism but by the needs of the G. P. U., and it has not the faintest connection with criticism. Precisely because Centrist is a Kerensky period upside down, it is the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat that needs an armed uprising for the seizure of power. Precisely because the Thermidor is not yet accomplished, the proletariat can still realize its tasks by deep-going internal reforms in the Soviet state, in the trade unions and above all in the party.

Proletarian or Bourgeois State?

It must be acknowledged that in the article on Thermidor examined by us a half-step backward is made. But this does not improve matters much. Is Soviet Russia a bourgeois state? The article answers: no. "Have we still a proletarian dictatorship in Russia?" The article again answers: no. Then what have we? A classless state? A government above classes? To this, the article replies: In Russia we have a government which "apparently mediates between the classes, but in reality represents the interests of the economically stronger class." (No. 32, page 246. My emphasis (L.T.)) Without saying directly which class it considers the "stronger" the article nevertheless leaves no doubt that it refers to the bourgeoisie. But a government that apparently mediates between the classes and in reality embodies the interests of the bourgeoisie, is a bourgeois government. Instead of declaring this openly, the author has recourse to circumlocutions which do not bespeak intellectual frankness. There are no governments standing above the classes. With regard to the proletarian revolution, Thermidor marks the passage of power from the hands of the proletariat to the hands of the bourgeoisie. It can signify nothing else. If Thermidor is accomplished then Russia is a bourgeois state.

Is it true, however, that the bourgeoisie is the "economically stronger class" in the Soviet Republic? No, that is a plain absurdity. The author of the article evidently does not consider that in making this contention, he burles, not Stalin, but the October revolution. If the bourgeoisie is already economically stronger than the proletariat, if the relation of forces shifts in its favor "with gigantic strides" (mit riesenschritten), as the article contends, then it is absurd to speak of the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, even if it has lasted as a survival up to this day. Fortunately, however, the presentation of the Soviet bourgeoisie as the economically stronger class is nothing but a phantom.

Urbahns will reply to us that the article refers not only to the Russian but to the international bourgeoisie. That does not improve the matter at all. The international bourgeoisie is economically incomparably stronger than the Soviet state—that is incontestable. That is why the theory of socialism in one country is a vulgar, national-reformist utopia. But we pose the question quite differently. The role of the world proletariat in production and politics constitutes one of the most important factors in the relation of forces. The struggle develops on a world scale and it is in this struggle that the fate of the October Revolution is decided. Do the ultra-Leftists think this struggle is hopeless? Let them say so! The extent to which the relation of forces in the world will change depends, to a certain degree, upon us also. By declaring, openly or covertly, that present-day Soviet Russia is a bourgeois state, and refusing, entirely or three-quarters, to support it against world imperialism, the ultra-Leftists bring grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie.

What distinguishes the Soviet Republic of Stalin from that of Lenin is neither a bourgeois power nor a power above classes but the elements of dual power. The analysis of the situation was long ago presented by the Russian Opposition. By its policy, the Centrist power has given tremendous aid to the bourgeoisie to define itself and create the unofficial levers of

its power, its channels of influence. But as in every serious class struggle, the dispute is over the ownership of the means of production. Has this problem already been settled in favor of the bourgeoisie? To make such contentions, one must either have lost his head entirely or never have had one. The ultra-Leftists simply "abstract" the social-economic content of the revolution. They are absorbed with the shell and ignore the kernel. Of course, if the shell is damaged, and it is, the kernel is also threatened. The whole activity of the Opposition is imbued with this idea. But between this and closing one's eyes to the social-economic kernel of the Soviet republic, there is a deep abyss. The most important means of production that were conquered by the proletariat on November 7, 1917, still remain in the hands of the workers' state. Ultra-Leftists, this must not be forgotten!

What Would the Policy Have to Be if Thermidor Were Now Accomplished?

If Thermidor is accomplished, if the bourgeoisie is already the "economically stronger class", it means that economic development has finally been switched from the socialist to the capitalist rails. But then one must have the courage to draw the corresponding tactical conclusions.

What significance can restrictive laws against land leasing, hiring of labor, etc., have if economic development in its entirety is on the path of capitalism? These restrictions are only a petty bourgeois, reactionary utopia, an absurd hindrance to the development of productive forces. A Marxist must call things by their name and recognize the necessity of an abolition of reactionary restrictions.

What significance has the monopoly of foreign trade from the viewpoint of capitalist development? A purely reactionary one. It hampers the free influx of goods and capital and prevents Russia from becoming a part of the system of blood circulation of world economy. A Marxist must recognize the necessity of abolishing the monopoly of foreign trade.

The same can be said of the method of planned economy in general. They have the right of existence only from the standpoint of a socialist perspective.

The Russian Opposition, however, demanded and still demands more systematic restrictive measures against capitalist enrichment; it wants the maintenance and strengthening of the foreign trade monopoly and the greatest possible development of planned economy. This economic platform has a sense only in connection with the struggle against the degeneration of the party and other organizations of the proletariat. But it is enough to assume that Thermidor is accomplished for the very bases of the Opposition to become nonsense. Urbahns is silent on all this. He does not reckon for a moment with the interdependence of the essential elements of the problem. But for that he consoles himself and others by declaring that he is not in "one hundred percent" agreement with the Russian Opposition. A poor consolation!

For Proletarian or for Bourgeois Democracy?

If Urbahns and his partisans do not draw all the conclusions from the "accomplished" Thermidor, they do draw some of them. We have already read above that they believe the Russian proletariat must reconquer "all liberties". But here also, the ultra-Leftists stop irresolutely before the threshold. They do not explain what liberties are involved and in general, they touch upon the theme only in passing. Why?

In the struggle against Stalinist bureaucracy which reflects and facilitates the pressure of the enemy classes, the Russian Opposition demands democracy in the party, trade unions and the Soviets on a proletarian basis. It mercilessly exposes the execrable falsification of democracy which, under the name of "self-criticism", corrodes and decays the very bases of the revolutionary consciousness of the proletarian vanguard. But for the Opposition, the struggle for party democracy has a meaning only on the basis of a recognition of the proletarian dictatorship. It would be Don Quixoterie, not to say idiocy, to

fight for democracy in a party that is realizing the power of an enemy class. In such a case, one could speak not of a class democracy in the party and the Soviets, but of "general" (that is, bourgeois) democracy in the country—against the ruling party and its dictatorship. The Mensheviks have repeatedly accused the Opposition of "not going far enough", because it does not demand democracy in the country. But the Mensheviks and we stand on different sides of the barricade, and at the present time—in view of the Thermidorian danger—more irreconcilable and hostile than ever. We are fighting for proletarian democracy in order to protect the land of the October revolution from the "liberties" of bourgeois democracy, that is, from capitalism.

It is only from this point of view that the question of the secret ballot should be considered. This demand of the Russian Opposition has as its aim to give the proletarian nucleus the possibility of gaining prevalence first in the party and then in the trade unions, so as, with the aid of these two levers to insure its class position in the Soviets. Comrade Urbahns and a few of his closest partisans, however, sought to interpret the demand of the Opposition, which remains entirely within the framework of the dictatorship regime, as a general democratic slogan. A monstrous error! These two positions have nothing in common with each other and are mortally counter-posed.

Speaking indefinitely of "liberties" in general, Urbahns called one of these liberties by name, and it was freedom of organization. In the opinion of the ultra-Left, the Soviet proletariat must win "freedom of organization". It is incontestable that Stalinist bureaucracy holds the trade unions by the throat, now—with the zig-zag to the Left—more firmly than ever. That the trade union organizations must have the possibility to defend the interests of the workers against the growing adulterations of the regime of the dictatorship, this the Opposition long ago declared both in words and deeds. But one must take into exact account the aims and methods of struggle against the Centrist bureaucracy. It is not a question here of conquering the "freedom of organization" against a hostile class state, but of the struggle for such a regime under which the trade unions—inside the framework of the dictatorship—will enjoy the necessary freedom to improve in words and deeds, their own state. In other words, it is a matter of the "liberty" enjoyed for example, by the powerful alliances of industrialists and agrarians in their capitalist state, upon which they exert pressure with all means, and, as is known, not without success; but it is not at all a matter of "liberty" that the proletarian organizations have or strive to get in the bourgeois state. That is far from the same thing!

Freedom of organization signifies the "freedom" (we know which) to carry on the class struggle in a society whose economy is founded upon capitalist anarchy, while its politics are squeezed into the framework of so-called democracy. Socialism, on the other hand, is not only conceivable without a planned economy in the narrow sense of the word but also without the systemizing of all social relations. One of the most important elements of socialist economy is the regulation of wages, and in general, the relations of the worker to production and the state. The role that must be played by the trade unions in this regulation we have pointed out above. But this role has nothing in common with the role of the trade unions in the bourgeois states, where the "freedom of organization" is not only a reflection but also an active element of capitalist anarchy. It is enough to recall the economic role of the strike of the English coal miners in 1926. It is not for nothing that the capitalists, together with the reformists, are now carrying on a desperate and hopeless struggle for industrial peace.

To Be continued

◆

DETROIT-(FP)—Two women charged with accosting in the court of Judge Frank Murphy laid their condition to unemployment. One was the mother of four children; the only way in which she could get food and clothing for the little ones was to sell her body. The other was an unemployed waitress.

Throughout the World of Labor

The Split Danger in the French C. G. T. U.

The battle that took place at the last congress of the C. G. T. U.* involved an inevitable sequel. Only a few weeks have passed and already it is clear what it must end in. In the Parisian trade unions, the struggle between the *minoritaires* and *majoritaires* is intense, the latter contesting the most certain votes, demanding extraordinary conventions, and when they are defeated, sounding the call for factions—but without much success. The turmoil is complete and the restlessness lively. The struggle is taking place between the most active and earnest elements; most frequently it passes above the masses of trade unionists who stay at home discouraged. What will happen in January when union cards are renewed? How many will remain members of the C. G. T. U.?

The splits is in the air. At first it was merely talked about. Now it is beginning to enter into reality. A few isolated cases. But that is how things begin. One has never seen trade union splitters saying frankly that they want the split—except for a few ultra-Leftists who understand nothing of the trade union movement and imagine that it is easy to create new trade unions and even a new confederation. The tactic of the *majoritaires* is everywhere the same: it consists primarily in maneuvering adroitly so as to throw the responsibility for the split back upon the *minoritaires*. French experience is quite recent and it must look back upon it at the moment when history seems compelled to begin all over again.

Jouhaux never declared openly that the split was necessary and that he was going to carry it out. Quite the contrary. He did not cease repeating that it was Moscow that wanted it, even when he capped his maneuver by having the first expulsions executed. He did not precipitate the operation until the minority became so strong that the normal course of trade union democracy would have sufficed to drive him from leadership.

He had no lack of advisors—strange to the trade union movement—to push him onto the road of split. They even found that he was delaying too long and sermonized him publicly, asking whether he would foolishly allow the leadership to be taken away from him.

The leaders of the C. G. T. U. are in a similar position. Even though the votes of the confederal congress appear to leave them a wide margin and consequently permit them to wait not to press events needlessly they know well enough that this position is insecure and may change very rapidly. In the present organization, they no longer have a solid basis. They know that there are still many "panic-mongers" among those who voted for them at the congress and that as a result they run the risk of seeing their majority give away abruptly. The trade unions are not the party—something they have completely forgotten—and a leadership that practises a supposedly revolutionary gymnastic which is only incoherence, stupidity and incompetence, cannot be imposed from above for long, for each trade unionist measures the consequences of it. A Communist nucleus can be a fiction and exist only on paper—there are more than one of them—but in a trade union there must be members, and when it is deprived of them, it is not easy to rebuild it.

Besides, the Confederation leaders have seen what happened in Czecho-Slovakia not so long ago, where, all of a sudden, the minority found itself the majority and turned the leadership out of doors.

Also, events are proceeding with an accelerated rhythm. Where three years were necessarily in Jouhaux's time, not even three months are needed now. The Confederal congress was held the middle of September. At the beginning of December, the decisive move is already begun. There are sharp conflicts, actual splits. At Tour-

*Confederation Generale du Travail, the Left Wing trade union federation under leadership and control of the Communist Party, against whose mechanical, arbitrary and erroneous policies a growing minority has rebelled—ED.

coing, two unions are cut off from their federations which have established new organizations against them. It is around them that the struggle will be concentrated.

From the day after the confederal congress, we pointed out the intention of the confederal leadership to split. Comrades reproached us for it. They did not believe it themselves and told us: "Why speak so soon about a split?" Experience shows how difficult it is to defend oneself in such a case and how the majority triumphs precisely because it alone knows well what it wants, because it takes the offensive and systematically conducts the fight to attain its aim. By constant provocation it seeks to drive the *minoritaires* into blind alleys, it pushes them to commit mistakes which it thereupon does not fail to exploit to the full.

The defence against the trade union directing center's intention to split demands above all an exact policy which alone makes it possible to pursue the battle as a whole. It is possible that for some trade unions life is possible, for a time, only in autonomy. The minority must be able to judge. It must be able to decide the necessary retreats, to give up, for example, trade union leadership, when the forces are substantially equal and there are always a thousand ways to contest a vote, rather than to sanction a partial split. We know what weight the position of the railwaymen had at the time of the time of the first split; the break among them was made precisely under these conditions. But all this is impossible unless the minority is given a solid basis at the outset.

We are convinced that the minority has weakened itself by the position it has taken; it has shown itself primarily anxious about numbers, as was demonstrated by its publicly affirmed solidarity with the "six" municipal councillors of Paris*, a strange political action on the part of men who make use of the name of revolutionary syndicalism. But whatever may be the mistakes committed by the minority and those it will be led to commit tomorrow it would none the less hold true that the responsibility for the split would devolve entirely upon the confederal leadership and that it would be the result of the incoherent and pernicious policy of the last few years. That there should be "Right wingers" in a trade union organization, even of the type of the C. G. T. U., is inevitable; a trade union is not the party and even the Communist parties find it hard enough to eliminate their Right wingers. The right policy for the C. G. T. U. consists precisely in educating and winning progressively the timorous and too-prudent elements, and to increase constantly the number of trade unionists fully conscious of the revolutionary task they must accomplish. Its present leaders have believed that they can lead the trade unions as they lead the party. The resistance did not take long in making itself felt, and in order to save themselves, they now want to break up the C. G. T. U. But that is what they must be prevented from doing.

—A. ROSMER.

Paris, December 13, 1929.

New Turn in German Trade Union Tactics

The convention of the revolutionary trade union opposition met in Berlin on November 30 and December 1.

This convention, which the German Communist Party prepared for many months, had at the beginning, a very specific aim. It was that of creating in Germany a sort of minority movement in the trade unions, of reuniting into a red bloc the opposition existing in the various organizations and thus to establish the first condition for the creation of new trade unions in Germany.

But in the course of the preparations

*Leaders of the French Right wing, led by Louis Sellier, who recently quit the Communist Party and ranks of Communism.—ED.

for the convention, a series of experiences showed the German C. P. the contrast that existed between its theses on "the radicalization of the masses" and the reality.

A series of strikes led by the party and the revolutionary trade union opposition remained isolated and were concluded with heavy defeats. The hope of arousing a chain of solidarity strikes by simply starting strikes at certain points, collapsed lamentably, and had to collapse because—without even considering all the tactical errors committed—the radicalization had not attained, in the German proletariat, the degree that presupposes the leadership of the party.

The leadership was incapable of drawing this lesson from the experiences of recent months but it nevertheless had to recognize that experiences such as that of the pipe-layers do not strengthen the influence of the party on the masses, but on the contrary reduce this influence substantially. It should then have had to adopt a different policy at the convention of the revolutionary trade union opposition, which ought to be the beginning of the elimination of new organizations; but the leadership maintained its estimate of the situation and its false evaluation of the processes of regroupment in the masses; in this way it only increased the prevailing confusion.

There were 1122 delegates at the convention, of whom 27 were from enterprises employing from three to ten thousand workers, and 25 delegates from big factories of more than ten thousand workers. But the great majority of the delegates had not been elected by genuine workers' meetings but merely chosen in small meetings of the opposition where, in most of the instances, only a fraction of the workers in the factory were present. It is therefore a great exaggeration to say that these delegates represented two million workers.

Nevertheless, the convention although entirely dominated by the party, could have marked the beginning of a broad front of proletarian defense against the serious offensive of capital, on the condition that the situation were correctly estimated. The principal report was made by the famous trade union strategist, Merker, member of the Central Committee of the C. P. G. He duly outlined the progress of rationalization, the brutal offensive of the bosses but he had nothing to say of "the revolutionary wave", of the powerful proletarian counter-offensive, of the "storming battles" of the working class that the Wedding Congress of the Party still announced in June. The delegates had still less to say about it. Their speeches indicated a profound fury against the reformists, the terrible consequences of the brutal employers' dictatorship, they showed everything save the impetuous drive of the masses of which the leadership of the party speaks daily.

The attitude of the English delegate representing the Red International of Labor Unions who, at the beginning of the congress was not yet acquainted with the tactical reversal, proved very well how surprising was the sharp turn and consequently, how disconcerting; the new zig-zag of the Executive Committee of the Communist International came so brusquely as to thwart the plans of Losovsky who had first intended to come to the convention himself. Under these conditions, the turn that has just been acknowledged was not a renunciation of the false tactic of the C. I. and of the C. C. of the German Party. Added to the wrong estimate of the situation, which is not abandoned, pinned on a system of erroneous methods that prevent the mobilization of the masses, this reversal leaves the door open to any kind of an interpretation and to all adventurist and opportunist digressions.

Berlin, December, 1929

—KURT LANDAU

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

 ROSA LUXEMBURG

The 11th Congress of the British Communist Party

The British Communist Party held its XI Congress at Leeds. One might think that the debate would be rather animated, in view of the incidents that preceded its convocation. But there was nothing of the sort. It is true that the most important things took place behind the scenes and that the public part of the congress was very limited. The Right was of course denounced, but the Right wingers were not named. It is a peculiarity of the English party. The Right is always spoken of there as an abstraction; no one knows or rather no one wishes to say who represents it.

The chiefs of the party, who did not have a brilliant accounting to present, recognized their mistakes and delivered speeches in conformity with the orthodoxy of the day. Pollitt, who remains national enough, did not announce that England is at present before an immediately revolutionary situation; after having discoursed on the first, the second and the third period, he finished his speech as follows: "If we are asked whether this country must follow the example of Russia, we will reply without hesitation: Yes! It is only by the social revolution and armed insurrection that the workers can secure power."

The little palace revolutions that had agitated the summits of the party for the last few months were terminated by the return of Gallacher to the political bureau where he will again find Campbell, Horner, Pollitt, Bell and Cox who had kicked him out.

It is not, of course, the kind of a congress that could give the party a new spirit, and it is very significant to note that in a situation as favorable as the present—as a result of the general discontent provoked among the workers by the policy of the Laborite government—it does not succeed in growing. Even the bourgeois journals are not sparing in their raillery towards the British party and even the Communist International. One of them under the title "A Starving Credo", writes:

"Three years ago the British Communist Party boasted of having more than 10,000 members. It no longer has even a quarter of them today, and what remains is rent by internal dissension, personal and political. The final disaster, over which there was so much lament at Leeds, coincided with the new policy imposed by Moscow . . . It is really time that the Communist International stopped discoursing and discussing on the decline of capitalism and took note of the fact that what is really declining in the world is Communism."

These journals are burying Communism too soon. But it is certain that the incoherent policy of the Communist International has been disastrous to it. Now it discovers that what is needed is a daily paper. When one knows what an enormous enterprise a daily paper is here, the huge sums it requires, one is stupefied by this new folly. What is needed to bring the party out of its atrophy, is a deepgoing examination of the situation and the policy followed since 1925. But such an examination would show that if the British Communists have made mistakes, the ones principally responsible are not they but the leaders of the Communist International, and naturally this will not be done.

At a by-election held in Scotland, the Communists presented a candidate, Isabel Brown, who received 1,448 votes, the elected Laborite having 18,465 and the conservative 13,270. The figure of the Communist vote is relatively respectable if one considers that it was the first time the Communists faced the struggle in this district. However, it should be remembered that Scotland is now the "reddest" part of the United Kingdom and that in the other districts the Communist candidates in the general elections received far from similar votes. Nevertheless, the deposit of 150 pounds sterling (about \$730.00) was lost, the number of Communist voters being less than one-eighth of the votes cast. The new electoral tactic, which should be studied as a whole, thus remains pretty expensive.

—S. B.

London, December 10, 1929.

The Austrian Crisis and Communism

Continued from Last Issue

Fascism is the second proxy of the bourgeoisie. Like the social democracy, and on an even greater scale, fascism has its own army, its interests and its logic of movement. We know that in Italy, fascism in order to save and strengthen bourgeois society, was compelled to be violently antagonistic not only to the social democracy but also to the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie. The same can be observed in Poland too. It should not be imagined that all the political organs of the bourgeoisie act in perfect harmony. Fortunately, it is not so. Economic anarchy is supplemented by political anarchy. Fascism, fed by the social democracy, is compelled to split the latter's skull in order to get to power. The Austrian social democracy does all it can to facilitate this surgical operation for fascism.

It is hard to imagine more concentrated nonsense than the reasoning of Otto Bauer which consists in saying that violence is admissible only for the defense of existing democracy. If this reasoning is translated into the language of the classes, it means: Violence is permitted to guarantee the interests of the bourgeoisie organized as a state, but it is inadmissible for the establishment of a proletarian state.

Bauer's Juridical Formula

A juridical formula is appended to this theory. Bauer chews over again the old formulae of Lassalle on law and revolution. But Lassalle spoke before a court. There his arguments were in place. The attempt to transform a juridical duel with the state attorney into a philosophy of historical evolution is nothing but the subterfuge of cowardice. According to Bauer, the application of violence is permissible only as a reply to an already accomplished coup d'Etat, when the foundations of "law" have already disappeared, but it is inadmissible twenty-four hours before, when it is a matter of preventing the coup. Along this conception, Bauer traces the line of demarcation between Austro-Marxism and Bolshevism as if it were a question of two schools of criminal law. In reality, the difference lies in the fact that Bolshevism strives to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie while social democracy strives to eternalize it. There can be no doubt that if a coup d'Etat were carried through, Bauer would declare: If we did not call upon the workers, when we had powerful organizations, a legal press, forty-three percent of the deputies, the Vienna municipality, to rise against the fascists who formed anti-constitutional bands attacking law and order, then at the present time, when the fascists have the state apparatus and base themselves upon a new law created by them, when we are deprived of everything, made outlaws, when we have no legal connections with the masses who are, moreover, manifestly disillusioned, oppressed and are passing over to fascism in increasing numbers—the proposal for an armed insurrection at the present time under such circumstances could be made only by adventurists or Bolsheviks. By turning their philosophy around 180 degrees in this manner, the Austro-Marxists remain entirely true to themselves.

The slogan of domestic disarmament surpasses by its reactionary baseness everything that we have heard up to now about the social democracy. These gentlemen beg the workers to disarm in face of the armed bourgeois state. The fascist bands are after all only auxiliary detachments of the bourgeoisie; dissolved today; they can be called to life again at any moment and armed twice as strongly as at present. As for the workers, no one will give them arms if the social democracy disarms them with the hands of the bourgeois state. The social democracy naturally fears the arms of the fascists. But far more does it fear the arms in the hands of the workers. Today, the bourgeoisie is still afraid of a civil war: first, because it is not yet certain how it will turn out, and second, because it wants no economic convulsions. The disarmament of the workers insures the bourgeoisie against civil war and consequently raises the chances of a fascist coup d'Etat to the maximum.

The demands for the domestic disarmament of Austria is a demand of the Entente countries, of France in the first place, and England in the second. The semi-official French journal, *Le Temps*, explains severely to Schober that domestic disarmament is necessary in the interests of external peace as well as in the interests of private property. In his speech in

By L. D. Trotsky

the House of Commons, Henderson developed the same theme. In defending the Austrian democracy, Henderson defended the treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain. Here, as in important questions generally, the Austrian social democracy is only the transmitting apparatus of the bourgeoisie of the victorious countries.

The social democracy is incapable of taking power and it does not want to take it. The bourgeoisie finds, however, that the disciplined organization of the workers by the social democracy, involves it in too much of an expense. The bourgeoisie as a whole needs fascism to hold the social democracy in check, and when necessary, to throw it on the scrap heap. Fascism wants to take power and is capable of seizing it. As soon as it seizes power, it will put it completely at the disposal of finance capital. But that is the road of social convulsions; it also involves a great expense. That is what explains the hesitations of the bourgeoisie, the internal struggle of its various social layers, and determines its most probable policy in the next period: with the aid of fascism to compel the social democracy to help the bourgeoisie reorganize the constitution in such a way as to combine the advantages of democracy and fascism,—of fascism for its essence and of democracy for its form—with the avoidance of the expenses for democratic reforms and, if possible, the expense of a fascist coup d'Etat.

Will the bourgeoisie succeed in this way? To the very end and for a long time, it cannot succeed. In other words: the bourgeoisie cannot create such a regime as will permit it to base itself peacefully upon the workers as well as upon the ruined petty bourgeoisie, without being involved in expenditures either for social reforms or the convulsions of civil war. The antagonisms are too great, they must find a way out either in one direction or another.

Austrian "Democracy" Condemned

In one way or another—the Austrian "democracy" is condemned. After the last attack of apoplexy, it can of course still recover and live on for a while its feet dragging behind it and its tongue barely mumbling. It is possible that a second attack will be necessary to put an end to it. But its fate is decided in advance. Austro-Marxism is entering a period of expiation for its political sins. The social democracy that saved the bourgeoisie from Bolshevism is now facilitating the saving of the bourgeoisie from the social democracy itself. It would be absurd to close one's eyes to the fact that the victory of fascism would involve not only the physical extermination of the handful of Communists, but also the pitiless crushing of all the organizations and all the points of support of the social democracy. In this regard, as in many others, the social democracy only reproduces the history of liberalism, whose belated child it is. More than once did the liberals help feudal reaction triumph over the popular masses only to be liquidated in turn by the reaction.

* * *

History has, so to speak, set itself a special task: to refute, in the crassest form, the prognoses and directives of the Comintern since 1923. That is how it was with the evaluation of the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923; with the evaluation of the world role of America and the Anglo-American antagonism; with the course set for a revolutionary wave in 1924-25; with the estimation of the driving forces and the perspectives of the Chinese revolution (1925-27); with the estimation of British trade unionism (1925-27); with industrialization and the Kulak in the U. S. S. R., and so on without end. The same thing is happening now with the estimation of the "third period" and social-fascism. Molotov discovered that "France is in the first ranks of the revolutionary wave." While in reality, the revolutionary situation is at hand in Austria, where—and this is the most significant part of it—the point of departure of possible revolutionary development is not constituted by the struggle of Communism with "social fascism," but of the clash of the social democracy with fascism. In the face of this compact, the unfortunate Austrian Communist Party has landed completely in a blind alley.

Yes, the collision between the social democracy and fascism is now the most important fact in Austrian politics. The social democracy takes one step backward

after another, makes one concession after the other, crawls on its belly supplicates, and surrenders one position after the other. But the clash has a real character, it is a question of the head of the social democracy. A further advance of the fascists can—must—push the workers and even a part of the social democratic apparatus far behind the limits marked out in advance by Seitz, Otto Bauer and others. Just as revolutionary situations developed more than once out of the conflict between liberalism and the monarchy, which later went over the heads of both opponents, so a revolutionary situation can develop out of the clash between the social democracy and fascism—two antagonistic proxies of the bourgeoisie—which will pass over the heads of both of them.

The proletarian revolutionist would be worthless if he did not understand, in the epoch of the bourgeois revolution, how to estimate the conflict between the liberals and the monarchy, and instead of utilizing the struggle in a revolutionary manner, throw the two opponents into one pot. The Communist is not worth a copper who, in face of the collisions between Fascism and the social democracy, shouts down this conflict with the naked formula of social fascism, which has no content at all.

Such a position—the policy of a shouting and empty Leftism—closes the road for the Communist party to the social democratic workers in advance and gives rich nourishment to the Right wingers in the Communist camp. One of the reasons for the strengthening of the Right wing is that in its criticism it touches the open and indubitable wounds of official Communism. Weak as the party is in making its way to the social democratic workers, just so is the Right opposition strong in making its way to the social democratic apparatus.

The ignoring or incomprehension of the order of revolutionary crisis, political minimalism, the perspectives of eternal preparations—these are the principal features of the policy of the Right wing. They make themselves felt most strongly when the leadership of the Comintern seeks to create a revolutionary situation artificially in an administrative manner. In such cases, the criticism of the Right wing has something convincing in it. But it has nothing in common with revolutionary strategy. The Right wing supported the opportunist policy in the most revolutionary moments (Germany, China, England). They improve their reputation with the criticism of bureaucratic adventurism, so as later to play over again the role of a brake at the decisive moment.

What Is Social-Fascism?

The policy of the Centrists not only nourishes the Right wing but brings grist to the mill of the Austro-Marxists. Nothing can save the Austrian social democracy in the next period—nothing but the wrong policy of official Communism.

What does "social fascism" really mean? No matter how shrewd the honest "theoreticians" make themselves look, they can reply to this question with nothing but the statement that the social democracy is ready to defend the foundations of the bourgeois regime and its own positions in the bourgeois regime with the aid of armed power against the workers. But isn't this the general characteristic of all "democratic" parties without exception? Did not Kerensky and Tseretelli smash the peasants and the workers in the honeymoon days of the democratic revolution? Did not the French Radicals employ armed might against strikers before and after the war? Is not the history of the rule of the republican and democratic parties in the United States at the same time the history of sanguinary clashes with strikers? If all this is fascism, then the history of class society is the history of fascism; then there are as many fascisms in the world as there are bourgeois parties: liberal fascists, radical fascists, national-fascists, etc., etc. Then what meaning is there in the appellation? None at all. It is only a noisy symptom for class violence.

In August 1914, we named democratic socialism—social imperialism. With this we said that the social democracy is a special kind of imperialism adapted to the working class. Imperialism unites the social democracy with all the parties of the bourgeoisie without exception. "Socialism" distinguishes it from these parties. Social-imperialism defines it as a whole.

But socialism, unless one wishes to

play a senseless game with words, is not the general characteristic of bourgeois parties, but constitutes a specific bourgeois party, which has specific conditions and tasks that are opposed to the other bourgeois parties.

One can answer to this that the hostility of the bourgeois parties among themselves is only relative. That is not only correct, but it is a truism which does not, however bring us one step forward. The fact that all the bourgeois parties, from fascism to the social democracy, put the defense of the bourgeois rule above their programmatic differences, eliminates neither the differences between these parties, their struggle among themselves, nor our duty to utilize this struggle.

The Austrian social democracy, more than any party in the Second International, is intertwined with the working class. For this reason alone, the development of the revolutionary crisis in the country presupposes a series of deep-going internal crises in the social democracy. In Austria especially, where the differentiation is belated, it is not out of the question that an "independent" party should split off from the official party and at one blow, as was the case in Germany, make it possible to give the Communist Party a mass foundation. This is no absolute road, but, according to circumstances, quite possible. The perspective of a possible split of the social democracy under the pressure of the revolutionary crisis can in no case lead to a more moderate attitude of the Communist Party to the future "Independents" or the candidates for the "Independents". The need for implacable exposure of the Left of the Max Adler type or of a newer type requires no demonstration. But it would be wrong if, in the course of the struggle against Fascism, one did not see the need for an approach of the Communist Party to the broad masses of the social democratic workers who still feel themselves to be social democrats and count themselves as such. It is the direct duty of the Communist Party to criticize the bourgeois character of the social democracy to these workers, to show them that to make the policy of the social democrats equivalent to that of fascism when the social democratic workers mortally hate fascism and their leaders fear it just as mortally, means to act in contradiction to real political relations, means to infuse these masses with distrust to Communism, means to strengthen the union of these workers with their leaders.

The Danger in the Stalinist Theory

It is not difficult to foresee that the throwing of the social democracy and fascism into one pot brings forward the danger of idealizing the Left social democracy, when the latter comes to a serious clash with fascism. That has already been demonstrated by experiences in history. It must be remembered that the equalization of social democracy and fascism, proclaimed for the first time by the luckless Fifth Congress, found its necessary antithesis in the capitulation before Purcell, before Pilsudski, before Chiang Kai-Shek, before Raditch and before LaFollette. That is entirely legitimate. Whoever makes the extreme Left of bourgeois society equal to its extreme Right, that is, Austro-Marxism and Fascism, is inevitably preparing the capitulation of the Communist Party before the Left social democracy in the critical moment.

This question is very closely connected with the slogans in perspective for the Austrian working class: Soviets of deputies and dictatorship of the proletariat. Generally speaking, these two slogans are closely connected with each other. The formation of Soviets is conceivable only under the conditions of a revolutionary situation, an aroused movement of the masses, under the condition of a great and growing role of the Communist Party, that is, under the conditions that precede or accompany the conquest of power by the proletariat.

But in Austria, more than in any other country, there is an open possibility that the slogan of Soviets will not coincide with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yes, will even stand directly opposed to it, that is, by the transformation of the Soviets into a weapon against the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is all the more important to understand and foresee this because of the fact that the epigones (Zinoviev, Stalin and others) have made a vulgar fetch of the slogan of Soviets, in which they substituted the or-

*I cannot dwell at length on this question, especially since it is discussed in sufficient detail in my "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern".

Continued on Next Page

Church Reports Marion Hell

But All that Preachers Offer Are Empty Promises and Pious Prayers

NEW YORK-(FP)—The department of research and education of the Federal Council of Churches starts the New Year with an extensive report on the strikes at Marion, N. C. which in the main upholds union contentions. For background a survey of the economic status of the industry is added.

Statements of Pres. R. W. Baldwin of the Marion mill and Pres. Mabry Hart of the Clinchfield mill regarding hours and wages the Federal Council investigator found to be at odds with the story told by strikers themselves. Against the mill owners' claim that the state 60-hour law was observed, it was found that many worked up to 67 hours a week. Against the \$14 average wage said to exist in Marion, the investigator discovered four workers getting more and at least 15 less. Torn from the Federal Council's report are these specimens:

Worked More Than 64 Hours a Week

Woman, spooling room, worked 12 hours a day, 64 1-2 hours a week, earning \$7.50 a week.

Woman, spooling, worked 12 hours and 20 minutes a day, earned \$8-\$9 a week.

Man, spinning room, worked 15 years for Marion mill, earned \$18 a week, 11 hours a day.

Woman, weaver worked 7 years for company, averaged \$17.15 a week, worked 11 hours and 10 minutes a day.

Girl, 15, has worked one and a half years, spinning room, averaged \$5 a week—made \$6.50 one week, the highest she ever made—worked 11 hours and 15 minutes a day, said about 40 girls in her department, on same hours, most of them 14 or 15 years old. Her sister, working through the noon hour, a 12 hour day, sometimes made \$11.50

a week at the very highest.

Man, oiler, \$11 a week. Man, sweeper, \$11 a week.

These workers told the churchman of the "almost deafening noise of the looms, the high temperature, the humidity, the dust and lint in the air" as creating extreme fatigue. In the Marion mill there was no ventilating system, the workers were not allowed to open the windows, no spittoons were provided, toilets sometimes overflowed and drinking water fountains were installed in the toilets.

The Federal Council report deals fully with the causes of the two strikes, the events preceding the massacre of Oct. 2 and union activity. Passing to the relief need, now being met by church bodies and administered by the Quakers, the report tells of this case:

Workers Shun Church

Mrs. Her oldest son, 18 years old, one of the strikers killed by the sheriff's forces. Her husband died last year. Has five children still living—boy, 16, girls 14, 9, 7, 3. Mrs. herself has worked in the East Marion mill for two years in the spool room, averaging about \$7 a week. Hours 6 a. m. to 6 p. m. Question: Have you any milk for the children? Answer: No, we have to just give them anything we got—sometimes some oatmeal, occasionally a little sugar—mostly just flour, pork and lard. Asked county for school books for two children as she could not buy them County refused. So girls go to school without books. "Teacher keeps threatening to whip them, if they don't bring books, and that keeps the children all tore up, but I just can't do anything about it." Mrs. said, "They say they're going to put us out

of our houses and it's sort of worrisome and I would like to get plans made for the children." Mrs. attended the Methodist mill village church, but the pastor "talked against the union since before the strike. Said it was the wrong thing and people ought not to join. Got so he wouldn't speak to us union people. So nobody goes to that church except a few non-union people.

Pontiac Has «Novel» Way to Cut Wages

PONTIAC, Mich.-(FP)—Workers in Pontiac plants of the Fisher Body Co., General Motors subsidiary, are getting a free college course in political economy, right on the job. They are learning how GMC keeps its promise not to cut wages, made to the nation through Pres. Hoover.

"Here's the way they work it", an experienced Fisher worker told Federated Press. He has been employed by Fisher Body for several years.

"Last year at this time I was doing the same work I do now—stamping out body panels on a punch press. Saturdays we worked five hours. I put a new die in my machine, got it adjusted and running right—that took about 3 hours. In the remaining 2 hours I would run out about 500 panels at 40 cents a hundred—that's \$2. I received that amount, plus 3 hours' day work at 60 cents an hour for the time spent in make ready—that's \$3.60. For the morning's work I got \$5.60.

No Pay for Make Ready

"This year I go to work Saturdays on the same job for the same five hours. I spend 3 hours on make ready—work far more difficult than the actual running. I spend 2 hours running panels at 40 cents an hour. But I am paid nothing for the three hours' make ready, and for my morning work I just get the piece rate for the panels—that's \$2. So I average 40 cents an hour, or 20 cents an hour less than my day rate.

"I put in a kick the other day, and the boss says: 'Go on home if you don't like it; there's thousands of men outside waiting for your job.' If I go home that means out of Pontiac, as this town is owned by General Motors.

Unemployment Raises Mortgage Shut-downs

By Joseph Hutter

PHILADELPHIA-(FP)—In this "city of homes", foreclosures on workers' house mortgages have mounted to such an alarming number that the real estate board is appealing for a moratorium. Three months after the mortgage payment has become overdue, the worker can expect the sheriff at the door.

In 1920, 402,000 Philadelphians were buying their homes, usually a section of rooms in monotonous rows of tenements. High rents were an incentive then to home-owning. Now unemployment is forcing home-buyers to lapse on mortgage payments. Fore-closures in the last two years were:

	1928	1929
February	627	1200
July	792	1150
October	989	1200
December	1041	1183

Lumber Camps Aren't Hit by Prosperity

By Harold R. Johnson

IRONWOOD, Mich.-(FP)—While Pres. Hoover is making "prosperity" appeals to the big employers the lumber barons of northern Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota are severely reducing the living standards of the woodsmen.

In the Hines camps of Wisconsin, loggers were cut from a previous wage of \$40-\$45 a month to \$35-\$40 with another \$5 cut promised after the first of the year. The big Backus and Brooks firm (Intl. Lumber Co. of Minnesota) was paying only \$35 a month for general woodsmen on Nov. 1 and has since dropped them to \$30. Other Minnesota outfits are paying \$35-\$40. All wages include board and lodging, but not compulsory hospital fees.

Michigan wages have not yet been slashed generally from their \$45-\$50 level

A Bit of Olgin's Infamy

In the Jewish organ of the Communist Party, the Freiheit of Saturday, January 4, 1930, we read a story which we translate accurately for word and reprint, headline and content:

TROTSKY STILL HOPES FOR A CZAR IN RUSSIA

"In yesterday's 'Sun' there is printed a special cable from Berlin about an interview that the renowned German writer Emil Ludwig, had with Leon Trotsky on the island near Constantinople where he is now located.

"According to the correspondent of the 'Sun', Trotsky declared that there is a possibility that a czar may again rule in Russia. Only—even the czar will not be able to wipe out the gains of the revolution.

"Trotsky repeated his old arguments that the Soviet Union is going downhill and—he still hopes..."

It is hardly necessary to say that a reference to the dispatch in the New York Sun (1-3-30), whatever may be the truth or falsehood in what it says as a whole, will show that it does not contain the slightest word that might lead anyone with half a good eye to write and publish the headline over the reprint in the Freiheit. It is a piece of knavishness, pure and simple, fished out of the venomous sewers from which come most of the stories against Trotsky published in the Stalinist press. Whoever may have been the pitiful scribbler that headlined the Freiheit story, the responsibility for it rests with the editor of the paper, Moissaye Olgin. Like Minor, his colleague in charge of the Daily Worker, Olgin is experienced in the struggle against Trotsky; he fought him and Lenin both before and after November 7, 1917. But at that time he did it as the feature writer of the Jewish Daily Forward. Then as now there was no infamy too nauseating for him, no falsehood too repulsive, and the pits of his dishonesty were bottomless. He learned 10 or 12 years ago, to grub in the garbage of the bourgeois press for some bit of filth to fling at Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik revolution from the columns of the respectable "socialist" organ of Abraham Cahan. He even reprinted and commented favorably upon the calumnious Sisson "documents" that "proved" Lenin and Trotsky to be German spies in the pay of the Kaiser.

Later Olgin changed from a "socialist" to a "Communist" with the ease of the man-about-town who changes linen for a new social function, but his congenital hatred of true Bolsheviks did not change. It now has an opportunity for expression in the attacks on Trotsky, which fall into line with his pre-"Bolshevization" day attacks. So little has changed! Trotsky remains a Bolshevik; Olgin remains the poseur and dilettante, the dandy who is the darling of Greenwich Village salons and the East Side cafes, the dabbler in Communist politics who sniffs the journalistic gutters for filth to throw at Trotsky and the Bolshevik Opposition.

Is Olgin so vain as to believe that any worker with a spark of the rebel in him will do anything else but turn sick to the stomach upon reading that headline? No, every proletarian, even he who does not believe with the Opposition, will stop and reflect that the case for the Stalinists must be weak indeed when they must resort to such proclamations, (so entirely typical of all the "arguments" against Trotsky) as that Trotsky, the lion of the Russian revolution, is still (!) hoping (!!) for the return of a czar in Russia.

But we cannot believe that it was written either by a worker or for workers to read. It was undoubtedly meant for the edification of Olgin's circle of decadent friends and admirers who fawn before the distinguished litterateur and cry: Bravo, Moissaye! A Hit! Yes, bravo, Moissaye! On to further infamies!

In the northern lumber district.

Michigan loggers average, from camp to return, 9 1-2 hours a day. Food is barely edible and many camps have no bath-houses and poor sanitary facilities. Body lice, bawdy houses, bed-bugs, bad bosses and booze are among the handicaps to a decent life. About a third of the loggers are unemployed. Job hunters sleep on the floors in the camps and likewise in town booze joints, often in the way of the thirsty

The Austrian Crisis and Communism

ganizational form for the class content.

It is by no means out of the question that, if not in the present then in the subsequent stages of the struggle, the Austrian social democracy will see itself forced to proclaim the general strike (as the British General Council of Trade Unions did in 1926) and even to sanction the creation of Soviets so that the leadership may remain all the more securely in its hands. Naturally, this will be bound up with a greater and lesser crisis in the party. Friedrich Adler will have to be dragged out of reserve, and others besides. Max Adler, or some one even more to the "Left" will again show that Soviets plus democracy give the combined state and liberate us from the necessity of seizing power and the dictatorship. Not only the social democratic workers, but also the worker-Communists, who are accustomed to hear day in and day out that the social democracy and fascism are one and the same thing, will be taken by surprise by such a stage in the development of the struggle between the social democracy and fascism. And yet this stage would be more complicated, a more integrated system of betrayal of the interests of the proletariat by the social democracy. For under the leadership of the Austro-Marxists, the Soviets would not only not be the organs of struggle of the proletariat for power but the instrument for holding the proletariat back from an attempt at taking power.

In Germany, such an attempt, at least on a broad scale, would be impossible because the Communist Party there presents too great a force. But things are different in Austria. In the case of a rapid unfolding of events, the culminating point can be reached long before the Communist Party has awakened from its isolation and weakness. The Soviets in the hands of the Austro-Marxists can prove to be a mechanism that gives them the possibility of robbing the workers of the revolutionary situation for the second time, and thereby for the second time saving bourgeois society, and in this case, by the inevitable establishment of open fascism. It is needless to say that in such a case, the very ribs of the social democracy would be broken under the boots of fascism. Politics knows no gratitude.

The slogans of Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat have a purely propagandistic significance in Austria to day. Not because Austria is so far removed from a revolutionary situation but because the bourgeois regime is equipped

means—the social democracy. Contrary to the babblers and phrase-mongers, the task of the Communist Party in Austria does not now consist in "arming"—with what?—"the masses"—which?—"and leading them to the final decisive struggle", but rather in "patiently enlightening" (Lenin in April 1917!) the masses. The success of this propagandistic work can be all the quicker and more powerful the better the Communist Party understands what is happening before its eyes.

Above all the stupid, empty, more than audacious equalization of the social democracy with fascism must be thrown into the discard.

The experiences of 1918-19 and the role of the social democracy in the Soviet system must be recalled to the Austrian Communists.

"Domestic disarmament" must be opposed by the slogan of arming the workers. This slogan is now much more immediate and important than the slogan of Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Put Bauer up as a fascist and the worker does not understand it. But when he is told that Bauer wants to disarm the worker in the end, and thereby deliver him to the fascists—the worker will understand, for this corresponds to his political experience.

One must not believe that one can replace one's lack of strength by roaring, howling and radical words. One must stop fitting the real course of events into the cheap schema of Stalin and Molotov. It must be made clear that neither of them understands anything. The first step toward a rebirth must be the reestablishment of the Left Opposition in the party. But in Austria, as in other countries, a few supplementary lessons of history are still needed before the Communists find the right road. It is the task of the Opposition to prepare this transition. No matter how weak in numbers the Left Opposition may be in Austria, even in comparison with the Communist Party, its functions are nevertheless the same: Propaganda, patient enlightenment. There remains only the wish that the Austrian Communist Opposition will succeed, in the next period, in issuing a regularly published organ, if possible—a weekly paper, which will carry on the propagandist work keeping pace with events.

The publication of such an organ requires great efforts. But it is a task that cannot be postponed. That is why it must be solved.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

ANOTHER "VICTORY" IN THE INDEPENDENT

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

No doubt, by the time this appears in the *Militant*, the *Freiheit* will have reported another victory for the Party in the Minneapolis Independent Workmen's Circle, Branch 89. It seems that the more decisively the Party defeats itself in the mass organizations with its "barricade" policies the more triumphantly it proclaims victories.

The scene this time, was the election of a delegate to the special convention of the order to be held in Boston, January 12, 1930. After weeks of campaigning in the *Freiheit*, and caucusing with every element willing to negotiate, Moses was finally able to gather together a motley support for himself at the meeting.

In the front rank of the supporters of the Communist party policy and its candidate stood such gentry as H. Supak, well-known needle trades boss, S. Segal, proprietor of a men's garment shop, Shulberg novelty perfume manufacturer, and others of this ilk. This alliance is an excellent illustration of how extreme "Leftism" in theory goes hand in hand with open opportunism in practice. Moses is the same one we have many times exposed for the same practices while in the Party. This is the same Moses who shrieked for our expulsion as "renegades" and "counter-revolutionaries".

Now although the open support of the bosses contributed somewhat to the defeat of the Party, the outstanding honors in all justice, must be given to comrade Saltzman himself. Moses, it seems, was doing a fairly good job organizing his group in preparation for the elections, when the aforementioned strode upon the scene. First on learning, that I, Berg, secretary of the local branch was nominated in opposition to Moses, he launched a campaign of attack against him and all those who might support him as "Trotskyists," "renegades" and "counter-revolutionaries", although Friend Berg is quite innocent of the charge.

In reality, Berg is a typical Left wing I. W. O. worker of whom there are hundreds in the organization, loyal, painstaking and unalterably opposed to the policy of the party in the Independent, and to Moses, whom the party has entrusted with the execution of that policy. No factor contributed more towards crystallizing opposition to the party than the charge that all those who supported Berg as a delegate to the convention were "Trotskyites", "renegades" and counter-revolutionaries. Every self-respecting Left winger, not befuddled by the new phraseology (and many who were) rebelled against this schoolmaster threat and voted overwhelmingly for Berg, though normally their vote might have gone to the party.

It is regrettable that our own comrades did not clearly take the lead for the position of the Communist Opposition. No clear voice was raised in defence of Communism and the Communist party as against the distortions and hysteria of the present party misleadership. It is true that the provocations of the Party bring out passionate rebellion from honest proletarians; but a Leninist direction must be given to this healthy movement, or it will be lost in the swamp of reaction and may become anti-Communist in character. It is above all essential at present for the comrades of the Opposition to clearly define before the membership its policy on all questions pertaining to the future of the order. A means must be given the Left wing (now repulsed by the Party) of rallying around Left traditions and preserve them against the black hand of reaction now reaching out for control of the order.

And this raises the question of the immediate development of a definite Left wing group in the Independent, one which will openly, militantly and clearly speak and act for Communist principles, criticising the maneuvers and phrasemongering of the Party and resolutely fighting for the preservation of proletarian policies within the order.

C. C.

BAKERSFIELD, Cal. — Arch-framer Charles M. Fickert, who sent Mooney and Billings to prison, is evidently getting nervous lest they be released. In a speech before the Bakersfield Kiwanis club he pleaded that he is not "persecuting" the two men; he is only fighting the "anarchistic" organizations that are trying to undermine the foundations of the government.

DIARY OF AN UNEMPLOYED PLUMBER

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

Inspired by the dazzling figures of projected construction that President Hoover and the lesser presidents of the railroads and business corporations have been announcing so repeatedly for the past few weeks; spurred on by the contentions of President Green in chorus with the whole capitalist press, that as a consequence of the stock market crash the speculative capital will be diverted to "legitimate" business, and primarily to building construction, I had set my alarm clock the previous night for an early morning hour. I had a feeling of confidence that with sufficient effort I would undoubtedly get a job.

Carried on the wings of my new ambition getting up was not difficult although it was still dark. I grabbed the *World*, and—to my great surprise—there was over a column of plumbers' ads. It flashed through my mind that only lunatics invented the myth about a depression in this country. My hand was itchy at the thought of my first pay envelope. I could see the happy face of my wife when at last I announce to her that she can have the money to pay back part of the grocer's bill. Right there and then I decided what creditor can wait longest for his money. But, alas, upon closer examination of the ads, I realized that I was looking at the "situation wanted" section. There were men stating their long experience, high qualities, great speed, excellent references, all around, knowing also steam, lead wiping, etc., etc. and offering themselves to the highest bidder.

Having realized my mistake, I quickly turned the page and without difficulty found the place where once ads for plumbers used to be. As an ugly monument to the prosperous boom days there was the following ad: "Plumber's helper wanted; three dollars a day; husky; one who can work alone; must have own tools. Call early...." They don't want a helper, they want a mechanic sufficiently starved to be willing to work for a helper's wage.

But this was not enough to discourage me this morning. I resolved to set out in search of a job, ads or no ads. I revisited all the contractors I worked for in the past, who for the last six months have been telling me in the same monotonous voice, "nothing doing". "Aren't you in on President Hoover's construction projects?" I asked one of them indignantly. They did not know what I was talking about; they thought me insane.

With every place I had been to, my spirit dropped lower, my confidence of the morning failed me more and more. I was growing desperate. Walking from one end of the city to another, from the Bronx to Manhattan, covering all the plumbing shops on the way, all kinds of thoughts entered my mind. I envied the shop and factory workers. Their industries are concentrated in definite localities, they have their "markets". Although the results might be the same, at least the process of looking for a job is not such a painful one.

Some argue that in the building trades it is impossible to divide the work equally. If the bosses were compelled to hire a new set of men for each building through a labor bureau controlled by the workers, every man in the trade would get his share of work.

As it is now, one must be related to the boss, or lick the boots of the union

officialdom in order to be "fixed up". But what does the officialdom care about unemployment? Only a few weeks ago their salary was raised \$25, making it a total of \$125 a week, besides "extras".

This reminds me. I shall have to borrow some money to pay my dues. Work or no work, this must be paid for otherwise there is a fine imposed. I hope no plumbers died this month. Every dead plumber means an addition of fifty cents to the dues. They sure have been dying lately. Is it because of starvation? —P

WHO SUPPORTS THE STALINISTS?

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

If I am to judge the role of the Communist Party today by the Minneapolis membership—especially the Jewish section—as well as its supporters, then I must assert that only a miracle can save the situation. As well believe in Stalin's theory of building socialism in one country.

Let us consider for a moment the standard-bearers of Communism, those who are "strengthening the position of the C.I. line" in the workers' movement.

First we have Supak, a manufacturer who exploits from 60-80 workers, and exploits them in the most refined manner, in whose shop the Amalgamated established the union. As soon as the "contract" was completed with the boss, this gentleman was established in the leading councils of the Party.

Then, take A. Sachs, boss plumber, another "comrade", who amassed enough wealth from workers' sweat to build a beautiful home in the fashionable Lake Harriet district.

And Mr. Sell. Every Jewish carpenter or building trades worker knows I. Sell. He is one of the worse exploiters and slave drivers of his men. Yet he also is a standard bearer of the Communist Party today.

Store keepers who donate \$25 at a time to Talmud Torahs and other Jewish bourgeois institutions; sweatshop bosses like Segal; boss barbers like Wolk; American Legion members like Singer and Fink—all these types stand today in the front rank of the Jewish Communist movement in Minneapolis.

Worker-comrades of the Party! What does this mean? Does this not show a dangerous degeneration of the Party support and membership? Is it surprising that the Communist Party which bases itself on an overwhelmingly non-proletarian support, should conduct its bitterest struggles against the Leninist Opposition? It is the duty of all serious Communists, inside and outside the Party to mercilessly pick out and expose the petty-bourgeois elements in the Party and to fight against the wrong policies which allow them to develop in the movement.

Enlist yourself in the struggle to purify the movement from petty bourgeois influences!

MAX KAUFMAN

PEONAGE ON HIGH SEAS

SAN FRANCISCO (FP)—A story of peonage on the high seas was told in the court of Judge St. Sure in San Francisco, when James Lamey, colored cook on a United Fruit Co. vessel, was awarded \$500 damages. Lamey proved that Capt. George Eppelman had chained him to a stanchion in the forward peak of the ship for four days because he had refused to paint the mess room, since this was the mess boy's duty.

DAILY WORKER AND ILLINOIS STRIKE

(The *Daily Worker* recently printed a vicious attack upon the work of the Communist League and its supporters in the recent Illinois miners' strike. The following excerpt from a letter by comrade Joseph Angelo, member of the League and one of the best known militants in the National Miners Union speaks for itself.—Ed.)

Springfield, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

The *Daily Worker* is surely getting rambunctious when it stoops so blankety-blank low as to call me a "stool-pigeon, renegade, etc." in its columns. I did my share in this last strike, more than some C. P. members, as for instance, X, who would not go on a picket line because he might be arrested, or Y who would not address a mass meeting in Springfield because warrants were out for his arrest. I was on the picket line in Springfield and led the Taylorville miners to Auburn where we pulled that mine out on strike. I organized the first relief committee and went out and collected relief for the Taylorville marchers. I spoke at Taylorville and when I found out that although every mine was out on strike in that section, no strike committees were organized, I urged the miners immediately to organize strike committees, not only mine strike committees but committees of other workers as well, yet this was not done because X cannot see further than his nose....

—JOSEPH ANGELO

ON TROTSKY

Writing apropos the articles of comrade Trotsky that have been appearing in the *Militant*, the Canadian *One Big Union Bulletin* (12-19-1929) remarks in its editorial entitled "The Growing Influence of Trotsky": "He (Trotsky) commands the respect of both friends and foes and yet he never compromises in the slightest degree. The same undaunted spirit reveals itself whether in conflict with Stalin or the capitalist world. For ourselves we can only say we have gleaned more from his works than from those of any other current Russian writer." We would like to suggest that the *O. B. U. Bulletin* reprint, therefore, the article by comrade Trotsky entitled "Syndicalism and Communism" which appeared in a recent issue of the *Militant*. It would be of particular interest to the readers of the *Bulletin*!

Where to Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Belmont News Co., 101 East 5th St.; Western News Stand, Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's Book Shop, 65 Sixth Street

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Gale's Book Shop 303 Tenth St. N. W.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; and on various newsstands.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.

BOSTON, MASS.: Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach St., near Washington.

ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 5th & Market; 11th & Market; 13th & Market; Market between 19th; 9th & Locust; Warwick's News Depot, 262 So. 11th St.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Blederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and Branches of the Communist League of America.

In German

In English

In Jewish

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA BY L. D. TROTSKY

After reading this book by Leon Trotsky, now available in three languages, the reader will have a clear picture of the viewpoint of the Russian Opposition and the origin of the present state of affairs in the Soviet Republic. This volume includes a detailed exposure of the campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood conducted against the Russian Opposition and its leader, Trotsky.

TWO DOLLARS A COPY

Order from
THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III No. 3, Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, January 18, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Heavy Decline in N. Y. Jobs

Mill Bosses Plan Company Unions To Counteract Trade Union Drive

Federated Press

While right and left wing unions plan further organization in the south, the A.F. of L. unions by a "spirit of cooperation and friendship" for the employers, the National Textile Workers Union by militant class conflict, boss morale in the textile industry is bolstered by a January ideological "inventory" taken by Textile World, trade paper of the McGraw-Hill chain.

Surveying the "guide posts" needed by employers in turning back A.F. of L. overtures, even of the meekest type, this employers' organ urges more employee representation—company unions—and suggests "sound 'labor-extention' systems."

"Selling" Labor New Chain

It advises employers to develop company unions such as now keep workers in bondage in the great Amoskeag mills and Pacific mills, the latter with southern branches. And by "sound" labor extention it means the kind that can be fastened on the workers without evoking spontaneous strikes such as developed in the Carolinas last spring. It means preparing the workers' minds in advance and properly "selling" them the new shackles.

A similar idea runs through an article on group insurance for textile workers appearing in the same issue. It suggests that this insurance should not be given workers as a gratuity but they should pay a little something for it, thus furthering "joint participation between employer and employee." The group insurance against sickness and disability, the textile organ declares, must be used to "create an entering wedge for real cooperation between employer and employee", in other words be the first step toward company unionism or "inside organization... useful from a social standpoint and also as a means of discussing labor problems and adjusting labor difficulties". The insurance plans are thus but a bait on the hook of the company union.

In order to get the worker to contribute "voluntarily" to other forms of inside insurance, Textile World advises that it may be necessary to have the company make a "gift of group life insurance to all employees who become members of the co-operative organization". And it is cheap at the price, it adds, being only \$4 to \$5 a year for a unit of \$500 of insurance, or less than the worker in the average cotton mill is robbed out of his pay envelope in a single week. This bribe of \$5 a year is expected to keep the spinner or weaver contented and loyal and efficient under the new stretch-out plans of operation. It is obvious from the article that by this small annual outlay the employee "indirectly benefits himself far more than he could by any other agency. The main object is to create greater productivity through establishing greater contentment."

"Moderization" Expected

Southern textile mill owners, who are specialists in the older forms of paternalism, such as cheap company shacks, controlled schools and subsidized parsons, are now expected to modernize their "employer employee relationships" by introducing the insurance features as more subtle but no less enslaving devices.

Insurance companies and powerful enemies of social insurance, state old age pensions and the like, are constantly pushing the company group insurance and more

1500 Unemployed Demonstrate in St. Louis Mayor Answers the Demand for Work or Relief by Arresting Two Leaders

By H. L. GOLDBERG

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—(By Telegram)—Under the leadership of the Communist League (Opposition), fifteen hundred unemployed workers marched through the downtown section of St. Louis to the City Hall. At a mass meeting there, demands were made upon the Mayor for work or relief. The answer of the mayor was the arrest of two of the leaders of the demonstration, Elmer McMillan, secretary of the local branch

of the Communist League, and Ralph Martin.

The numbers of St. Louis unemployed continue to grow by leaps and bounds, and thousands of workers have already scraped through an extremely bitter winter with no prospects for relief in sight, but rather a worsening of conditions. The reply of the Mayor to the demands of the unemployed shows what aid they will get from that source.

Tear Gas is «Popular» Weapon against Labor

By Harvey O'Connor

(FP)—Tear gas is becoming quite popular among sheriffs to disperse union pickets. Sheriff John J. Snyder of Northampton county, Pennsylvania, testified he used tear gas gun of the same type used by Sheriff Adkins in Marion, N. C. when bystanders insisted on watching him arrest seven union pickets at the Kraemer scab mill at Nazareth. When the onlooking Nazis failed to move on at the sheriff's order, he fired pointblank at them.

In all 26 pickets have been arrested for ignoring a court order that only two pickets are to be permitted in front of the Kraemer mill. Announcing that they considered this a violation of their constitutional rights, the strikers picketed anyway, the sheriff arrested seven, became angry when he found bystanders interested, shot tear gas at them and proceeded to make more arrests. Josephine Kaczor, union organizer, has been arrested so many times she has lost count; her face has been mugged for the rogue's gallery and her fingers printed for the Bertillon bureau.

It is hard to put the seriousness of the unemployment situation in the east into words. Pictures would tell the story better however. An enterprising labor photographer should be on hand in front of newspaper offices when the first edition with classified ads comes off the press. In Newark, for example there is a mob of 1,500 men in front of the Evening News plant daily, waiting to snatch the first copies from the newsboys. Groups of 50 to 200 building tradesmen can be seen standing by the four construction jobs in Newark, hoping they may be called. About the Central market, the labor cameraman could get shots of men, women and children digging into barrels looking for scraps of food.

35 Electricians Will Burn to Death in 1930

NEW YORK—(FP)—Thirty-five union electrical workers will burn to death on job-giving, death-dealing wires during 1930. That is the prediction of the Electrical Workers Journal, backed by the unimpeachable figures of the Brotherhood's insurance figures. Each year since 1922 has seen 29 to 45 deaths of union men by electrocution. Insurance statistics reveal moreover

thereby building a wall of defense against the demands for complete social insurance from the state that workers will make when they get organized. At the same time the adoption of these schemes is a part of the anti-union defense of the corporations throw up to meet the present crusades of the unions both north and south

Every Industry Reports Slump

ALBANY, N. Y.—(FP)—Not since 1920, the year of the severe panic, has any single month registered such sharp decline in employment in New York state factories as December, asserts the state labor department. The drop from November was 4% following an October-November decline of 2% in the number of jobs reported from 1,500 factories representative of all important industries.

Every industry reported the slump. All the metals showed general losses, with iron and steel mills cutting forces for the fourth successive month. Automobile plants were 15% under 1928. Machinery and electrical apparatus firms, all the clothing industries, and textiles reported workers dumped into the job market. Chemicals, glass, foods and even publishing and printing showed decline.

1929 as a whole marked an advance of four points in employment over 1928, due to the high level of industrial activity in the first three quarters of the year. The general index of employment was 98, based on the three year average of 1925-27. The average wage reached a top figure of \$30.47 in October.

Massachusetts Building Trades Workers Severely Hit

BOSTON—(FP)—Twenty-six percent of the 48,000 union building trades mechanics included in state labor department figures were jobless on Dec. 2, according to a report just released. The percentage has been rising steadily from 17.8% in November and 15% in October. In December of 1928, also a bad season for building trades workers, 23.7% were jobless.

Unemployment is much worse now, recent estimates showing half of Boston's building tradesmen on the street. Even so state labor department statistics for early month of December showed 72% of union lathers jobless; 34% of painters; 32% of bricklayers; 26% of carpenters, and 26% of building laborers. These are the most important crafts.

In Lowell 57% of all building workers were out of jobs; in Holyoke, 49%; Springfield, 24%; Lynn, 38%; Lawrence, 31% and Salem, 31%.

5,000 FEWER JOBS IN BOSTON

BOSTON—(FP)—Despite New England Council ballyhoo that that section is not decadent and has no industrial depression from which to recover, the manufactures census of the state department of labor and industries paints another picture. Figures just tabulated for Boston show a decrease between 1926 and 1928 of 5,000 workers, of whom 2,000 were dropped in the second year. The boot and shoe industry is Boston's largest, with printing and publishing second.

POLICE CALLED OUT FOR JOBLESS

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Seven police were summoned when more than 300 job hunters flooded the employment office of the Edward Budd Corp., auto body builders. The crowd rushed over when word was passed through the district that several men had been employed the previous morning.

NEW ORLEANS—Standard Oil of Louisiana is spreading the company union of its parent organization, Standard Oil of New Jersey, into this region. A conference has just been held by 12 representa-

that 50% of the deaths in the union result from occupational disease. Last year pneumonia—aftermath of exposure on crippled wire systems—took a higher toll than electrocution, with tuberculosis a high third. Falls from poles killed 26. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and heart

disease, the Journal points out, are occupational diseases, part of "labor's dividends". Louis I. Dublin, statistician for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., is quoted as estimating that a worker pays eight years out of his life for the privilege of holding a job. His average span of life is eight years shorter than that of his employer, of bankers, brokers and white collar employees

Birmingham Big Open Shop Center

Unemployment Rife in South

By T. S. Rawlings

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(FP)—The city selected by the Charlotte A. F. of L. conference January 6 for campaign headquarters is the "Pittsburg of the South" and its main industrial center. Six million tons of iron ore were mined near Birmingham in 1929 and smelted in its great steel mills. Iron meets coal in this city to assure its industrial future. The textile industry, absolutely unimpeded by any laws restricting hours of labor for women and children thrives on the lowest wage scale in the country. One third of Birmingham's workers are Negroes, used extensively in the mines and steel mills.

Among the great industrial plants which line Jones Valley are Tennessee Coal and Iron, American Steel and Wire, Sloss-Sheffield, Republic Iron and Steel, Lehigh Portland Cement and Pullman.

Acute Unemployment

Acute unemployment prevails throughout Jones Valley. Of 125,000 workers in the district, 20 to 60% are jobless, according to various estimates. The Chamber of Commerce estimates 20% out of work; the Associated Industries, 33%; the Building Trades Council, 50%; and the Central Trades and Labor Council, 60%. The president of the Birmingham Building Trades Council told Federated Press that 90% of the union builders were idle.

Unemployment is spreading throughout the south, bringing wage cuts in its wake. The Piedmont mill in Gastonia, N.C. has reduced wages 20%, cutting the payroll \$1,000 a week. The mill is owned by the Goldberg Bros., operators of several mills in Gaston county. Spinners suffered reductions from \$14.30 to \$10.75; card hands from \$14.40 to \$12. Spinners piece rates have been cut from 18 cents a hand to 16 cents. Creelers and spoolers who formerly got \$15 now receive \$12.

Sixty-Hour Week

The 60-hour week, with five 12-hour night shifts, and five 11-hour day shifts plus five hours on Saturday, is the rule in the Goldberg mills. Women work the night shift, never leaving their machines, even for lunch.

Open shop Chambers of Commerce in Dallas, Tex. and Oklahoma City have announced that they mean to fight the new labor drive to the last ditch. They have reaffirmed, in language as emphatic as was used 10 years ago, that the chambers will actively support and work for non-union conditions. Their statement followed requests from central labor unions within cities that the open shop divisions within the chambers be abolished.

Attempt New Frame-Up in Gastonia

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—North Carolina justice is out for another victim to appease its appetite for revenge in the killing of Police Chief Aderholt of Gastonia. C. D. Saylor, organizer for the Natl. Textile Workers Union, has been thrown into Mecklenburg county jail and is held for \$10,000 cash bail, charged with Aderholt's murder, while the state seeks its only witness against him.

This witness is Robert Allen, a striker, who recently signed an affidavit that he had been forced to make a "confession"

against Saylor, implicating him in the shooting on the night of June 7 when Aderholt and a crew of drunken police raided the strikers' tent colony in Gastonia. Saylor was nabbed when he appeared for trial on a perjury charge, brought against him because he swore that former Congressman Bulwinkle and County Prosecutor Carpenter were in the mob that kidnapped him and two other textile organizers in September.

Allen has disappeared. The flimsy murder frameup is expected to collapse.

Bishop Demands Catholic Unions in Canada

By John Robur

OTTAWA—(FP)—Archbishop Forbes of Ottawa has issued a pastoral letter calling upon Catholics in the Ottawa diocese to form national Catholic unions. These unions already exist in the province of Quebec but have very little strength elsewhere. In the same pastoral the Archbishop directs Catholic farmers to form cooperative organizations along religious lines.

Canada, it is officially stated by the Department of Labor, is the only British country where there are trade unions de-

signed exclusively for adherents to the Roman Catholic Church. In England there are Catholic trade unions but they work within the larger non-sectarian trade unions.

The membership of the national Catholic unions in Canada is not now as great as it was some years ago. In 1919, the earliest date for which information is available, their membership was reported at 31,000. It reached its peak at 45,000 in 1921. In 1928 the membership reported by the Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada was 26,000.

Company Union Established in Elizabethton

ELIZABETHTON, Tenn.—(FP)—Company unionism is being fastened on the rayon workers of the Glantzstoff-Bemberg plants in this district through a "plant council plan". Details have been elaborated. Last summer workers, in two strikes defeated the Loyal Workers company union, and the big German firm promised to scrap the organization.

In the agreement ending the second strike however was a clause for the formation of workers' grievance committees in the various departments. These committees are the framework for the new company union scheme. The rayon plan has been widely used, the company said, by Bethlehem Steel, International Harvester, Standard Oil and other companies known for their anti-union stand.

The new substitute for unionism, the company candidly admits, was concocted in its own offices. It provides for a joint council in which employees and management have equal voice and vote in considering wages, hours and other matters. If deadlocked, they may by mutual consent submit the controversy to arbitration.

Cloaked with the appearance of fairness, such boards in other companies have effectively stemmed demands for better wages and shorter hours. The company usually manages to get foremen or lick-spittles elected as workers' representatives, while pressure, more or less subtle, is used to control the actions of the council.

Intl. Harvester uses its company union to put over wage cuts, break strikes and

introduce speedup. Standard Oil swamps the "employee representatives" under a mass of statistics to prove that wage increases cannot be granted. At Bethlehem the wage question is bandied about between committees and usually is smothered under the same weight of statistics as at Standard. Unionless, workers lack the punch that puts over higher wages.

Chicago Opposition Active

CHICAGO—During the past two weeks, December 29 to January 12 comrades Swabeck and Glotzer addressed three meetings at largely attended forums.

On December 29, comrade Swabeck spoke at the I. W. W. Forum, 1618 W. Madison street on "Wall Street's Dominance over the American workers." Over two hundred workers present enthusiastically engaged in the discussion. Twenty-five copies of the Militant were sold.

Comrade Swabeck also addressed the Liberal Science Forum (formerly the Plebian Forum) 1118 W. Madison St. on "The Platform of the Russian Opposition". This meeting was likewise well attended, over 150 present, participating in the discussion.

On Thursday, January 9th comrade Glotzer took part in a debate that involved the Socialist Club of the University of Chicago. The subject was "Can War be Abolished Under Capitalism". The affirmative, upheld by the Socialist Youth, presented the usual position of the Pacifists, as against the Leninist position of our comrade. The discussion by those present showed a decided opposition to the affirmative.

Other meetings are being scheduled for comrades Swabeck and Glotzer at these Forums, which should attract hundreds of class conscious workers.

FEAR SOVIET INVASION IN ARIZONA

PHOENIX, Ariz.—(FP)—Capt. James M. Palmer, military training officer of the Phoenix Union High School has made a startling discovery—that the neighboring city of Los Angeles is in the throes of the "reds" and that Arizona and the rest of the union are in grave danger due to the spread of Communism—so he, together with Supt. Everett C. Driggs of the Los Angeles district of Pinkerton's national detective agency, threw a "red" scare into the recent state convention of the Arizona State Peace Officers Assn. which forthwith sends a resolution to Congress demanding that the Soviet invasion be stopped.

60 Hours a Week for Women in Kentucky

Negro Workers the Worst Off

"Kentucky's labor laws are liberal." So states the Louisville Industrial Foundation, Inc. in an expensively printed brochure aimed to entice manufacturers to the blue-grass industrial center. But let not enthusiasts for southern organization conclude from this optimistic statement that nothing remains to be done in labor legislation in Kentucky. The definition of "liberal" is in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce experts whose next sentence reads: "Women are permitted to work 60 hours per week."

Kentucky's 60-hour week working women are considered under the head of Manufacturing Economies. The manufacturer's Eden on the Ohio has "none of the disturbing influence provided by labor agitators" who might protest that 60 hours a week is too much for mothers. "Louisville is essentially open shop."

Louisville's Labor Budget

"Living conditions in Louisville are natural and conducive to contented labor. Wages cover all family expenses and leave a surplus", it is stated. What these open shoppers regard as adequate living expenses for a family is exactly \$1,268.24 a year, or \$1,000 less than the U. S. labor department's minimum health and decency budget. The Louisville industrialists brag that the average family income in their city is 12% less than the general average for the entire country.

The Industrial Foundationists mix the 60-hour week, low wages, "contented labor" and the chance for high profits in their wooing of outside manufacturers. "There is no state, county or city income tax in Kentucky", new industries are exempt from city taxes for five years and other taxes are low, while starved school boards and city welfare department struggle on as well as they can with crippled funds.

There is money enough in the school fund however to turn out young mechanics to squeeze older men out of jobs and to scab on union strikers. "The duPont Manual Training High School is fully equipped to teach modern shop practices in all lines", the booklet relates. The Theodore Ahrens Trades School accepts pupils, day and evening, for commercial training and instruction in electricity, cabinet making, printing, bookbinding, plumbing, machine shop work, sheet metal work, dressmaking and millinery. These trade schools, manned by officials hostile to unionism, implant open shop ideals in children's minds and provide a main obstacle to union organization when the youngsters, their heads crammed with prejudice, go into industry.

The Negro's lot is not a happy one in Louisville. The town prefers its white, Nordic, non-foreign population. On the other hand he is undeniably a cheap worker, the Foundation admits. "It is generally conceded", says the Foundation in its judicious manner, "that the availability of Negro labor has been a favorable factor in industrial development. For common labor and many kinds of semi-skilled labor, the Negro in Louisville is well adapted. He is a tractable, dependable worker who applies himself to the job and works faithfully and constantly." He is rewarded by Louisville with a 100 acre park on the river bank while whites have one 2,000 acre park and many others in the city's upland section.

PITTSBURG—Officials of the University of Pittsburgh, the steel and coal operators' "cathedral of learning", are subjected to a devastating criticism of their subservience to reaction in a report just released by the American Assn. of University Professors. "The university", says the report, "is believed to be subject to pressure from interests upon which it is dependent for endowment and appropriations". The U.P. chancellor has been waiting, hat in hand, in the ante-rooms of the big coal and steel magnates of Pittsburgh for money to finish the "cathedral of learning".

The report deals with the dismissal of Prof. F. E. Woltman and the expulsion of Arthur G. McDowell, and William Albertson, students, last year. The students were kicked out for maintaining a Liberal Club in defiance of the administration and billing Harry Elmer Barnes to speak on the Mooney case.

COME

and bring your friends
to the

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE

at the
Militant Hall

25 Third Avenue (Near 8th St.)

on

Saturday, January 18, 1930

Admission Free

Auspices: Communist League of America, (Opposition)
New York Branch

Philadelphia:

A CORRECTION

Max Shachtman, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, will speak before the Liberal League Forum at 9th and Girard, Philadelphia on Sunday, January 26, 1930, at 8 P.M. Due to a misunderstanding, it was previously announced that the meeting would take place on January 19th. All workers are urged to attend and bring their friends. The speaker will discuss *The Crisis in the Communist Movement*. Questions and discussion will follow.

MEMORIAL MEETING

on

Saturday, January 25, 1930

at the

Militant Hall

25 Third Ave. (Near 8th St.)

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS

Admission Free

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America

LENIN LIEBKNECHT LUXEMBURG

Subscribe!

\$2.00 a Year

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, N. 3, January 18 1930. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 2, 1879. (Total No. 28)

The Minnesota F. L. P.

Six Years of Confusion and Disappointment in a Two-Class Party

By Vincent R. Dunne

Three hundred thousand workers and farmers in Minnesota, who have by their support of the Farmer Labor Party in the campaigns of the past few years demonstrated a willingness to move politically against the bosses, face another barren year and new disappointments.

The party to which they have given so much, stumbles towards coalition with the Democratic machine for the state and congressional campaign of 1930. If full coalition is not reached this year it will not be for lack of work and will on the part of a large and influential section of the leadership, but rather because this leadership is unable to come to agreement upon individuals from the different camps to head the ticket.

F. L. P. Policy Benefits Officialdom

Even a brief and hurried review of past political campaigns of the F. L. P. will be enough to convince any intelligent workman that the party has been dominated by people who read history backward, in order to justify a policy which, by no stretch of imagination, can be considered beneficial to anyone except that coterie of officials, who use the offices given them by the party for petty bickering and personal advantage.

Shipstead is of course, the outstanding example. But he is by no means alone. During the course of the party's existence, dozens of men have been sent to the State house, many county and municipal officials have been elected, several U. S. congressmen and two U. S. senators have been sent to Washington. Out of this numerical array, not a SINGLE man has appeared who measures up to the standard of a workers' representative. Not ONE among them has had either the courage or the vision to propose any measure, which would call in question the existing order and place upon the order of the day a thoroughgoing change from the vicious system of class exploitation.

Not one among them has ever had the courage to use the tribune upon which they strut, (like their Republican and Democrat brothers) for the purpose of calling the working masses into action. Rather they have held in check the ferment in the ranks in various ways, especially by truckling in a hundred forms to the prejudices of the most backward. A good example of this, is the action of state Senator Lawson in voting for the Anti-Evolution Bill (to bar the teaching of the theory of evolution in public schools). Lawson is also editor of a F. L. daily paper at Wilmar.

It is true that most of the leaders are in disagreement with Lawson on this and it is just as true that these leaders do nothing to expose and remove him and others who, by actions of a piece with the one cited, live, mentally at least, in the feudal age.

Always the program of the Party has been trimmed to meet the wishes of those elements who look to the countryside for support and approval. Without exception, at every turning point, in all campaigns, before and during each convention or conference, the proposals or demands of advanced sections of the workers have been denied.

Farmers Outvoted Workers

The workers have been outvoted in every state convention, the most important committees having been governed by a seven to three vote with the farmers always seven and the industrial workers three.

All the proposals by the Communists and Left wing for a closer affiliation of the unions to the Party have been hailed with cries of "split" by the farmers; and the "practical" politicians and labor "leaders" in control of the machinery have never failed to turn thumbs down on these demands. Two instances of this sort of kowtowing to reaction should be cited as typical. In several State conventions the proposal was made by the Left wing to give the local unions affiliated to the Party direct representation to the state conventions. After many attempts had been made to put this into effect, the workers, over the opposition of the farmers and the leadership, were finally able to achieve a half measure of recognition. The unions are now ALLOWED—to send ONE delegate to conventions, who has the standing virtually of a FRATERNAL delegate!!

For a long period the Communists, together with the Left wing, attempted to gain affiliation for a large group of milit-

ant workers through their co-operatives and workers clubs. The all too successful plans devised by the leaders to keep these thousands of workers out of active participation, make nothing less than shameful history. It is of extreme importance that workers generally review the history of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, that they grow familiar with the path along which so large a number of workers have been led, only to find themselves, after years of struggle and sacrifice, burdened with a party dominated by the ideology of the petty property owner and led by opportunists of the first order.

Of still greater importance, are the reasons for this state of affairs and a clear understanding of the mistakes made years ago which led inevitably to the present situation.

"Unity" in a Two Class Party

First of all, the condition of the Minnesota F. L. P. with its list toward merger with the old parties of the capitalists, is not the result of false and incompetent leadership primarily. Any political party composed of two classes, as is the case in this instance, with farmers and workers in the same organization, maintains unity only at the expense of the program put forward by the most exploited and propertyless section. The leadership of such a party can lead only as long as it is able to hold back the thrusts of the workers and satisfy the demands of those elements whose political outlook is bounded by the illusion that it is possible to achieve security under the capitalist order, by acquiring property or enhancing the value of that which they already hold, through reforms, half measures, etc.

The program of a party is the expression of its aims; if the program is wrong fundamentally, those leaders who base themselves upon it have no choice but to follow a path of compromise. Workers in industry always have before them the grim reminder of their position in our present social system. For them there is no question of property; the overwhelming majority have none, the vast mass face the problem daily of making their meager wages stretch out in order to cover the bare necessities of life. Why then do we find this state of affairs in Minnesota? Whence came the idea that together, that is, with-on the same party, workers and farmers could work towards a solution of their problems?

It is a matter of history that in 1924 the Communist Party under the leadership of the Right-Centre bloc in the International and the Pepper leadership in America, forced the merger of the Farmers Non-partisan League with the Working Peoples Non-partisan Political League.

Pepper's Bold Plan

This, to be sure, was the local manifestation of a plan, national in scope which, according to Pepper and his followers, was to make the farmers, if not the spear-head, at least the haft of the weapon that would strike the decisive blow for the workers.

Still within the International in this period, the Leninist-Bolsheviks headed by Trotsky, were able to check for a time, the development of this un-Marxian course: Stalin's theory of "dual composition" parties finally prevailed through the East at a later date, only to do immeasurable damage to the world revolutionary movement. (For a full realization of the enormous damage done by this reactionary idea, workers should secure and read the pamphlet, "The Draft Program of the Communist International," by L. D. Trotsky, published by the Militant.)

It is the purpose of this article to deal with the local and national effect of the false idea of dual composition parties and to bring out clearly, in this connection how wrong tactics proceed from wrong programmatic formulations.

The idea of Farmer Labor Parties, once planted in the favorable soil of the farmer-worker state of Minnesota, grew and blossomed under the guidance of a labor-farmer-compromiser type of leader, whose one burning desire seems to be junction, by any crossover, with some form of "progressive" or "liberal" political movement.

It is not without significance, that the F. L. leaders, almost without exception,

look upon the "progressive bloc", Brookhart, Wheeler, Norris, Frasier, etc., as the real leaders and have an almost child-like faith in them. Naturally, these leaders are knowingly or unknowingly expressing the wishes of the dominant group within the Party—that is the farmers.

The present maneuver towards the Democrats has at least a two fold purpose. First: to capture the Governorship and so to build up a machine within the Party which can be used in the future for bigger and better mergers. Secondly: it is now generally recognized that the Minnesota movement cannot stand alone. The leaders now understand the danger to the movement and are trying in this confused manner to give a new lease of life to the party, hoping against hope that the national "progressives" will come to their aid and lead them into the green fields of a new "liberal" movement on a national scale.

Workers Used by Farmers

With this political outlook, the leadership, from the vantage point of the farmers' wagon, from time to time sees bogholes in the road ahead and is forced to use the workers as pushers of the cart in such bad spots as political campaigns, financial difficulties, etc.

That the workers have nothing to gain from this horse play must be evident to those who give it a little thought. It must be evident also, that the poor farmers, those without land (the banker's hired men) are being led along a path that will deliver them, bound and helpless, into the hands of the common enemy, for although the farmers belong to a different class than the workers, they can be delivered from their bonds only by supporting the workers politically. The workers, because of their class position, must lead. Only thus can victory be achieved.

Does all of the foregoing preclude the possibility of the workers making an advance politically, through a Labor Party? Not at all; the fact is, that millions of industrial workers still are bound to the political parties of the dominant capitalist groups. A Labor Party based upon workers' organizations, with a program permeated with the idea of the struggle of the classes, can serve as an instrument in rallying the masses for a march toward the Marxian solution of the great problem.

Gertrude Duell Joins the Opposition

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Comrade Gertrude Duell, one of the most active members of the Communist Party in this city, becoming convinced of the correctness of the platform of the Opposition, joined the New Haven branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Having been secretary of the Workers International Relief, she was not only expelled from the Communist Party for supporting the Opposition, but was also removed from the secretaryship of the local W.I.R., despite the fact that there was no other comrade available for the post. The local Stalinists calculated that rather than have an Oppositionist as secretary of the W.I.R. it would be better to see it collapse and go out of existence. This is precisely what happened. Comrade Duell then received a letter of inquiry from Ludwig Landy, national secretary of the W.I.R., concerning the collapse of the local work. She replied with the following letter which requires no comment:

Ludwig Landy, Executive Secretary,
Workers International Relief,
949 Broadway,
New York City.

Dear Comrade Landy:

Responding to your letter of the 3rd inst. will say that you are correct—I am no longer secretary of the W.I.R. in New Haven. Nearly two months ago I informed the Comrades here of my belief in the claims of Comrade L.D. Trotsky and the Opposition and I adhere to the Platform and principles of the Communist League of America. I am certain that until the Comrades of the Opposition are recalled and take their rightful place in the Party, no unity can prevail nor can success be attained in the work undertaken.

I was instructed to turn the books and material over to Comrade Pearl Liebenson, 470 Columbus Ave., this city, who was appointed in my place. I have likewise turned over to her the 300 W.I.R. buttons and collection lists recently received from your office.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Gertrude Duell

A Real Red I.L.D.

And Hell Hath No Fury Like an Engdahl Enraged

The International Labor Defense, which lived a modest life for several years as a defender of persecuted workers on a non-partisan basis, has finally awakened to the implications of the Third Period and become militant. The formal pronouncement of this change in character, which has been in process for some time, coincides and quite appropriately with the elevation to the national secretaryship of the man whose name is a symbol of blood and thunder and sudden death—J. Louis Engdahl.

One of the indications of this emergence of the I.L.D. butterfly of the Third Period from the constricting chrysalis in which it lay supine for so many years is the formal and official discarding of the reactionary, counter-revolutionary, social-fascist and renegade nonsense about non-partisanship in the defense of class war prisoners. The regenerated I.L.D., having killed off with several blasts of its new horn its old time antagonists, the frame-up system of class justice, the courts, the police the persecutors and similar small fry, is now turning its devastating proclamations on other enemies, some of whom, alas! have been concealing themselves within its ranks and disguising their nefarious purposes by supporting and working for the I.L.D. and even contributing their Judas gold into its collections.

"Basing itself squarely on the class struggle" (at last!) "the International Labor Defense takes up the fight against all enemies of the working class." It is no less a man than J. Louis Engdahl himself who is speaking, and let all the aforesaid enemies take notice and run for cover while there is still time. "The I.L.D. cannot tolerate as members of its organization those who are opposed to its class struggle policies."

In case anybody should be in the dark as to what this bold declaration of war on the enemies of the working class means, Engdahl, who was trained in militancy for years under Hillquit and Berger and who learned from them how to hunt down Reds like the bloodhounds of Simoh Legree tracked the fugitive slaves, makes the matter clear. "The I. L. D.," says Louis the Seventeenth, "combats the hostile policies of Cannon and Lovestone viciously and those who support them . . . The theories and practices of Cannon and Lovestone and their followers are hostile to these class interests. No honest worker can support the views of either Cannon or Lovestone."

We can't speak for Lovestone in the face of this hour of calamity. Engdahl, who worked for him as faithfully as he worked for Berger or Hillquit, knows him better and is in a better position how he will accept this fate. We can speak only for our poor selves, and we do not conceal our fears as Engdahl attacks us with all the fury of a cornered rabbit. We need help and we want it.

Yet we paused a moment, try feebly to stiffen our quivering limbs, and reflect that after all Louis is not the real author of our misery. He is but a witless instrument of circumstances who has bounced from Berger to Lovestone to Foster as the baseball bounced from Tinker to Evers to Chance, putting all men out, or he may be likened to the subject of Napoleon's famous aphorism: to the effect that an army travels on its stomach, and Louis was always in the army and always traveling.

Far be it from us—who have known the pangs ourselves—to begrudge any man his bread and butter, but when he becomes carnivorous and wants meat—ay, the human meat of our poor carcass—we cry aloud: God save us from being the meat in this cannibal's soup!

150 Workers Laid Off

BOGALUSA, La.—(FP)—150 employees of the New Orleans Great Northern Railroad have been laid off in the shops. The road has been acquired by the Gulf, Mobile and Northern Railroad Company.

NEW YORK (FP)—Two million men and women over 65 are dependent for support on other individuals or agencies, estimates Sec. Abraham Epstein of the Assn. for Old Age Security. One third of the aged in American are dependent, he states, after a careful survey of estimates made by other agencies, ranging from the well known insurance company figure that 54 out of 100 young men of 25 will be dependent when they are 65, to Massachusetts estimates that 40% are dependent.

ROSA LUXEMBURG -- 11 Years After

The echo of the Bolshevik revolution in Germany in 1918 was drowned out by the thunderous torrent of blood drawn from the working class by the bayonets of the social democracy. Noske and Scheidemann were the hands of the German junkers and bourgeoisie that drew a deep and ineradicable line which forever divides the revolutionary movement from the social democracy. But the cruelest blow the social democracy could have struck the young Spartacus was the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Not years and not decades can wipe out the memory of the horrible crime, for it has become an accusing finger that always points to the role of the social democracy in the present epoch of history.

To recall Rosa Luxemburg on the eleventh anniversary of her assassination is to unfold again the two decades of struggle between the revolutionary and the reformist wing in the pre-war social democracy. The manner in which Rosa's position in this struggle applies to the difficulties and travail that the movement is traversing today, is evidence that the memorials to her are not formal, solemn obligations to be fulfilled one day and forgotten the next, but rather the occasion for a recapitulation of her work and its relation to the struggle today.

Rosa Luxemburg was uncompromisingly loyal to revolutionary principle. Her very first appearance as an active and leading force in the proletarian movement showed her definite capacities for swimming against the stream. To the nationalist spirit that pervaded the petty bourgeois and revolutionary movement towards the end of the last century, she opposed the Marxist spirit of the proletarian revolution. Against the Polish Socialist Party formed in 1892 by intellectuals who set the national independence of Poland from Russian czarism as the next goal of the labor movement, Rosa Luxemburg together with Adolf Warski, Julian Karski, Ratinsky, Wesselowski and others, founded the Russian-Polish Social Democracy, based upon the most advanced workers in the country, and thus laid the foundation for the Marxian labor movement of Poland. It was her inexhaustible theoretical arsenal that furnished the weapons for the Marxist movement of that period. Her work on "The Industrial Development of Poland" played much the same role in the Polish movement as Lenin's work on the development of capitalism in Russia played in his country. Sharp were the struggles that developed between the Marxists and the Nationalists; in them the term "social-patriotism" was coined which was to become a tragic reality in the betrayal of the Second International little more than a decade later.

From the period of her first work in Poland to the day that the Communist Party in Germany was founded by her and Karl Liebknecht, her record can be searched in vain for any compromise in principle. The vulgar opportunism of the German party leaders was entirely alien to her. And if, in the rigidity of her position, she erred in her conceptions—as she sometimes did—it was always on the side of the revolutionary struggle and not on the side of that corroding "adaptability" that finally fitted social democracy for its role as handmaiden to the Kaiser and the bourgeoisie who succeeded the monarchy.

Her contempt for compromise—we speak here, of course, not of temporary compromises in the strategical or tactical course, but of compromise in principles—earned her the harshest blows and antagonism of the German party leadership, even if she gave better than she got. She repulsed those who tried to storm the Marxian fortress and evaded the others who, like Bebel and later Kautsky sought to damn her with faint praise and dull her steel with a paternal tolerance for "youthful hotheadedness".

Her profound regard for principle and Marxian theory still stands as a reproach to those cheap "practical people" who, in the Communist movement today, hide their contempt and fear of theory behind the empty clamor of the "mass work" they are supposed to be doing. It is true that she was always preoccupied with the study and development of Marxian thought, but she had nothing in common with the dull pedantry of the closet professor. Even when she still was a close friend of Kautsky she

would make fun of his dry, lifeless learning. Like Lenin, she showed the vital connection between living Marxist theory and the living movements of the masses. While the "practical" leaders of the German social democracy were engaged in the "slow but productive" work of increasing the socialist vote in the Reichstag and the Landtags, Rosa not only engaged them in theoretical battle, but showed her capacity of stirring the masses into action. It was Luxemburg, not Kautsky not Bernstein not Legien, who went up and down the country arousing the workers to action against discriminatory electoral provisions in Prussia. It was Rosa Luxemburg who published the first appeals to the German proletariat, to the German masses, to rise against the imperialist war and the socialist bellwethers who led them to the slaughter.

She was the embodiment of Marxist theory enriched by the living struggle for power. With what scorn would she lash the bureaucrats of the Communist movement today who seek to smother all fundamental discussion with hypocritical appeals for "practical mass work" which gains no masses, introduces no clarity of purpose, and does not advance the basic aims of the revolution! In this period of the movement when contempt for investigation and discussion of questions of principle is at a premium, the monumental work of Rosa Luxemburg stands out like an unflickering, comforting flame.

Rosa Luxemburg knew how to stand and fight as a minority, even a minority of one. Especially now should this characteristic of hers be recalled, when it is as necessary and difficult to swim against the current as it was in her time. It would have been easier to yield to the national-socialist movement in Poland than to lay the small but firm foundations of a Marxist movement. She chose the latter alternative. With her brilliant attributes she could easily have become the most esteemed and highly placed figure in the German

social democracy, instead of the unyielding opposition. She remained with the opposition and life gave victory to her views. She could have swam with the current of blood in 1914 instead of being the persecuted, hounded, despised and calumniated leader of the handful of men and women that raised the banner of insurrection. But it was precisely because she was with the proletarian masses that she stood alone. She stood with the minority for so many occasions for the simple and conclusive reason that the minority was right and the majority, the men of the apparatus, the men of influence and weight, was wrong.

The proudest, most respected, most influential names in the German social democracy were subjected to her remorseless blows. I recall an apt cartoon in an old German socialist journal which depicts Rosa Luxemburg swinging her pen like a sabre and putting to rout the most prominent and authoritative statesmen of the party: Bebel, Kautsky, David, Fischer, Bernstein and a half dozen others. With her pitiless whip she sometimes compelled a whole party congress to acquiesce in her views, and many of the Leftward swings of the German social democracy were accomplished not only under the distant influence of the Russian revolution of 1905 but under the more immediate impulsion of Rosa Luxemburg. And if she was not deceived or convinced by the "innocent" revisionism of Eduard Bernstein, she was just as little inspired with confidence by the Centrist vacillations of Kautsky and Company. It must be remembered that the pseudo-radicalism of Kautsky was quite fashionable in the socialist movement before the war; it had a certain glamor and genuineness about it in the struggle against Bernsteinism, not to speak of the enormous authority, among Marxists attached to Kautsky's name. But for every blow she dealt the open revisionists, Rosa dealt another to the school of Kautsky which revealed its opportunist cowardice in every crucial struggle. Her relentless scalpel laid bare

Kautskyan Centrism at every turn. With the whole party leadership, and the enormous machinery at its disposal, ranged against her, she was nevertheless untiring in her efforts to arouse the party in the discussion on the war danger and the tasks of the social democracy that opened after the international congress at Copenhagen where, together with Karl Radek, Lenin and Trotsky, the viewpoint of the Left wing on militarism had been fought out, with Kautsky on the side of the social pacifists.

Her activity during the war is so well known that it requires no setting down here. With Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkin, Karl Radek and a few others—a handful against the brutally oppressive machinery of the state, against party and public opinion—she carried on the painstaking, painful work of forming the nucleus of a new revolutionary movement, of mobilizing the forces of the proletarian insurrection. She was with a hundred against a million because she knew that it is often necessary to be only a hundred in order to gain the million. The hundred—the minority—was no fetish with her; her "fetish" was the proletarian revolution. In its interests, she knew how to stand with the mocked and jeered minority and fight implacably for principle. The difference between Rosa Luxemburg and the present-day pretenders to leadership of her party and her cause, the weather-cocks of the momentarily prevalent administration, the lost souls who have neither the courage to maintain a conviction nor the ideas to form one with—is the difference between the lion and the lapdog.

Despite their conflicting viewpoints on many questions, said Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg was an eagle. The modern Communist movement is as inseparable from the name and work of Rosa Luxemburg as it is from the name of Lenin. For both of them the International was the fatherland. To attempt to identify either of them with one particular nation is as meaningless as to say, for instance, that Marx was a German revolutionist. Both of them were single-mindedly consecrated to the triumph of the international proletariat. Both of them were teachers and soldiers in an epoch that makes them greater than those who illuminated the pages of history in the past. Both of them were devoted to the cause that is superior to all others because its victory opens an entirely new epoch for humanity. For that they are deathless.

To consider now those important issues that divided Rosa and Lenin—the mass strike, the driving forces of imperialism, the role of the proletarian party, and others—would require more than the space of this insufficient memorial. Rather let the solidarity and oneness of the two great revolutionists of our time be emphasized here, all the more so because it has become the fashion to distort, misrepresent and exaggerate the differences between Luxemburg and Lenin. Every little official functionary, particularly those turned out by the gross in the numerous "Lenin" schools throughout the world, can deliver a long dissertation to prove what a hopelessly incompetent thinker Rosa was and what enormous blunders she made. In the German Communist Party especially has this loathsome belittling of Rosa's immortal contributions reached the most revolting depths. The less the neo-Bolshevik knows about Luxemburg or has read of her works, the freer he feels to dismiss her with a contemptuous gesture. Let that sort of appreciation of Rosa remain the task of those cut out for it. For us, Rosa Luxemburg remains the eagle.

The eagle was foully killed as she was reaching the height of her power. With her death, the German proletariat, on the threshold of the revolution, suffered an irreplaceable loss. History does not produce many Marxes, or Lenins or Luxemburgs. Her place can only be taken by numbers, growing in strength, clarity and resoluteness, confident of victory. Men and women can be martyred by the enemy, but a whole movement cannot be assassinated. It can be set back for a time or cruelly defeated more than once. But each time it is crushed, like Hercules in his struggle with Aratus, it will gain from the earth that covers Rosa's grave a renewed power and determination to triumph.

—M. S.

The Communist Fight against Imperialist War

Talk! talk! talk! Peace! Naval reduction! Disarmament! Abolition of War! Geneva Conferences! London Conferences! League of Nations! Kellogg Pact—and while all this hypocritical cant is filling the air to the confusion of many workers, arsenals are being filled, gasses compounded, troops drilled, battleships built, industries organized, all for the next August 1, 1937?

Young workers and farmers, you who do the fighting and dying for the greater glory (and profit) of your capitalist masters, engrave this deeply into your consciousness: Twelve years after "the last war, the war to end wars", the world is bristling with armaments even more so than the week before Earejevo in July, 1914. The black clouds have gathered—a tiny spark and the storm of death will have broken.

The Role of the Socialists

Loudest in their vehemence, most touching in their oratory, holding the attention of millions of workers are the bellwethers for capitalism, the leadership of the international social democracy and the pacifists, trying to convince the workers of the possibility of disarmament, of the abolition of war under capitalism, meanwhile, with might and main aiding their imperialist in arming, such as MacDonald, Mueller and Paul Boncour.

The Communists are blunt: under capitalism war is inevitable. If you, fellow-worker, desire to abolish war, we say: Abolish capitalism with all its misery and replace it with the proletarian dictatorship—with a system of production for use and not for profit—all over the world.

Some "scientists" say, in the spirit of Bismarck, that war is nature's way of removing the unfit, the way "the law of the survival of the fittest" operates nowadays. Nonsense! It is precisely those who are sickly and weak and crippled and old who stay at home to survive and deteriorate the race, while the strong, the healthy and the young, without scar or blemish, who lay down their lives as blood sacrifices to Mammon on the altar of war.

So, as the chief sufferers, those most endangered, the young workers traditionally lead the fight against capitalist war. But how? Whose method shall be used?

War calls for a radical cure, for a revolutionary surgeon's knife to exterminate

class society, and not a reformist salve to heal the ulcer and retain the body of capitalism. So those who would apply the salve, the leadership of the Socialist Parties and Socialist Youth Leagues are excluded as capable of fighting war.

From Bosses' War to Class War

Essentially the problem is how to turn the imperialist war into a war of the working class against the master class. The reformists do not desire whatsoever to turn the war against capitalism. The task remains for the Communists.

But the days when Leninist policy dominated the Communist movement are long past. Today, within the Communist movement we have three currents, the Right, the Center and the Left.

Based theoretically on the monstrosity of "socialism in one country", which it shares with the Centrists, the Rights have taken the next step down the hill to reform the next step following "socialism in one country". They have declared their "right" to "national" Communist Parties" (a contradiction in terms as ridiculous as a square circle), negating the very principles of internationalism which is fundamental in our movement and especially in the fight against war. The Right wing "Communist" is checked off as incapable. The Centrists waver between the Right and Left, and anyone who hesitates in the class struggle is lost. A bold, determined policy is needed. They lag behind the masses or overtake and jump far ahead of them into adventurism and lag behind again.

The Left wing under the leadership of Trotsky and Rakovsky and many other fighters against the last war stands foursquare on an international Leninist platform. It is the embodiment of internationalism, of the fight against war and capitalism.

With the old battle-cries, first used by Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky, with which the masses overthrew the czar and Russian imperialism, and shook many a haughty empire, we shall also turn the next imperialist war into a victorious class war of the proletariat. The young workers must be in the front ranks.

—CHARLES CURTISS

Throughout the World of Labor

The British Miners and the Labour Party

The question of coal is once more on the order of the day. On the occasion of the debate in Commons on the government project, the papers published numerous articles in which the ever-recurring problem is examined from its various aspects. A big space is naturally given to the length of the working day and to the wages of the miners, for the mine owners assert that it's the too high wages paid to the British miners that handicaps them in the struggle against foreign competitors.

The president of the Mining Association of Great Britain, Mr. Evan Williams in a letter addressed to the Times, asserts that in spite of the law voted on the morrow of the general strike and the great defeat of the miners, the working week is still shorter here than elsewhere. According to the figures he cites, it is 47 hours, 28 minutes (it is known that in certain regions the day is only 7 and a half hours), while the German miner works 49 and a half hours in the Aix-la-Chapelle district and 48 hours in the Ruhr, the Belgian miner 48 hours, the Polish miner 48 hours and 12 minutes in Upper Silesia and 49 hours in the Dombrow. In France, the average is only 46 hours and 42 minutes.

So far as wages are concerned, he maintains that the real wage of a miner in Great Britain is appreciably higher than in all the continental countries: 18 percent higher than in Germany, 47 percent higher than in France, 39 percent higher than in Belgium and 67 percent higher than in Poland.

The discussion of the government project in Commons was stirring. As is known it received a majority of only eight votes, and even then not for its final adoption; it was only the second reading and it is still the subject for a profound debate. This however is not the most important thing. The liberals having decided to vote against, it would not have had a majority at all. But since no party wants a general election right now, the conservatives will save the MacDonald government from defeat by partial abstention.

What characterized these debates was the brutality of the criticisms of the speakers, conservative and liberal, and the tone in which they were couched: that, even more than the vote that was humiliating to the government.

The conservatives confined themselves to saying to the ministers: your project is detestable; withdraw it. You say that you want to keep the promises made by you to the miners during the elections. But there are already so many engagements that you have undertaken and did not keep that another one more or less is of no importance.

But it is Lloyd George who delivered the big attack. The ground had been prepared by Sir Herbert Samuel, now considered an expert on the question of coal, who had made a condensed criticism of the project and posed some precise questions almost in the form of an ultimatum. Lloyd George adhered to generalities, to the essential features, and exercised his verve at the expense of the Laborites. It is known that the government first assured itself, and painfully enough, of the support of the Miners' Federation for restoring the working day to seven and a half hours. Then, to overcome the resistance of the mine owners, it accorded them a raise in the price of coal. The great Laborite project is thus reduced to a vulgar bargaining for which the consumer will pay.

"Incredibly bad project!" cried the liberal leader; "incredible project on the part of a Labor government." He continued by saying that nothing had been done to attack the roots of the crisis, the archaic organization of the mining industry. What is necessary is to make it obligatory upon the grouping of the enterprises to arrive at a rational exploitation. The project is confined to raising the price of coal. It is a project not of the Laborites but of the mine owners. And on this occasion, he rallied A. J. Cook, who defended its adoption before the Miners' Federation. "Blessed be the meek!" he cried, amid a general outburst of laughter in the Chamber.

The ministers were ill at ease under these lashing criticisms that could be directed against them by a more or less discredited politician. Moreover, they were

furiously because it is said that MacDonald in order to parry the announced attack had taken the trouble of having Lloyd George informed that he was quite disposed to accept long amendments. They say that, as ever, Lloyd George was interested only in creating an effect from the tribune, showing once more that he was a good demagogue.

What is certain is that the governmental project in its first form is dead. When it comes before Commons for its third reading it will have to be seriously touched up. But it may already be said that it will hardly be worth more, the Laborites constantly retreating before the radical measures that encroach upon the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

On the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary, the British Communist Party sent Stalin a telegram saying that the British Communists "promise to create a mass party which, armed with a daily paper, will be in a position to mobilize the masses in the political struggles against the social fascist government of MacDonald". Such promises do not cost much. But that is not the case with the paper.

—S. B.

London, December 23, 1929.

Φ

Opposition Progress in Spain

We are in the midst of a brutal attack by the acolytes of Stalin in Spain against the comrades of the Opposition.

Practically speaking, the Communist Party of Spain exists only in the mind of a few mediocre and ignorant functionaries, who have no clear understanding of their responsibility. Originally, we can say without fear of contradiction, the C. P. S. can count as its members only the adherents of the small circle of indolent bureaucrats who ramble around on a wage paid by Stalin. Let us work to remove this small circle to—Mars, without a return ticket.

The masses of the Spanish workers have no contact with "the elite of the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat" as Manuisky would say; there is an absolute divorce between the bureaucrats and the Spanish working class. The district committees do not function and exist only on paper. Can even one hundred dues payments be counted in the Spanish party? No! Here is the true, the sad and chaotic reality. The C. P. S. is in a dying state and it lacks the most indispensable aid. The masses do not know of the party because it never shows itself anywhere; the party does not know of the masses of the workers because the bureaucrats lack a sense of Communist political orientation. The Executive Committee of the Comintern, in conformity with its destructive and spineless policy, gives its support to the leadership which, in Spain, is engaged in destroying what is left of the skeleton of the Spanish C. P.

The Young Communist Opposition had the boldness to denounce the present situation to the masses. It launched an appeal to the Communist workers (official or expelled) for the reorganization of Communism in Spain; it examined the causes of the disease and pointed out the remedy; the application of the methods of struggle recommended by the International Opposition, reorganization of the party based on the principles of the Leninist Opposition as the sole guarantee of the development of the party and its further consolidation. It is only in this way that the party will be able to make its way in the exceptional political situation through which Spain is passing.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, incapable of reacting against the prostration of the party, impotent before historical reality, found in the appeal launched by the Leninist Opposition an excuse for organizing a newspaper offensive of four columns against our comrades. Doubtlessly for want of any more appropriate means of defending and justifying their salaries (Stalin pays the enemies of "Trotskyism" well, which the leaders of the C. P. S. know quite well), they organized the battle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists who are pretending to maneuver in Spain. (Horror! Miserable "Trotskyists", dead so many times and many times revived!)

It was a battle organized according to the rules. The known Trotskyist victims at the moment I write these lines are not very numerous, but sure. One of the methods employed by the technicians of Spanish Stalinism against the Opposition is denunciation. The first attempts were made in the November number of central organ of the Party, *Bandera Roja*. A comrade was denounced in the central organ of the Communist Party by the bureaucratic leaders who took advantage of the circumstances, of the very gravity of the case and of the fact that the Spanish Opposition has as yet no journal of its own.

We will not lay stress on this case—for the time being; it is too dangerous. The comrades of the Communist Party have taken note of it and some of them are asking for the expulsion of the author of the article from the Comintern. We simply make a note of it. But we must remark that the act of expulsion against the author of the article in question (it was an editorial) would change nothing of the very causes of such acts. They have their roots in the composition of the Party itself, in the wrong political orientation. It is an evil that proceeds from the chronic crisis in the leadership and the orientation that is vexing the International: The discharge of a rotten functionary will not save from corruption the organism in decomposition, which is the bureaucracy of the Communist International, just as the amputation of a gangrened limb cannot save from death a cancerous organism. It is a question of giving the C. I. a competent leadership and a correct political orientation without which there is no solution possible.

In Spain, the C. P. is extremely weak, numerically and politically. The basis of the party has always lacked the most elementary political formation. The Leninist Opposition is also weak, as may be expected, but it is the Marxist school of the Party out of which will be born, because it must be born, a genuine Communist party to reconstitute on firm foundations the organization of the proletariat that an absurd and imbecile policy has led to dismemberment and ruin.

The Opposition is trying to reorganize the party, to cleanse it by pushing it along the Leninist-Marxist line, to strengthen it so that it may realize the historic mission assigned to it.

The bureaucrats may calumniate, denounce (to justify and defend their salaries). We will not swerve from the correct line to which we have bound ourselves; we are fighting without a truce until we will have attained our objective; to revive Communism in Spain on the basis of revolutionary Marxism, by unmasking the corrupted bureaucracy which disorganized the Communist Party of Spain, by educating the revolutionary working masses following the ideas of Marx and Lenin.

FERNANDO SALVATIERRA
Bilbao, December 8, 1929.

Φ

A New «Workers' and Peasants' Party» in France

The clique of Sellier, Gelis and Co., which we have denounced since its first acts, and fought inside the Communist Party as we will fight it outside the party, has just constituted itself into a "workers and peasants party". This buffoonery has but one meaning for its authors: to preserve before the electoral clientele the label which elected them, that of the workers and peasants bloc.

The constituent meeting of this party was held at Cllichy last Sunday. We do not yet know the details of the deliberations nor the documents that were worked out. But we did not wait for the constitution of the new party in order to say what was to be thought of the policy of the "elected", and we need not do any more waiting in order to give some estimates of the new party.

The absolutely ambiguous character of its constitution must be indicated first of all. It is already patent that a strong sec-

*Municipal councillors in the Paris district who left the Communist party a few weeks ago as the leaders of a Right wing split. They are the French allies of the Lovestone group in this country.

tion of the trade union minority, champion of "trade union independence", is participating actively in the work of constituting the party of Sellier. Deveaux presides over its meetings. Then, the comical and amicable negotiations with the Socialist-Communist Union of Paul Louis, the political leader of *Monde* (the Communist controlled "non-partisan", literary-political weekly edited by Henri Barbusse), are very indicative. Finally, the participation of the Alsatian deputy Mourer, the proclaimed sympathy of the organ of the Alsatian Communists-Autonómists (Hueber group)—with which *Fourrier of the Libérateur* collaborates actively—the amalgam of Villeneuve, mayor of St. Denis, of Chasseigne, suddenly disappeared from Communist Party activity for reasons unknown,—all these contribute to giving the new party a character loaded with rubbish, and also indicates that its career will be brief.

Many papers have already printed extracts from the declaration that will be made by the party. Pretty near everything that is needed to prepare a modest return to the waters of the social democracy can be found there. In language that attempts to be sharp, they raise against the Communist party the criticism made long ago by the Opposition, when the "worker-peasants" of today covered up the whole activity of the party leadership. And naturally they attack above all, like every good Right winger, the so-called "class against class" electoral tactic, which "if no other reason(!) experience proves today that it only consolidated the power of the worst bourgeoisie of the Right, without any profit for the party itself." In conclusion, they declare that there is a place to be occupied between Communism and Socialism, that is, in a particular nauseous swamp.

We will wait for the declarations and acts of this new party. But we already see—and it has always been clear—that it is taking a road that turns its back not only to the Communist Party, which the "worker-peasants" of today led to its present position and which they abandoned when the profit from it became too trivial for them—but to Communism, and nothing else. It is falling back into the morass of petty bourgeois electoralism where the Paul Louises and Selliers are pushing it.

A certain number of comrades will perhaps try to follow it for a while. We will appeal to them to reconsider, to abandon confusion, to come and strengthen the ranks of the Left Opposition. For us there is no neutral ground between Socialism and Communism. We want to fight on the historic ground of International Communism, and so far as it is indispensable, to denounce the faults, the errors, the crimes of the Communist International and the cadres of our party—even against those who would leave it today after having assumed full responsibility for it without saying a word.

—LA VERITE

Paris, December 27, 1929

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 7

The BULLETIN of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitulators. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

ALL ARTICLES IN RUSSIAN

25c each

18c in bundles

Order From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue,

New York, N. Y.

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

Urbahns, however, raises the slogan of the freedom of organization in the general democratic sense. In fact, it would be impossible in any other sense. Urbahns formulates the same demand for Russia, for China and all the capitalist countries. This would be absolutely correct, but on one little condition: the recognition that the Thermidor is already accomplished. But here it is Urbahns who "does not go far enough". To put forward the freedom of organization as an isolated demand is a caricature of politics. Freedom of organization is inconceivable without freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, and all the other "liberties" which the decision of the February Conference (Reichsausschusses) of the Leninbund mentioned vaguely and without comment. But these liberties are inconceivable outside the regime of democracy, that is, outside of capitalism. One must learn to think one's thoughts out to the end.

Even while Retreating before the Marxist Criticism, Urbahns Combats not Korschists but Marxists

Referring to my remarks that we fight against the Stalinist faction but defend the Soviet Republic to the very end, the *Fahne des Kommunismus* explained to me that "an unconditional (?) support (?) of the Stalinist policy (?), the foreign policy included," would be inadmissible, and that I would acknowledge this myself if only I would "think my thoughts out to the end" (No. 31, p. 246). It is not astonishing that I awaited with interest the conclusion of the article (No. 32): It was to produce the tactical deductions from the theoretical contradictions with which the first half was filled and besides that, it was to teach people to think out their thoughts to the end.

Between the 1st and 2nd halves of the article many things became clear. In that time, Urbahns and his friends had the opportunity of receiving the resolution of the Bureau of the Second International which could not pass without a sobering effect upon them, since the agreement between the arguments of Otto Bauer and those of Louzon and Paz were too flabbergasting.

However that may be, in the second half of the article, *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* comes to the conclusion that the Soviet republic must be defended even in the conflict with China. Very praiseworthy. But what is stupefying is that the article, in arriving at this conclusion, polemicalizes not against the Korschists, not against the Ultra-Left, not against Louzon, not against Paz but against the Russian Opposition. It would seem that the question of the defense or non-defense of the Soviet republic is in itself so important that secondary and tertiary considerations would disappear before it. That is dictated by the most elementary requirements of politics. But Urbahns and his friends proceed quite differently. At the most critical moment in the Soviet-China conflict, they print the articles of the ultra-Leftists who, as I showed above, simply demand that Chiang Kai-Shek be supported against the Soviet republic. It is only under the pressure of the Marxists that the editors of the *Die Fahne*, six weeks after the beginning of the conflict, pronounce themselves for the defense of the Soviets. Yet even here they do not conduct a struggle those who denied the elementary duty of defense, but against... Trotsky. Every mature political person must come to the conclusion that the question of the defense of the October revolution is a secondary affair for Urbahns, and that his principal aim is to show that he is not in "one hundred percent" agreement with the Russian Opposition. It evidently never occurs to comrade Urbahns that whoever seeks to demonstrate his independence by such artificial and negative methods, only demonstrates in reality his complete lack of intellectual independence.

In the second part of the article, it says:

"Besides the sympathy for Soviet Russia and Communism destroyed in the Chinese people by the policy of Stalin, the fact that Russia resorts to war over the Chinese Eastern Railway when it did not lift a hand while Chiang Kai-Shek and his military hordes waded in the blood of the Chinese workers and poor peasants, would undoubtedly play a role in the attitude of the Chinese people to such a war" *Fahne des Kommunismus*, No. 32, p. 246).

What is correct and what has been said long ago is mixed up here with what is new and wrong. The crimes of the Centrist leadership in China are absolutely unprecedented: Stalin and Bucharin murdered the revolution in China. This is a historical fact which penetrates more and more into the mind of the vanguard of the international proletariat. However, to accuse the Soviet republic of not having intervened with arms in hand in the Shanghai or Canton events, is to substitute sentimental demagoguery for revolutionary policy. Louzon is of the opinion that every military intervention in the affairs of another nation is "imperialism". That, of course, is a pacifist absurdity. But no less absurd is the directly contrary demand that the Soviet republic, under the present relationship of forces and in the present international situation should repair with Bolshevik bayonets what was lost with Menshevik policy. Criticism must move along real and not imaginary lines; otherwise the Opposition will never win the confidence of the workers.

How, then, could the Soviet republic decide in this case to carry on a war for the possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway? I have already said that if it comes to war, this fact alone would demonstrate that it is not a matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway but of something infinitely greater. It is true that this railway, even by itself, is a far more serious matter than the head of the Archduke killed in 1914, which was the occasion for the outbreak of the war. But it is not at all a matter of the railway. A war in the East, regardless of what were the immediate cause would inevitably be transformed the very next day into a struggle against Soviet "imperialism", that is, against the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the violence of the conflict would be immeasurably greater than that of the war which, provoked by the killing of an archduke, was transformed into a campaign against Prussian militarism.

It now looks like an agreement between Moscow and Nanking which can end in China redeeming the railway with the aid of foreign banks. That would mean, in reality, that control would pass from the hands of the workers' state into those of finance capital. I have already said that the cession of the Chinese Eastern is not out of the question. But such a cession must not be regarded as a realization of the principle of national self-determination, but as a shifting of strength from the proletarian revolution in favor of the capitalist reaction. But there can be no doubt that it is precisely Stalin and company who will seek to present this surrender of position as a realization of national justice, in conformity with the categorical imperative, the evangel according to Kellogg and Litvinov and the articles of Louzon and Paz that were reprinted in the organ of the Leninbund.

Practical Tasks in Case of War

The practical tasks of the Opposition in case of a war between China and Soviet Russia are characterized in the article in an unclear, ambiguous and evasive manner. "In case of a war between China and Soviet Russia for the possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway," says the article, the Leninist Opposition is against Chiang Kai-Shek and the imperialists standing behind him." (No. 32, p. 250). Ultra-Left confusion has gone so far that "Marxist Leninists" must declare "we are against Chiang Kai-Shek". That's how far things can go. Good, against Chiang Kai-Shek. But for whom are you?

"In such a war," the article replies, "The Leninist Opposition will mobilize the forces of the proletariat in every country with the aim of a general strike, proceeding from the organization of the prevention of arms manufacture, and any kind of arms transport, etc." (No. 32, p. 250). That is the position of pacifist neutrality. The task of the international proletariat, according to Urbahns, lies in the preventing any sort of arms transport, that is, not only to China but also to the Soviet republic. Is that your thought? Or have you simply said something different from what you wanted to say? Perhaps you have not thought out your thoughts "to the end"? In that case, hurry to correct yourself: the question is worth it. The correct formulation should be: By all means to prevent the transport of arms to counter-revolutionary China, and by all means to facilitate the acquis-

ition of arms by the Soviet republic.

Does the Defense of the U. S. S. R. Mean Reconciliation with Centristism?

In order to show wherein the standpoint of the Leninbund differs from that of the Russian Opposition, Urbahns makes two discoveries: 1. Should an imperialist state intervene on the side of Russia, in the event of a war of the Soviet republic with China, then the Communists of this bourgeois state should not make civil peace with their bourgeoisie, as Bucharin taught, but they must adopt the course of overthrowing their bourgeoisie; 2. In defending the Soviet republic in the war with the Chinese counter-revolution, the Opposition must not become reconciled with the Stalinist course, but must conduct a decisive struggle against it. This is supposed to explain the difference between the position of the Leninbund and our own. In reality it is confusion, and I fear, not unconscious. These two theses, dragged in by the hair, do not refer to the Sino-Soviet conflict as such but in general to every war against the Soviet republic. Urbahns submerges a specific question under a general question. Neither Louzon nor Paz have as yet renounced the duty of the international proletariat to defend the Soviet republic in the event that it is attacked, for example, by America or England over the payment of czarist debts, the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, the denationalization of the banks and factories, etc. The discussion arose over the specific character of the present conflict between China and the Soviet Union. It is precisely in this question that the ultra-Leftists showed themselves incapable of correctly evaluating individual and complex facts from a class standpoint. They are just the ones to whom the Leninbund so widely opened the columns of its paper. It is precisely over the slogan of "Hands Off China" that the *Fahne des Kommunismus* refrained for six weeks from expressing any opinion, and, when further silence was impossible, limited itself to half-hearted and ambiguous formulae.

What has the theory of Bucharin to do with this? What is the question of the cessation of struggle against Stalinist Centristism doing here? Who proposed it? Who spoke of it? What is it all about? Why is it necessary?

It is necessary in order to hint that the Russian Opposition—not the capitulators and turncoats, but the Russian Opposition—is leaning towards peace with Centristism, using the war as a pretext. Since I am writing for uninformed or badly informed foreign comrades, I consider it indispensable to recall, even if quite briefly, how the Russian Opposition posed the question of its attitude to the Stalinist course during the conditions of a war.

At the moment of the rupture of Anglo-Soviet relations, the Russian Opposition, contemptuously rejecting the lie of defeatism and conditional national defense declared in an official document that in the event of war all the differences of opinion could only become accentuated. Such a declaration in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the moment of the rupture of diplomatic relations with England requires no further explanations and in any case gives far more serious guarantees than this or that little article.

On this question, a furious struggle broke out in 1927. Have Urbahns and his partisans heard anything about the so-called "Clemenceau theory"? With this theory, the apparatus tried to agitate the party for months. It was the question of my having pointed, as an example of patriotic opposition in the camp of the imperialists, to the Clemenceau clique, which, from 1914 to 1917, in spite of the civil peace declared by the bourgeoisie, fought against all the other factions of the bourgeoisie, took over power and insured the victory of French imperialism. I asked: Is there an imbecile in the camp of the bourgeoisie who would therefore call Clemenceau a defeatist and a supporter of conditional national defense? That is the famous "Clemenceau thesis" which was criticized in thousands of articles and tens of thousands of speeches.

A short time ago, my book, "The Revolution Distorted" appeared in Paris. Among other things it contains the speech

I made at the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission on August 1, 1927. Here is what is said in the speech on the question that interests us now:

"The greatest events in human history are revolution and war. We have tested the policy of Centristism in the Chinese revolution... The greatest historical test after revolution is war. We say in advance: in the face of the event of a war, the policy of Stalin and Bucharin, the policy of zig-zags, of mental reservations—of ambiguity—the policy of Centristism—cannot prevail. This holds for the entire leadership of the Comintern. At present the leaders of the various Communist Parties have only one test question to answer: 'Are you ready to vote day and night against Trotskyism?' The war will confront them with exigencies demanding far greater responsibility... There will be no room for the intermediary position of Stalin. That is why, if I am permitted to say so in all frankness, the prattling about the 'handful of Oppositionists', the 'generals without an army', etc., appears simply ridiculous to me. The Bolsheviks heard that many times, in 1914 and in 1917. We see the morrow too clearly and we are preparing it. In domestic policy there will also be no room under the conditions of war for the slow down-sliding of Centristism. All the discussions will be condensed, the class contradictions will sharpen, become acute. A clear and precise answer will have to be given... Centrist policy will be unable to stand up in time of war. It will have to fall to the Right or to the Left, that is, it will have to choose the road of Thermidor or the road of the Opposition." (Disturbance).

And it is precisely this speech that I ended with the words: "For the socialist fatherland? Yes! For the Stalinist course? No!" And when Urbahns and his friends, apropos of precisely these words, recommend to me two years later to think the question out "to the end" and to comprehend that in time of war there must be no reconciliation with Centristism, I can only shrug my shoulders regretfully.

How Has the Discussion Been Conducted?

It is an ill wind that blows no good. The conflict between China and Soviet Russia has once more shown that within the Marxist Opposition an irreconcilable line of demarcation is necessary not only from the Right but also from the Left. The philistines will sneer at seeing us, a small minority, constantly occupied with internal divisions. But that should not bother us. It is precisely because we are a small minority whose entire strength lies in its ideological clarity that we must be especially implacable against dubious friends on the Right and the Left. For many months I attempted to attain clarity from the leadership of the Leninbund by means of private letters. I did not succeed. In the meanwhile, events brought one of the most important questions to a head. The differences of opinion came out into the open. The discussion began.

Is it good or bad? The article in *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* explains to me the advantage of discussion and points to the harm caused by the absence of discussion in the Comintern. I have already heard these ideas expressed, whether by comrade Urbahns or some one else escapes me for the moment. But there are discussions and discussions. It would have been far better if the Russo-Chinese conflict had not taken the Leninbund by surprise. There was time enough in the past to prepare for it. The question of Thermidor and the defense of the U. S. S. R. is no new one. It is a good thing that it did not come to war. But had it come to one? All this is an argument not against discussion, but against a bad discussion that maintains silence on the important questions so long as they have not come out into the open. The fact is that the Leninbund at least its leadership, showed itself unprepared to reply to a question raised by life itself. There was nothing left to do but to open the discussion.

Concluded in Next Issue

LASH IS WHAT CONVICTS NEED

JACKSON, Miss. (FP)—The sting of the lash on the back is dreaded by convicts more than any other form of punishment, and will command respect for prison management and prevent riots declares Supt. Jim Williamson of Mississippi penitentiary.

An Economic Analysis?

Or Factional Demagogy & Forgery

As was to be expected, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has drawn up a resolution on "The Economic Crisis and the Tasks of the Communist Party" published in the *Daily Worker* (1-11-1930). We will yet take occasion to write in greater detail on the general line of analysis and conclusions of this party document. It is enough now merely to say that it is an average example of non-Marxist electicism, a piece of sophomoric research-clipping work, without any clean line to illuminate its jumbled statistics, and with a conclusion that flows from no premises. It picks up one quotation from a financial journal here, another from a bourgeois economist there, glues them together with a couple of quotations from 10th Plenum resolutions, and presents the resultant hodge-podge as an economic and political analysis.

As for its political conclusions—they are disgraceful: no strategical task is elaborated except the recommendation that the party must win the masses of the American workers (How?) participate more actively in the struggles of the workers (with what program and policies?) recruit new members (in what way?) and what has prevented the recruitment up to now? and similar meaningless platitudes. There is no review at all of the enormous tactical blunders of the party and the policies that have led it from one defeat to another.

The document, in short, is worthless. It is one of those shoddy products ground out with monotonous regularity by the party thesis mill and just as regularly laid on the shelf of the archives room—forgotten in less time than was consumed in writing it. Nevertheless, we shall return to it at another opportunity. We limit ourselves now to the section of the resolution dedicated to the Opposition—for nowadays a yard-long attack against "Trotskyism" is the absolutely required sauce for an otherwise tasteless and unpalatable party thesis.

"Trotskyism" Dead Again

The section on the Opposition (Point 21) begins with the religiously observed formula that the "Trotskyist group" is bankrupt, breaking-up, anti-Communist, and even openly anti-Soviet. But how has the Militant in spite of "bankruptcy and disintegration", been able to transform itself into a weekly? The authors of the thesis explain: "With the money received by Trotsky for his articles against the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union from Hearst and Lord Beaverbrook!" i.e., the explanation of people who cannot conceive of a movement functioning in any way other than their own, other than with subsidies from the international Stalinist apparatus which corrupt the movement and transform the official parties into changeless echoes of any and every pronouncement of their financial patrons. But when it is impossible to elaborate intelligent and effective political arguments, others must be substituted, and in this case with all the characteristic features of Stalinist swindle.

In a recent issue, we pointed out how the *Daily Worker* had deliberately and maliciously misrepresented the viewpoint of the Militant on the question of the present economic situation in the United States. It simply took a sentence out of a news story in the Militant, which referred entirely to the dress-making trade, distorted it, and with fine scorn and contempt, presented it as though that were the Alpha and Omega of the Militant viewpoint of the situation. In spite of our exposure, this piece of cheap journalistic misrepresentation worthy of the yellow press is now re-consecrated and printed over again in the thesis as a "crushing refutation of our position."

But the thesis-grinders are not satisfied with misrepresentation alone. In the resolution, they go a bit further and resort to outright forgery. They write: "In its issue of Nov. 30th, the basic ideas of Love-stone are clearly echoed; while admitting depression in some of the most important branches, United States capitalism is described as 'on a road of production increase such as has not had its parallel in history.'" (Daily Worker's emphasis). Now let us see what actually appeared in the Militant. We wrote (November 30, 1929):

"The Wall Street crash was not due solely to the speculative mania, which only aggravated the situation. Its roots go deeper. Since the end of the World War, the U. S. became the world's banker. Easy

money' made possible an embarkment on a road of production increase such as has not had its parallel in history, accompanied by an unprecedented export of capital." (Our emphasis).

Compare the quotation made by the party thesis with the original, and the clumsy forgery becomes apparent. What we did was to make a simple and incontestable statement of fact: that after the World War—not today, but twelve years ago!—the U. S. increased its productive forces and output to a degree never before known in history. Only a hopeless idiot or a revived Egyptian mummy could deny this well-known fact. But what the forgers did in their thesis was to make it appear as though the Militant claims that the United States today, now, not twelve years ago, is on the road of an unparalleled production increase! By the "slight" change in grammatical tenses, the Stalinist swindlers wipe out a whole decade of American economic history, and thus "achieve" another "argument" against the Opposition! Lenin once said that a demagogue is the worst enemy of the working class. Are swindle and forgery different in any degree from demagogy?

The resolution finally "clinches" its attack upon our position with the following half quotation from the Militant: "But the United States is still in a sufficiently strong and arrogant (?) position in world economy and politics to endeavor to overcome its economic difficulties at home." (Daily Worker emphasis). From this quotation is omitted the balance of the sentence: "by pressure on two points: on the U. S. workers in the form of a more intense drive to lower wages, lengthen the work day, speed up the workers, and on Europe, in the form of a decreased ration for France, Germany, Italy, England and the rest of the world market."

What is wrong in this statement, the *Daily Worker* does not say. Does it contest the absolute correctness of these words? That is hardly likely; it would fly in the face of the party resolution itself (Points 10, 11, 14, etc.) But what of that? For the thesis writers in the party today all such "petty matters" of honesty, independent political thought, analysis proceeding from facts and not wishes, are entirely subordinated to the main problem of destroying the so-many-time-destroyed Opposition. If it cannot be done with fact, then falsehood must serve. If no arguments are available, then demagogy must be pressed into use. If your opponent's position is unassailable, distort it, misrepresent it, or manufacture for your opponent such an untenable position that you will be able to attack him. For the Stalinist press and those who fill its columns, these tenets are the beginning and the end of all political wisdom.

Karakhan Takes a Pleasant Trip to Turkey

But, Unlike Trotsky, He is not Confined on an Island by Friend Kemal Pasha

The diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union, Karakhan has just made a triumphal voyage to Turkey. Everywhere, at Angora as at Constantinople, his passage was the occasion for demonstrations of an exceptional warmth. In the course of his trip, he made some declarations to journalists which are interesting to note. The manner in which he spoke of official personages is pretty astonishing. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tewik Rushdi Bey, is his best "friend" and he "harbors feelings of the deepest respect" towards the president of the council, Ismet Pasha. The conventional language of diplomats it will be said. Perhaps, but of bourgeois diplomats, and in this domain as in the others, the Soviet Union must demonstrate that it is not a State like the others, that it is a proletarian State. Its diplomats should distinguish themselves, although not in the manner of Bessedovsky.

Nevertheless, it is not there that the most important point lies in the declarations of Karakhan. That which is serious and symptomatic, in our opinion, is that, upon arrival at Angora, the associate of the Soviet commissariat for foreign affairs cried:

"This city reflects the calm and firm security with which the new Turkey is built, which supports itself upon its own forces and puts its hopes in the creative force of its people and in them alone. What I have seen, especially in this regard, is not strange to me. They are the same ideas and the same state of mind that prevails in our country. We are building up our life, our material and intellec-

The Professor's Nightmare

A Story of the Great American Worker-Boss that Never Existed

Dr. Thomas Thornton Read, Professor of Mining at Columbia University, having spent three years studying the "American at Work", and having found that the American "does several times the amount of productive work accomplished by an Asiatic or a European", seats himself (one may suppose) in a comfortable chair and puts his undoubtedly remarkable brain to work to discover the reason why. After some little time spent in mental acrobatics he arrives according to the New York Times of January 5, at these equally remarkable conclusions: first, that the American workers are not wage slaves, but, on the contrary, bosses, one and all, with "mechanical slaves" doing the work for them; second, that the American "converts food into energy at a higher rate than any other nationality" but "utilizes much of that energy in play rather than work" (!); third that the economic system of America "is based on the ability of American business men to find ways to provide employment for every one", so that the worker and his employer can both live well on the fruits of their joint enterprise".

* * *

As the Professor, after having given his discoveries to the world, via the Times, dozes quietly in his chair, there suddenly appears before him a tall, lean creature dressed in workmen's clothes, carrying a bundle under his arm. The Professor gives a start and exclaims, "Who are you? What do you want?"

"I am the American Worker", replies the apparition in a hollow voice "and I want you to come with me."

"But I have just spent three years seeing you at work," the Professor remonstrates. The stranger hands him a suit of working clothes and repeats: "Come along."

The Professor gives a deep sigh but gets into the clothes and asks, "Where are we going?" "To work", is the brief response, as the door enclosing the Professor's cozy study bangs behind them.

"Let's hop over to Detroit and see how things are going there," says the stranger. "Ah, Ford," the Professor smiles. "Yes, indeed, let's be off to the Ford plant—that's the place to go; scientific management—everything's systematized there, you know—the machines do all the work and the men have scarcely anything to do, yet get good wages for it."

The stranger gives him a sorrowful look, which quickly disappears however, for in the shake of a lamb's tail the traveling workers find themselves in Detroit, outside the Ford works. Several hours

pass before he enters the promised land, where he undergoes a rigorous examination.

"Can you use a wrench?" finally asks the agent in a tone of doubt.

"Is that all I have to do?" answers the Professor gleefully, and he makes not the slightest objection as the agent pushes him over to a foreman who conducts him forthwith to the Hall of the Machines. Here long rows of Tin Lizzies in all stages of development travel on an endless chain. The Professor is furnished with a wrench and a box of nuts. He is placed in position and instructed that when a car reaches him he must put a nut in a certain spot and tighten it up. He is warned that he must do this before the car reaches the next man, and that he must repeat the same operation on the next car as it comes along.

"This is too easy," smiles the Professor and playfully gets busy on the first car as it arrives. He repeats the operation on the second while his companion watches him quizzically. The first hour of his labor passes quickly, but by the time the second has gone the ardor of the nut manipulator has begun to ebb. His motions slacken.

"Get a move on, there," comes the voice of the foreman and the Professor braces himself for the worst, for his head is already dizzy and his imploring looks in the direction of his former companion have had no effect.

"Say, I'm getting tired of this. Can't I do something else for a change?" he finally calls across. And adds, "For heaven's sake, don't they ever stop this chain?"

Great heavens, he must put on nuts for ten hours today. What a nightmare! What a nightmare, indeed! But eventually the whistle blows. It's time to quit.

"Come on and eat something and then you can go to bed. You'll have to be up early tomorrow," says his companion. "There's another day ahead."

"No! No! Not another day, not another hour. I've had enough."

"Very well, then so be it. But let's go to the office and get our money."

"Well, what do you want?" asks the clerk as the Professor stands mutely waiting for his reward.

"I want my share of our joint enterprise."

"What's that?"

"I want my share . . ."

"Oh, you mean you want your wages. Sign this."

"No, no. I am an American Worker. a boss. I want my share of our profits."

"Say, what the heck are you talking about? Did your work affect your brain? Here's your five simoleons and now beat it!"

"What, only five dollars for ten hours of slavery at a machine? And Ford gets millions!"

"It's no use to argue," admonishes the stranger. "That's the wage they pay you for a day's labor; you can take it or leave it. There are thousands outside all ready to step into your shoes at the same price." He takes the tired Professor to the nearest park and seats him on a bench.

"Listen to me, Professor," he begins. "You've had some real experience now as a worker, and I hope it's taught you something. If you had had it first, and talked afterwards, you would have arrived at different conclusions than you did after your three years' survey. You would have learned, for instance, that American as well as European and Asiatic workers are all wage-slaves, selling their labor power as a merchant sells his commodity, for what it costs to reproduce it. The amount of wealth the workers produce in the shops has nothing whatsoever to do with the wages they receive. They get only enough for a bare existence, and if the American worker produces, as you say, three times more than the European worker, he is nevertheless only exploited the more in doing so."

"I'm leaving you now, but you can sit here as long as you like and think the matter over."

"Oh, please don't leave me. I've got only five dollars in the world, no job and no place to go."

"You've got plenty of company. There are three or four million just like you—without money and no prospect of a job. So console yourself with that. Write to the Times about it."

Hutcheson Expels Militant

Louis A. Roseland Removed from Minneapolis Carpenters Union

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The expulsion of Louis A. Roseland, leading Left wing militant, from Local 7 of the Carpenter's Union here, marks a climax to a long battle between the Left wing and progressive elements in the Twin City building trades union and the reactionary official machine.

At the last meeting of the local, a communication was read from international president William Hutcheson demanding that Roseland be stricken from the membership rolls. The move was instigated by Andrew Leaf, special organizer of the U. B. C. & J. of A., who did not have the courage to expel Roseland by himself in face of the tremendous opposition among the membership. With the excuse that Roseland was a Communist, Hutcheson demanded his expulsion.

Rank and File Opposes Move...

When the letter was read in the local, the meeting hall bristled with members demanding to be recognized and speak against the reactionary proposal. One member walked from the rear of the hall, stated that he was not a Communist, had no understanding of what Communism stood for, but that he had taken the obligation like all other members, with the provision that his religious, political and domestic affairs would not be called into question. Amid applause, he announced his opposition to Roseland's expulsion. Several others clamored for the floor, making motions to table the matter, and demanding that the chairman rule on whether Roseland gets a trial or the communication is tantamount to forthwith expulsion and the membership had nothing to say about it.

The chairman dared not make an outright ruling, and evaded the issue by saying that Roseland understood the meaning of the document as well as he did and that he did not deem it necessary to make a ruling. Seeing the chairman's weakness, Hutcheson's watchdog, Andrew Leaf, took the floor and explained that immediately after reading the letter, Roseland was no longer a member of the union and that was final. He was greeted with shouts of "Throw him out!" "Sit down!" "We want a decision from the chair!" "To hell with you!" Thereupon the chairman finally called the letter supreme and advised no further action. But as far as "escorting" Roseland out of the hall, or requesting him to leave, the chairman was unwilling.

Upon an appeal from the chair, a mix-up followed, and Roseland finally took the floor, demanding a definite ruling as to whether or not he was still a member of the Brotherhood, since no business can be conducted with a non-member present. The chair, fearing that it would be lost, refused to entertain a motion that followed for Roseland to leave the hall.

The meeting was in an uproar, until Roseland was granted the floor for some last remarks. Briefly, he stated that since his admittance to Local 7 about seventeen years ago, he had fought to the best of his ability for the union and the working class as a whole. "Through the every day struggle on the job, meeting workers of all shades of opinions, I soon became conscious of who the enemy was—the boss—and that my duty was to fight him as well as those who defend him. Because of the fact that I have consistently fought for the amalgamation of craft unions into powerful industrial unions, for the organization of the unorganized, for independent political action of the workers, etc., I have been branded by Hutcheson as an enemy of the trade union movement."

Roseland's removal came at the end of a sharp conflict in the building trades over the erection of the N. W. National Bank Building. Early last spring the building trades locals were united on a program of fighting the Haglin Contracting Co. which was to put up the building. Mass picketing was endorsed by locals, assessments of \$5.00 per member were levied in all locals. The spirit of mass action was manifest in all the unions, the general public was aroused and expected a real battle on this job. In the face of this splendid opportunity to win with hands down, the leaders were negotiating with the city officials and trying to make peace with the police.

A systematic campaign of hushing up the rank and file was begun by communications from local officials, as well as from various internationals and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. stating that the

rank and file must be very careful of what it says and does. Stand by your officials, do not criticize, we are doing all we can! Paul Smith, representative of Bill Green gave assurance that the whole Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was behind (the scenes) the workers in this fight, that there was no reason for hasty action. After months of sabotage by the officials the spirit died down, workers became disgusted some tore up their union cards and went to work on this job. Ranks were breaking and no sign of a strike: only a single banner carried by volunteers for a while, which finally dwindled down to one person.

The class collaborationists were squandering the unions' money without giving an accounting of it. Requests for information were rejected on the pretense that it would hurt the movement. But towards Fall, when the strike had been considered lost for some time, a new leadership had developed in the building trades and the fight was taken up again. Officers of the Building Trades Council and the local unions went on the picket line one morning and were arrested. The news in the capitalist press was the first the workers had received that there had been a picket line on, duty.

Officials Want No "Interference"

This aroused the workers and many appeared on the scene the next morning. Some fell in line, others stood along the curb across the street looking on curiously. At about 7:00 a. m., as the morning before, the police wagons were again brought on the scene to pick up these courageous officers who dared to chat and smile with the police while the scabs were rushing to the gates to get to work. Upon their arrival, they discovered several stowaways in their midst. The labor officials said to them: Who in hell are you? Stowaways from the rank and file. Who the hell told you to come here? asked the polite labor leaders. Nobody; we read in the capitalist papers that everyone who gets on the picket line gets a free ride to the city hall. Well, said the officials, this is strictly our affair and we don't want any more butting in of the rank and file, so tomorrow you stay home.

Next morning, about 6:15 a. m., about 100 rank and file showed up but got no free ride. They became peeved and started calling the scabs names. A big, burly business agent came rushing up the line and howled: Cut it out, can't you see you're making the police sore? Furthermore, can't you see Mr. Haglin, the contractor, and his wife just across the street? What will they think of us if we permit you to

call his men such vile names? We want peaceful picketing as per instructions from Judge Wright. Thus ended the picket line.

About a month ago war broke out in the Building Trades Council. The fight was opened against the Sipperley-Sjostrom machine. By resolution all officers were declared vacant and an election of new officers followed. Paul Smith tried valiantly to stem the tide, but was swept aside with the rest of the rubbish to the tune of 30 to 10.

Immediately after the election of the new leadership, they proceeded to go into all the building trades locals with a program of organization and education, requesting all local unions to elect a committee of five, preferably rank and file members, to work in conjunction with the organization and education committee of the Building Trades Council. This started the fireworks in Carpenters Local Union 7. Its officers, Ole Nelson, Oscar Ericson, Walfred Engdahl and William Young, with Andrew Leaf sitting in occasionally, were the official representatives of Local 7 in the Council. This element had consistently carried out a class collaboration policy, along with Paul Smith, D. F. Sipperley, Attle Sjostrom, Bob Cramer and Co.

For more than a year, Roseland, along with other members of Local 7, had fought for affiliation to the Building Trades Council. Hutcheson sent a letter forbidding it, but permitting affiliation to a Twin City B. T. C. and then only through the Twin City Carpenters District Council.

This was accepted and an agitation was started for the building of a Twin City B. T. C. The secretary of the Twin City Carpenters Council was instructed to call a conference of all building trades locals in both cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) for the purpose of consolidating the two organizations. But instead of making this a broad appeal, it landed in the hands of the executive boards and the ranks never heard of it. Roseland then moved the election of a committee to visit all local unions for the purpose of reaching the rank and file, who would in turn elect similar committees to work with Local 7's for a Twin City B. T. C.

This motion was defeated on some trumped-up grounds. Roseland then moved on December 27, to endorse the program of the B. T. C. education and organization committee, and to proceed with the election of a committee of five members to work with them in accordance with the committee's request. After three or more hours' discussion, the motion was tabled.

The issue in the expulsion of Roseland is in reality the development of a conscious Left wing in Local 7 which has got under the hide of the reactionaries. In order to safeguard their positions they had to have a killing. The last word remains with the union membership not only in the Twin Cities, but throughout the country.

The Struggle of the Miners in Taylorville, Ill.

Taylorville, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

Perhaps you have already read of what happened in the Peabody district. In all the conventions and conferences I have attended, and I have attended most all of them and chiefly on my own meager expenses, I was somewhat set back because Taylorville was considered the weakest district, and it was thought that the work was not good, not effective. The occurrences in the last strike taught me a bit different. When Taylorville came out, and that was about 100 percent, the other districts did not. And I am proud of the boys around here and the walkout shows what lone determined fighting can accomplish. I had no or little assistance, but those things have not stopped me, nor will they stop me. I will continue with my silent persistent work, which is the most effective. I had that experience in the German miners' strike in 1889 and so I will carry on the fight here which will help not only the National Miners Union but also the Communist movement, as the two cannot be separated. The success of the one is the success of the other.

The strike was a success in Taylorville, Pana and the Midland. It was a failure in the other places in the state. We had not enough men to take the lead and some of them are already mis-leaders. On the third day of the strike, when it seemingly looked like a success, all the fakers and would-be fakers clamored for the leadership. Think of it, two preachers, one a Nazarene, and the other a Latter-Day Saints preacher, another an ex-committee-man of Local 58, a renegade and friend of

the bosses, and several other doubtful characters. Then, I think at the order of Freeman Thompson and some local celebrities, I was replaced by the above-mentioned gents, and as soon as the strike fizzled out, they renounced their membership in the N. M. U. so as to hold their jobs, which they did. For their treason to the miners they got a better job while hundreds and more were fired from the mine, and those that were not discharged by the operators were discharged by the Haywoods and Glassgows (U. M. W. A. officials).

At one time they had the jails so full that there was no standing room. I too was nabbed on Friday the 13th. I wanted to be with the boys but the sheriff rounded up Joe Natterman who put up \$2,000 bond for me and I was forcibly escorted home by the sheriff and my house guarded so that I could not get out of the yard.

My trial was postponed three times and comes up Monday January 13. The International Labor Defense took up the majority of the cases, but 65 year old Fritz Bode had to hire his own lawyer because he committed "lese majeste" in quoting from the Militant in one of his speeches, and distributing the Militant among the men. This, I think, was also the reason why I was side-tracked by Freeman Thompson and Company. Some of their ilk had given me previous warning and a bunch of Militants were stolen out of my outside overcoat pocket. Isn't that some wonderful comradeship to treat an old rebel? I was at the Belleville conference when Watt was ousted. It was the most disgraceful procedure I have ever witnessed

Bessedovsky

Trotsky on the «Revelations»

Hardly had Mr. Bessedovsky quit Communism by the way of the back-window and fence of the Soviet embassy in Paris, than he immediately made clear his position in a long series of articles that have been gobbled up by the bourgeois press of the world. In the United States, they are being published by, among others, the Jewish "socialist" Forward with sensational headlines guaranteed to make Willie Hearst turn yellow with envy. From his articles it becomes quite clear that his "revelations" are calculated to open a new attack on the Soviet Union and, as a first result to achieve its diplomatic isolation. Because this time it is a question of "facts" destined to alarm the interested governments. Comrade Trotsky, having received numerous questions, writes:

"You ask me what 'value' the abundant 'revelations' of Bessedovsky have. I confess that I have not read them, because the first article that came to hand appeared to me to be vacuous. After your request, I perused a number of the articles. I have not, of course, any possibility of verifying all his information, seeing that a series of facts he recounts are entirely unknown to me, even from hearsay. Nevertheless, I have run across at least a dozen facts with which I am personally acquainted. The others I can judge only according to the knowledge of the circumstances, the persons, etc. Within these rather broad limits, the memoirs of Bessedovsky are impressive for their fantasy, a fantasy of that particular character known among us as 'chlestakov' (from the name of one of Gogol's heroes, Chlestakov). It is a combined lie, where the element of personal interest joins with an impartial imagination provoked by the absence of any regulating centers. In many cases, Bessedovsky's inventions have quite defined and despicable aims. He is trying to serve those who would like to muddle the relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. and provoke a rupture between Moscow and Paris. At the same time he wants to furnish arguments to the most belligerent elements in Poland and other neighboring countries. Since, despite his rather representative official position, he played a role of only second or third order, he employs for his combinations the petty crumbs that reached him from tables where he had no place. But in many cases, his fantasy has no aim and rather indicates a mind that has lost its balance.

"By the way, I am told that Bessedovsky not only took part until recently in the bureau of the Communist nucleus of the Embassy, but that he played one of the leading roles in the commission charged with purging the nucleus from ...Oppositionists. As you see, he is a man quite qualified for that! This fact at the same time makes clear the political 'evolution' that Bessedovsky has made...not even in twenty-four hours, but within a much shorter time.

"Communist greetings,
"L. Trotsky."

in my 42 years in the revolutionary fight.

After the strike fizzled out, all the would-be leaders crawled back to their holes, kissing and glorifying the hands of their masters, either the operators or the labor fakers. The miners in Taylorville and vicinity are actually starving. This morning, January 7, they discharged 80 more men at No. 7 mine. All members of the N.M.U. must go. Hundreds upon hundreds have already been fired and the little work they had previously was not enough to feed their loved ones.

I sincerely hope that I can stay a while longer in the fight, but the 29th of this month marks my entry into the 65th year, but when I am in the fight, then I feel myself as young as any of them. I never will be a renegade or traitor to my fellow men. I receive a bundle of Militants every issue, and they come in mighty handy right now. As I write, the paper comes in stating that two more of our boys were arrested. I wonder what they will do to me, but let her go!

With the hope that we all remain faithful and fearless and true to the inevitable world revolution, I remain yours as ever,

—FRITZ BODE, Sr.

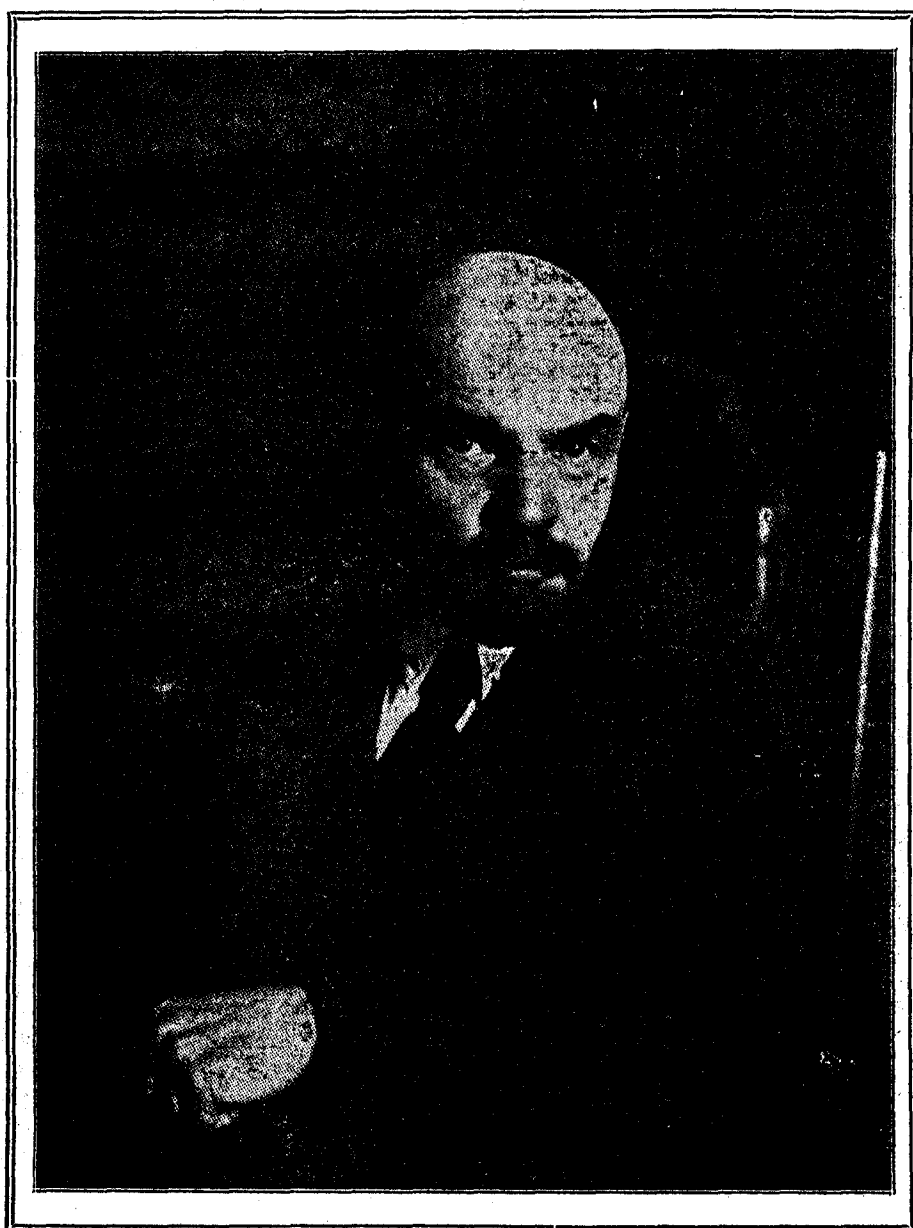
TROTSKY: THE "THIRD PERIOD" THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 4, Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y., Saturday, January 25, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS



Leninism Lives! The Opposition Carries It Forward

Every class society not only produced the movement working for its destruction but the directing genius with whose name the movement is associated. Luther, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lincoln, Bismarck, Robespierre—each of them marks a turning point in society. They are men who were at once the made and the makers of history. But these men, their contemporaries and predecessors, were limited by the very nature of the milieu. While their names are associated with the progress of society in one way or another, they were all the banner-bearers of classes which, in liberating themselves from the fetters of a ruling class, enslaved others in turn.

The Great Men of the Proletariat

The fundamental difference between the great men of bourgeois history and all preceding societies, and the great men of the proletarian revolution is that the latter, in the movement for working class freedom from capitalist class rule, finally liberate all of humanity from class society and open up an entirely new historical era. For this profound social reason, the leaders of the proletarian revolution already tower above all the doers of the past, and the niche they occupy in history still to be written will make them even more prominent. And of these leaders, one of the greatest—if not the outstanding man among them all—is Lenin.

Without capitalism and without the revolutionary proletariat, there could be no Lenin. He was the child of their present and the father of the future. The symbol of the final struggle, he presided over the dying writhings of the one and the painful birth of the other. The struggle between the new and the old therefore stamped his whole life and work.

No article can pretend to give even the briefest resume of his life. It can only mention its most prominent and characteristic features, those that raised Lenin far above the shoulders even of his fellow-fighters and made his name the shibboleth of a world movement.

Foremost in Lenin was his unswerving confidence in the victory of the proletariat, organized and led by its most conscious and determined section, the revolutionary party. For more than twenty years he devoted himself to the formation, clarification and strengthening of the principal arm of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party. He persistently pointed out that the working class as grouped together by capitalist production, without organization, or even with the elementary organization of trade unions, cooperative groups, etc. could carry on a defensive struggle against the daily encroachments of the capitalist class, but never the successful struggle for power. It was a cardinal point in his work, tested and proved in life in 1917, that only by possessing an organized political vanguard, a party embracing the most active, devoted and clearest elements of the class, embodying and crystallizing all the experiences of the struggle, serving as a guide and leader, could the working class rise to the position of the ruling class and free itself from exploitation. With Lenin, the revolutionary proletarian party was the only door through which the working class might enter the realm of power and maintain itself there.

The 1917 revolution in Russia—the greatest experience of the international working class—demonstrated the validity of Lenin's life work. The Bolshevik party was the instrument that brought order out of capitalist chaos and installed

the working class as master of one-sixth of the earth. The Bolshevik party successfully repulsed not only the attacks of the enemy in the country but also the armed intervention of the imperialist world from without. The Bolshevik party successfully organized production and set into motion the wheels of industry that had been jammed by the imperialist and civil wars. The Bolshevik party initiated the formation of the Communist International, the mightiest weapon with which the international working class could be equipped to fulfill its mission in the period of preparing the world revolution.

A Party—Not a Sect

It is necessary to emphasize, particularly in the present day, that Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party was not that of a sect separated from the working class as a whole, living a life of its own outside the domain of the living struggle, pursuing special interests of its own. A mass movement for the sake of numbers was no fetish with him, for he was pre-eminently a fighter who could swim against the current of prevailing opinion. What was essential for him was a party basing itself on the interests of the whole working class so that the strength necessary for victory could be mobilized. He always proceeded from the standpoint of the requirements of the main task: the dictatorship of the proletariat, to which all others must contribute.

Just as the proletarian party was considered by Lenin to be the principal arm of the working class, so the theories of Marxism were considered the granite formation and strength of the party. Revolutionary theory was his most powerful weapon, and in the struggle against those who endeavored to revise Marxism Lenin produced many of the fundamental works of the movement today. He contributed more than any other man to the fact that "Russia attained Marxism, the only revolutionary theory, by dint of fifty years' travail and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy and devotion, in seeking, educating practical experience, disappointment, checking and comparison with European experience."

His regard for theory and unshakable belief that it is only by proceeding from it that the practices of the movement could be correct deserve special emphasis in the struggle today, when an entirely different spirit prevails in the official Communist parties. It is a characteristic of the departure from the teachings of Lenin that has taken place in the movement since his death, that the "leader" of the Communist International and the Russian Party today is one whose ignorance of Marxist-Leninist theory yields only to his contempt for it. It is characteristic of the alienation of the official movement from Leninism that it has allowed to prevail such anti-revolutionary "theories" as socialism in one country, joint workers' and peasants' parties, the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in the colonial revolution and the "socialist development" of the rich peasantry to mention only a few of the "contributions" made to Marxist thought by Stalin since Lenin died.

Just as pernicious as ignorance, from Lenin's point of view, is the contemptuous light-mindedness with which new-fangled "theories" are formulated one day only to be substituted by equally "novel" conceptions the next day, a system that has de-

Continued on Page 7

Mass Unemployment Continues

Unemployment is general throughout the United States, according to the December bulletin of the U. S. Employment Service, issued Jan. 20 by Director Jones. From Maine, where a "seasonal recession in production" was reported from all sections, to Washington State, where the "volume of employment" was reported as decreased as usual at this season, the employment agents have found excuses for the reduction of jobs, but they have admitted the fact that great numbers of men cannot find means of earning a livelihood.

Massachusetts reported that "curtailed schedules obtained in the shoe, textile, machinery, hosiery and celluloid industries in various sections of the state, with rather limited opportunities locally for the released workers in their individual communities." Building trades and unskilled labor were also hard hit.

New York noted that December showed decreased activity in manufactures, and that inventory taking and repairs to plants were under way in many of the larger establishments, throwing large numbers of workers out of employment. Holiday extra help in stores were let out at the end of the month, and the usual flow of unemployed unskilled labor from the country into the cities had begun.

New Jersey reported that some unemployment was "apparent in practically all cities". Pennsylvania found the same condition, with part-time operation in many of the iron and steel mills. Detroit, Pontiac and Flint, in the automotive production area of the Michigan, reported "surplus of

labor apparent" and part-time operation of many factories. Some automobile plants were closed down. Ohio's general view was that practically all trades were suffering from lack of jobs. Automobile, steel and miscellaneous plants were operating on part-time schedules. Rubber factories had let out a considerable part of their force. Thousands of bituminous miners were idle.

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota were among the states whose industries slowed down in December. Chicago had a surplus of railroad maintenance-of-way and shop workers, building tradesmen, and common labor, much of which came in from smaller cities.

PATERSON, N. J.—(FP)—Sixteen hundred men laid off by the Wright Aeronautical Corp. of this city recently waited anxiously for the return of their jobs. They had been told that an inventory was the reason for their lay off, and were led to believe that they would soon be put back to work. Most of them have experienced bitter disappointment as the plant gradually reopened to find themselves still unemployed, while the plant filled their places with women at \$14 a week. The men had been getting about 50 cents an hour.

DURHAM, N. C.—(FP)—Distress is becoming acute among unemployed workers who have been pouring into Durham from other stricken cities and from the farm-sides, seeking work.

Enormous Profits in Southern Tobacco

Enormous profits for the companies contrast with the bitterest exploitation of the workers—Negro and white—in the South's second biggest manufacturing industry—tobacco, in which opportunities for labor organization and struggle are ripened by the sharpened class distinction. Annual financial reports of the big cigarette companies, just released, are very instructive.

Leading in profits is the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. which has attached to Winston-Salem, N. C. the sobriquet of Camel City. Its profits for 1929 reached the amazing total of \$32,210,000 compared with \$29,080,000 in 1927. No question here of an over-expanded industry "profitless" for capitalists, as the textile barons claim.

Enormous Company Profits

The tremendous net earnings, built on the sale of Camels and Prince Albert, come from workers suffering under an even lower scale of wages than cotton mill operatives, and from tobacco growers, many of whom are reported famine-stricken in eastern North Carolina. Unionism is tolerated even less in tobacco factories than in cotton mills. The Tobacco Workers Intl. Union reports the negligible membership of 3,200 based on a few small, but friendly firms in Kentucky manufacturing cigarettes for the union label trade.

R.J. Reynold's net earnings of \$32,210,000 for 1929 are computed after "deducting all charges and expenses of management, and after making provision for interest, taxes, depreciation, advertising, etc." From this sum \$25,500,000 was paid to stockholders and \$6,710,000 transferred to the undivided profits account, which now totals \$51,579,000.

These tremendous earnings are based on the labor of 12,000 Winston-Salem workers, more than half of them negroes. Wages run from \$7 to \$11 a week, with a maximum of 48 cents an hour.

The Winston-Salem tobacco factories are strongly protected against union inroads. R. J. Reynolds answered the activities of E. L. Crouch, vice president of the Tobacco Workers Intl. Union, stationed in the Camel city, by wholesale discharges of unionists. Last year 800 were fired in one batch, many of them negroes. But back in 1920 the union was strong and covered the 14,000 workers then employed in an industry where speedup has since taken its toll in displaced workers. No one got less than 32 cents an hour and the maximum was 64 cents. The Machinists Union had separate contracts covering their men.

The industrial depression of 1921 afforded an excellent opportunity to drive out unionism, which was crushed under militant anti-union tactics and unemployment.

Virtual Famine for Workers

The other side of the R. J. Reynolds exploitation is seen in eastern North Carolina, where the Raleigh News and Observer reveals hunger prevalent and conditions closely approaching a real famine. This is in the tobacco country. At the mercy of the Big Five tobacco corporations, which set the price to be paid the grower at the start of each harvest season, the bright leaf growers, who supply the cigarette trade, find no open market in which to sell. This year with partial crop failure and a price of 24 cents a pound, they find themselves at the mercy of the big cigarette companies, the landlords and the bankers.

TORONTO MILITANTS, ATTENTION!

A class in the fundamentals of Marx and Leninism, under the direction of Maurice Spector, is being organized by the Communist League (Opposition) branch in Toronto. If interested, get in immediately with M. Quarter by telephone: Unity 5783J. All workers invited.

If the number on your wrapper is

29

on your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

The Right wing, which still employs some Communist phraseology purely out of years of habit, has taken another step away from Communism and towards the social democracy. This time the action is laid in Czechoslovakia. The Right wing there has been divided into three camps: the Jilek-Bolen group of Right wingers with some, Centrists leanings, the Right wing organization in Brunn, and the trade union opportunists (Hais et al) who are now in control of the Left wing unions. On December 15, the Action Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Opposition)—the Jilek-Bolen-Houser group recently removed from Party leadership and expelled—held a plenary meeting at which the question of unity in the Right wing camp was discussed.

The report was delivered by Houser, with a co-report by Bolen. The subject of the controversy was the political and organizational resolution worked out by the C. P. C. (Opposition) at a joint conference with the Brunn Opposition on November 25. The resolution was adopted at the Plenary session by a vote of 18 to 4, with Jilek, Bolen, Lipina and Kolzer voting in the negative. While adequate details are not yet at hand, the character of the resolution that forms the basis of the unification of the Czech Right wing groups may be judged from the following illuminating excerpt:

"The proletarian united front is not just a maneuver for the purpose of exposure, but it is a serious policy which has as its task the approachment (annäherung) and collaboration of all class conscious socialist parties that are ready to fight against the bourgeoisie..."

A Break with Communism

Gegen den Strom, the central organ of the German Right wing (Brandler-Thalheimer) quite correctly remarks that this paragraph in incompatible with the Leninist tactic of the united front. It may be added that it breaks not only with some specific tactic of the Communists—which should or should not be applied, according to the conditions of the struggle—but with the fundamental principles of the Communist movement. We know of no socialist parties outside of the Communist Parties that is ready to fight against the bourgeoisie. We know only that all shades of the social democracy, Right as well as "Left", are the decoys of the bourgeoisie in the proletarian movement, that their role in the struggle is essentially one of diverting, confusing and strangling every genuine movement of struggle against capitalism.

To the so-called Left socialists falls the specific task of deceiving the workers into the belief that there are "bad socialists" who collaborate with the bourgeoisie, and "good socialists" who are against the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the working class but still "ready to fight against the bourgeoisie". Their names are A. A. Purcell, James Maxton, Paul Levi, Georg Ledebour, Otto Bauer and Company. Their ranks are wide open to receive the new recruits to national socialism of the "Left" variety—Hauser, Hais, Brandler, Hueber, Seller and Lovestone. The above-mentioned Czech resolution is an indication that the Right wing of the Communist movement is more than ready to meet Bauer and Co. half way.

It is true that Gegen den Strom very formally records its disagreement with the resolution of its Czech colleagues. But it is purely a matter of record with Brandler. Let the archives bear testimony for the future historian that Brandler once recorded his opposition to the crude opportunism of his Czech comrades, and thereby cleared his "international" conscience. (It might be added, of course, that Brandler's policy in Germany, while a bit more refined, is neither better nor worse than Houser's in Czechoslovakia.)

But no sooner has Brandler so devoutly "fulfilled his international obligations", than he turns around in the very next issue of his paper (Vol. 3, No. 1), and gives a glowing and unrestrained account of the "Unification of the Three Communist Opposition groups in Czechoslovakia". And lo and behold! there is not as much as a syllable whispered about the resolution so formally and unobtrusively criticized a week before. It is not against this vulgar piece of Menshevism that Brandler now directs his shafts, but against the timid souls,

Jilek and Bolen, who presumed to oppose the unification on the basis of the submitted resolution! Brandler suddenly discovers—after having lavished praise upon them for months—that Jilek and Bolen are "the two representatives of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow era in Czechoslovakia"—the worse thing Brandler can say about anyone.

That is the contemptible way in which the Right wing "criticize" each other's new strides away from Communism. "You must understand, dear Houser," says Brandler, "that I will have to say an embarrassed word or two in *Gegen den Strom*. But please do not feel hurt. We are really for a Hands Off policy, and in our next issue I will write a full page eulogizing you in such unmeasured and uncritical terms that nobody will remember the petty criticism I made the week before."

The Right Wing Doesn't "Intervene"

Thus proceeds the occupation of new social democratic territory by the Right wing in every country and the ever greater distance it puts between itself and its former Communist base. Every group knows there is no danger of any serious "intervention" by the other.

A similar case may be found in the United States. With a simplicity and ease that does no credit to his followers, Lovestone has succeeded in allying his group with the Brandler group in Germany. The completeness of this reversal may be judged from the fact that there has not been a national or international party congress or plenum since 1924 where Lovestone did not condemn Brandler and Co. from hell to breakfast as the outstanding representative of social democracy in the Communist movement. Lovestone prided himself on being the most prominent antagonist of Brandlerism, and made this antagonism one of his principal claims to leadership in the American party. Inside of six months, Lovestone erased five years of his record. The two Right wing groups have agreed to let each other traverse its own specific path of national reformism without molestation or "petty criticism".

But the outward forms of "internationalism" must be maintained. Even Otto Bauer will sometimes be found criticizing the more scandalous actions of his British or German colleagues in the Second International. Therefore the current issue of the Revolutionary Age contains a criticism of M. N. Roy that is positively touching in the delicacy of its reproach. In a recent article, Roy condemned not only the pet abomination of the Right wingers, the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., but also the Sixth Congress: the latter was too "Left" for him. In a "critical" article of reply Herberg assures Roy that he is wrong. The Sixth Congress was not a "Left" Congress; its leaders were Bucharin, Lovestone, Jilek, Serra and Humbert-Droz, says Herberg. The only trouble is that its work is being revised now.

Roy's Nationalism

Alas, even the tender criticisms of Herberg are lost on Roy. The latter is a well-known Indian nationalist, who has travelled for the last 4 to 5 years from Moscow to Shanghai to Moscow to the Riviera to Berlin to Moscow and back to Berlin, where he is now the "international" specialist of the Brandlerites. All these years he has had to masquerade in a Communist costume. Now he has thrown it off. Even the Sixth Congress was "too radical" for him. With his expulsion from the Comintern, there is no longer even the faintest restraining leash upon him.

He will not lose any sleep over Herberg's criticism. He knows that it means nothing and can accomplish nothing. So long as he doesn't interfere with Lovestone's effort to create a temporary berth between the socialist and Communist movements of this country, Lovestone will not expose the sleight-of-hand tricks by which Roy pulls nationalist policies and theories out of a Bolshevik hat.

DETROIT—(FP)—Workers in the Motors Products Co. in Detroit are making as low as \$1.25 for a 10-hour day. This is done by returning work done on a piece-work rate as "unfinished". Many workers have left their jobs as this system enters its fourth week.

TROTSKY

The writings of L. D. Trotsky are the richest and most fruitful contributions being made to the labor and revolutionary movements today. There is not a problem that great Bolshevik touches which is not immediately illuminated in all its aspect. And the problems he deals with concern the most vital interests of the whole movement.

The international labor and Communist movements are in a critical situation. Never has the need for clarity been so urgent as it is today. Never has the need for straight Marxist thinking been so pressing. Nobody is doing more in this field than Trotsky.

The situation in the Soviet Union, the fountain-head of the revolutionary movement today, which offers so many complexities to the average observer, is made clear and understandable by Trotsky's writings. In fact, the course of events in the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist Party can be evaluated properly only by a reading of the works of the Russian Opposition which Trotsky speaks for and leads.

In the United States, Trotsky's writing appear regularly in the Militant. Just as the first writings of Lenin in this country became a mighty instrument for the molding of the revolutionary movement years ago, the writings of Trotsky now are playing the same role in the movement at a different stage.

Among the articles by Trotsky that have appeared in the Militant recently are: Disarmament and the United States of Europe. Syndicalism and Communism. The Austrian Crisis and Communism. Who is Leading the Communist International? What is Happening in China? Twelve years of the Russian Revolution. The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition. Etc. Etc. No active worker can afford to be without these contributions which appear only in the Militant.

In 1930, the Militant plans to continue the publication of Trotsky's writing, which will include some of the most brilliant work he has yet done in the course of his years in the revolutionary movement. The best way to insure getting these copies of the Militant regularly, is to subscribe for a year. A yearly subscription is \$2.00 or \$1.00 for six months.

MILITANT

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 7

THE BULLETIN
of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitalists. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

ALL ARTICLES IN RUSSIAN

25c each

18c in bundles

Order From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue,

New York, N. Y.

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, No. 4, January 25 1930. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. (Total No. 29)

The Struggle for the South

Green's Pleas to the Bosses, the Progressives and the Communists

By James P. Cannon

The theses of the unlucky leaders of the Communist Party nowadays seem to be written in order that events may speedily refute them. Such is the fate of the Foster revelation of a year ago regarding the "decline of the A. F. of L." The formal opening of the A. F. of L. campaign in the South brushes this theory into the discard, while, incidentally, it confirms all that we said in the subject in our Platform (The Militant, 2-15-1929).

The conference at Charlotte, N. C., was staged on a scale designed to attract the maximum of attention, and the resources placed at the disposal of the United Textile Workers ought to remove all doubt that the reactionary McMahon organization henceforth will contest the field with the Communists far more aggressively than was the case in the year just passed, which marked the entrance of the National Textile Workers Union into the South. The Federated Press dispatch of January 16, states that 15 organizers have been assigned to the work of organizing the Southern cotton mill workers into the U. T. W. and that 25 will be in the field in the near future. Along with this goes the announcement of imposing financial support to the campaign. Discounting much of this as typical promotion talk, the entry of the A. F. of L. as a real contender in the Southern labor situation remains a clearly established fact which none but fools can deny.

The A. F. of L. Program

In all the preparations for their campaign in the South the reactionaries run true to form as "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," as DeLeon called them many years ago. Peaceful partnership with the bosses and war to the knife on the workers' vanguard—the sword and shield of labor reaction—is the undisguised program, as frankly proclaimed at the Charlotte conference. "No strikes are to be called," is the promise to the exploiters of labor by Thomas F. McMahon, president of the U. T. W., and "give us a trial" is the supplementary plea of William Green, in the name of the A. F. of L. Coupled with this supplication to the bosses to give them a chance to "be of service" is the inevitable declaration of war on the Communists. "There will be a never-ending conflict between the American Federation of Labor and these destructive people," is the pledge made in Green's speech at the conference, reported in the New York Times (1-7-1930).

The whole strategy of the reactionaries is elucidated here: To make their appeal to the employers and offer them a safe alternative to the Left wing unions.

In all this there is nothing new, much as it may surprise the ignoramuses who explain this—and all other—phenomena by the newly baked theory of "social-fascism". In offering itself as a strike-breaker and bulwark against radicalism, the United Textile Workers is repeating its own inglorious role of the past. During the Lawrence strike of 1912 it made a contract with the mill owners and attempted to stampede the strikers back to work on the bosses' terms—a maneuver exposed and defeated by the militant I. W. W. It did the same thing in the Paterson strike of 1914, coming in at the height of the strike and openly conspiring with the bosses and police to break it. Such instances in the American labor movement are innumerable. They can be found in every field where labor militants have come to the front as the organizers of the workers. Even today's strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York against restaurants "signed up" with the A. F. of L. union is an old story. The writer recalls an identical situation in Minneapolis in 1914 when I. W. W. restaurant workers on strike were confronted one morning with a card in the window proclaiming the establishment to be a "union house". The theory of "social fascism" is not necessary to explain the A. F. of L. campaign of treachery in the South to anyone who knows the A. B. C. of American labor history and the role of the "labor lieutenants" of the bosses. This hare-brained theory serves no purpose except to muddle and confuse the workers and thus, in its objective consequences, to weaken them in their fight.

What part are the "progressives" of the C. P. L. A. playing in this conflict

in the South? They are playing a characteristic one which gives the honest progressive worker a good opportunity to compare their words with their deeds and to judge them accordingly. In a New Year's manifesto, A. J. Muste, the head of the C. P. L. A., called for "militancy, determination and idealism" in the labor movement and predicted: "The year 1930 will be a year of strikes and of renewed aggressiveness on the part of the American workers." These are the words, and they are fair ones. What of the deeds? Several C. P. L. A. leaders are assigned as organizers in the A. F. of L. campaign with its pledge of "no strikes" and its war to the knife on the Left wing exponents of "militancy, determination and idealism" in the labor movement.

The C. P. L. A. people are playing the role of come-ons for the labor fakers. They were present at the Charlotte conference but the reports contain no reference to any protest on their part against the reactionary program. One of the committee of three appointed by Green to direct the campaign is Paul Smith, who is not unknown to the "progressives" of the West. His sole occupation as the A. F. of L. "organizer" for several years has been to break up Central Labor bodies tainted with signs of "militancy, determination and idealism". The Central Labor Councils of Detroit, Seattle, Minneapolis, Great Falls and other cities which supported some of the planks in the C. P. L. A. program know him for this work and for no other. The Federated Press release for January 8 says "Smith...is regarded as a policy man within the A. F. of L." You bet he is. His policy is reaction, and it will govern the campaign as everybody knows. The "progressives" will work under him and according to his policy.

The Bosses' Program and the A. F. of L. Program

The A. F. of L. chiefs want to serve the interests of the employers but they are not the same as the employers and their programs at the moment are not identical. If one is to understand the labor situation in the South it is necessary to see this important differentiation, much as it conflicts with the dogma of "social fascism". The Southern bosses are not yet ready to accept the A. F. of L. as an alternative to Left wing unionism. They are determined to fight it also as they did at Marion. They want no union at all. The mill owners' press greeted the Charlotte conference with full page advertisements against all labor organizations, citing the case of "ruined Massachusetts" where unionism is alleged to exist. From this conflict of programs great struggles may arise despite the wishes of the A. F. of L. leaders and their program of "no strikes". Even if the reactionaries succeed in temporarily defeating the Left wing union the issue will be by no means settled. It is quite possible that the struggle between the Right and Left for the leadership of the workers will take other forms than those indicated at the moment. The clearer this is seen the better will be the safeguards against pessimism and panic in the event of a temporary defeat of the Left union.

Under the present conditions, the center of gravity lies in the head-on fight between the rival unions—the reactionary U. T. W. and the Left wing N. T. W.—for the support of the workers. The support of the N. T. W. is the first duty of the class conscious workers. This applies not only to the Southern textile workers but to the proletarian vanguard throughout the country; the textile workers cannot be organized against the bosses and the A. F. of L. without the help of the entire American movement of militant labor. Of what should this support consist? Well, first of all it should be to try to understand the whole situation and then to tell the truth about it. This is the way a Communist approaches every problem of the class struggle. The robot like support of everything said and done in the name of the Left wing union regardless of its wisdom or its folly; the craven acquiescence in false policy which throw the new union off the track; the treacherous silence of accomplices in factional disruption which plays the game of the mill owners and the labor fakers—all this is the business of soulless functionaries who have lost

sight of the interests of the workers. Communist revolutionaries will scornfully reject these criteria of "support" which are designed only to shield the Foster wrecking crew from accountability to the workers.

Mistakes of the Party Leaders

The Party leaders, by false policies and by factional juggling of the most criminal kind, have laid heavy handicaps on the National Textile Workers Union, and are sending it into the great contest weakened and ill-prepared. They threw away the great opportunity to dramatize the Southern struggle around the Gastonia case and to mobilize all the best forces of the working class for the support of the N. T. W. By abandoning the historic struggle of American labor against the frame-up system they lost the chance to line up the Northern workers and they cleared the way for multiplied persecution in the future—one of the greatest obstacles to the organization of the Southern textile workers.

Their failure to employ united front tactics of approach to the Marion strikers and to link this situation up in a national agitation with the Gastonia fight was likewise a costly blunder. The striking workers of Marion who were shot down on the picket line belong to us; it is thanks only to the multiplied bungling of the party bureaucrats that McMahon and Co. are enabled to wave the tradition of Marion as a banner for their reactionary campaign.

On the organization side the Foster leadership has no less to account for. Considering the great historical importance of the struggle in the South and the immensity of the task the organizing force and the financial support assigned to it were ridiculously inadequate; and the constant juggling and shifting of forces, dictated, as a rule, by party factional exigencies, greatly hampered the campaign. These mistakes of the past might be passed by if there were signs of change and improvement; but this, unfortunately, is not the case. The latest exploits of the Party bosses in the N. T. W. are blows against its future.

The Removal of Weisbord

The principal achievement of the recent convention of the N. T. W. was the elimination of the three former officials—Weisbord, Keller and Dawson, who, it is reported, are tainted more or less with Lovestonism—of carrying over one might say, the official Comintern line of 1928 into the year 1929. So far as the Lovestone clique of leaders is concerned, we have recorded our opinions fully and adequately many times, and not since yesterday. We need not repeat these opinions here except to remark that everything to be found in the Party campaign against them which has political complexion and substance is borrowed almost literally from material written by us long ago when the present leaders of the Party were united with them like a band of brothers in the war against "Trotskyism", i. e. against the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin. The task of educating the Communist vanguard in the ideological struggle against the petty-bourgeois theories and practices of Lovestone, Wolfe and Co. is one we have not shirked in the past and will not shirk in the future.

But this educational work will be hindered and not advanced by the arbitrary removal of their adherents from the Left wing unions. Such a course will have far-reaching consequences, leading to the disruption of the unions—or their transformation into impotent sects, which amounts to the same thing, and we declare emphatically against it.

The "victories" of the Party caucus do not pass unnoticed either by the workers or their enemies. The masses of the textile workers who saw in Weisbord the organizer of the great Passaic strike, the symbol of their aspiration for militant organization will not be enthused by his removal for purely party reasons.

Labor leaders, able to arouse and organize the masses, are not manufactured so easily in a Party caucus or a caucus bound convention. To his faults, many and serious, we have never been blind; we had occasion to speak of them more than once when he was being artificially, and quite disgustingly, promoted and advertised like Barnum's white elephant. The elements of the careerist intellectual in him, which determined his affinity for the Lovestone faction, were as plain as a pike-staff and these odious traits were stimulated by his factional exploitation during the Lovestone regime in the Party.

But in throwing Weisbord aside without any serious or valid reasons, the Party

Prospect Bad for Builders

By T. P. LEWIS

CHICAGO—(FP)—Now that the data is available, building trades workers can size up the prospects for work and organization in the industry for the coming year. The first, work, depends on both the volume of building to be done and the technical advances in construction. The outlook is bad. With regard to organization and union demands, the ensuing year will in all probability see many struggles between associations of employers intent on doing away with what they term "prosperity" working conditions and building unions loath to give up the advantages won during the past eight booming years.

Peak Reached in 1928

The outstanding characteristic of the industry from the point of view of the worker in overalls is and probably will continue to be throughout the year, a dearth of jobs. The present slackness in employment is much more than the usual winter layoff. The all-time peak of building production was reached in May, 1928. From that peak to the following February, 1929, the drop in building activity was 44%. In Oct. 1, 1929, when the stock market crash occurred contracts awarded had already been declining for 17 months.

December 1929 was the lowest December recorded in the records of a statistical organization operating in the 37 Eastern states for all time. Almost the entire drop is in the residential section. In fact, non-residential construction as a whole showed an increase of 4% in 1929 over 1928. It was mainly the booming condition of residential building which includes apartments that gave jobs to so many workers.

The advancing technique of construction has wiped out many jobs. High building costs in 1929 were an incentive to speed-up, both directly as noticed and complained about by many union workers, and in new methods. Here are a few examples of expedited construction: In Mississippi a 22-story reinforced concrete structure was placed in seven weeks. The merchandise mart in Chicago, the world's largest building, was the scene of the most comprehensive assemblage of building equipment ever brought together. Cement was distributed pneumatically and concrete was placed by conveyors. New developments in scaffold erection and high-speed hoists have materially cut down on time.

Burden Workers with Losses

Grumbling about high wages is already heard in boss circles. In spite of professional optimists paid by trade journals or hired by the bosses' organizations to spread good cheer, the employer knows 1930 will be a lean year in the building industry. He saw his profits cut in 1929 and is preparing to pass some of his losses on to the workers, forgetting the fabulous profits that in the main have made seven fat years for him.

NEW YORK—(FP)—Exploitation of child workers as young as 10 in scallop sheds along the southern shore of Long Island is under attack. The children await the arrival of the scallop fisherman late in the afternoon and work on the docks of in badly ventilated board shacks until late in the evening shelling and packing the scallops. Paid by the gallon, they rarely earn as much as \$2 a day.

manipulators are discarding a valuable and necessary force in the struggle to organize the textile workers against the mill owners and the A. F. of L. reactionaries.

But the harmful effects of these latest removals go deeper than the question of the individuals involved. It is another advertisement to the world that the Foster bureaucrats demand a hand-picked administration of yes-men in the unions under their control and that no dissenting opinions will be tolerated. A persistence in this course over a long enough period will seal the doom of the Left wing unions as mass organizations and give the game to the exploiters and their labor agents. This course is today a cancer eating the vitals of the N. T. W. The struggle for a correct line of policy and a drastic reformation of administrative methods is a pressing duty of Communist workers, in the North as well as in the South, who want to give real support to the National Textile Workers Union.

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

What is Radicalization of the Masses?

By L. D. Trotsky

The radicalization of the masses for the Comintern has become, at present, a bare catechism and not the characterization of a process. Genuine Communists—teaches l'Humanité—should recognize the leading role of the party and the radicalization of the masses. It is meaningless to put the question that way. The leading role of the party is an unshaken principle for every Communist. Who does not follow it can be an anarchist or a confusionist, but not a Communist, that is, a proletarian revolutionist. But radicalization itself is not a principle, but only a characterization of a state of the masses. Is this characterization correct or is it not correct for the given period? That is a question of fact. In order to estimate seriously the state of the masses, correct criteria are necessary. What is radicalization? How does it express itself? What are its characteristics? With what tempo and in which direction does it develop? The deplorable leadership of the French Communist party does not even pose these questions. At most an official article or a speech will refer to the growth of strikes. But even there only bare figures are given, without serious analysis, without even a simple comparison with the ones of the preceding years.

Such an attitude to the question follows not only from the unfortunate decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. but, as a matter of fact from the very program of the Comintern. It speaks of the radicalization of the masses as a continuous process. It believes: today the mass is more revolutionary than it was yesterday, and tomorrow it will be more revolutionary than it is today. Such a mechanical idea does not correspond with the real process of development of the proletariat and of capitalist society as a whole. But does correspond, as perfectly as possible, with the mentality of the Cachins, Monmousseaus and the other frightened opportunists.

The social democratic parties, especially before the war, had imagined the future as a continual growth of social democratic votes, which will grow till it comes to the very moment of the complete possession of power. For a vulgar or pretended evolutionary this perspective still remains, essentially, its force, only instead of continuous growth of votes, he talks of the continual radicalization of the masses. This mechanical conception is sanctioned also by the Bucharin-Stalin program of the Comintern. It goes without saying that from the point of view of our epoch as a whole the development of the proletariat goes in the direction of the revolution. But this is not at all a straight process, just as the objective process of the sharpening of capitalist antagonism is not straight. The reformists see only the ups of the capitalist road. The formal "revolutionists" see only its downs. But a Marxist sees the line as a whole, with all its conjunctural rises and declines, without for a moment losing sight of its main direction—to the catastrophes of wars, to the outburst of revolutions.

The political feelings of the proletariat are far from changing automatically in one and the same direction. The rising of the class struggle are followed by its fallings, the flood-tides by the ebbs, depending upon complicated combinations of material and ideological conditions, internal and international. The activity of the masses, if not utilized at the right moment, or used wrong, goes to its opposite and ends in a period of decline, from which the masses recover faster or slower, again due to the influence of new objective stimuli. The characteristic of our epoch is the especially sharp changes of different periods, the extraordinary abrupt turns in the situation and this puts upon the leadership unusual obligations in the matter of correct orientation.

The activity of the masses, even when it is quite correctly ascertained, may have different expressions depending upon different conditions. The mass may, at certain periods, be completely absorbed in

an economic struggle, and show very little interest in political questions. On the other hand, suffering from a series of failures on the field of the economic struggle, the mass may abruptly transfer its attention to the realm of politics. But here too—depending upon a series of conditions and on the experience with which a mass entered these conditions—its political activity may go either by the purely parliamentary way or by way of extra-parliamentary struggle.

We take only a very few examples, which characterize the contradictions of the revolutionary development of the proletariat. Those who know how to follow facts and understand their meaning, will admit without difficulty that the variations traced above are not some kind of theoretical combination but an expression of the living international experience of the last decade.

In any case, it is clear from what has been said that when the radicalization of the masses is being discussed, a concrete definition of it should be demanded. The Marxist Opposition should, of course, put the same demand to itself. A bare denial of radicalization brings just as little as its complete affirmation. We should have an estimate of that which is and of that which is becoming.

The Strike Curve in France

The official leaders speak of the radicalization of the French working class almost exclusively in connection with the strike movement. The growth of the latter is an incontestable fact, systematically established. We will take this fact as a starting point.

The official statistic of strikes in France are always extraordinarily late. The last report of the Ministry of Labor on strikes ends with the year 1925. For 1926 I have not data at my disposal. For the next three years there is the data of the Communist press. There is absolutely no doubt that the figures taken from the two sources mentioned are incommensurable. It is doubtful if the Ministry of Labor registers all strikes with the necessary completeness. On the other hand, the superficial "revolutionists" of l'Humanité have an obvious tendency to give exaggerated data. But in spite of that the general tendency of the movement comes out clearly enough.

The strike movement in France reached its highest point in the first two years after the war. In 1919, 2,100 strikes took place in which 1,200,000 workers participated. In 1920, there were 1,900 strikes, in which almost 1,500,000 workers were involved. As to the number of strikers, this is the year of its high point. With the year 1921 there begins—with one small exception which will be mentioned later—a systematic decline, which reaches its lowest point in the years 1926-27. Here are the figures in round numbers: 1921: 450,000 strikers, that is, one-third of the number in the preceding year. In 1922: 300,000 strikers. Only in 1923 does the curve not decline but even rises slightly and shows 365,000 strikers. This episodic rise was undoubtedly due to the events connected with the occupation of the Ruhr and the revolutionary movement in Germany. In 1924, the number of strikers goes down to 275,000. For 1926, as already said, we have no data. For 1927 we have only the total number of strikes: there were only 230 of them, while in the years 1919-1925 the number of strikes varied between 570 and 2,100. Although the number of strikes is a rather crude index, still it does not leave room for doubt that the curve of strikes continued, in general, to fall, beginning from 1921 and including 1927. In the last quarter of 1927, there were 93 strikes with 70,000 strikers. Supposing that the number of strikes was the same on the average during the whole year, (an obviously arbitrary supposition), we will have approximately 170,000 for 1927, a number which is exaggerated rather than understated.

In 1928, the Communist press counts about 800 strikes, about 600 of which belong to the second half of the year, with 363,000 participants. Consequently it is possible to adopt, for the whole year of 1928, a hypothesis of 400,000 to 450,000 strikers. The same press shows 1,200 strikes

for 1929 with approximately the same number of participants as in 1928 (that is, 400,000 to 450,000). Thus, in comparison with the preceding year there is no rise. The number of strikers in 1928, as also in 1929, is about twice as big as in 1925. It is nearly the same as the number of strikers in 1921. It is three to three and a half times less than in 1920.

All these figures, as has already been noted above, do not pretend to be absolutely exact, but they are enough to define the dynamics of the process. After the high point of strikes in 1919-20, the diminishing progression takes place until 1923, with a very small break in 1923. In the years of 1928-29 we observe an unmistakable, and, what is more, a considerable increase of the strike movement, connected it is not hard to understand—it will be shown further on—with the rise in industry under the influence of the stabilization of the currency.

We can say with perfect confidence that the period of 1919-27 forms a certain independent cycle in the life of the French proletariat, including the cyclonic rise of the strike movement immediately after the war, as well as its defeats and its decline especially acute after the catastrophe in Germany in 1923. In the most general of its aspects this cycle is characteristic not only of France alone, but of the whole of Europe, and in considerable degree, the whole world. What is characteristic of France as such is the comparatively moderate extent of fluctuation between the highest and lowest points of the cycle: victorious France did not go through a genuine revolutionary crisis. In the rhythm of the French strike movement the gigantic events developing in Russia, Germany, England, and other countries found only a weakened reflection.

The same tendencies of the strike movement of the French workers are indicated by other data. The number of strikers and the number of days of each strike, fell sharply beginning with the year 1922. In 1921 each strike had an average of 800 strikers and lasted more than 14,000 days. In 1925 each strike already had less than 300 strikers and a little more than 2,000 days. We can assume that in 1926-27, these averages did not in any case, grow bigger. In 1929, we already have 400 men per strike.

We shall note another important index, which we shall need later. In the post-war years, the first place among the strikers belonging mainly to the miners the last two years, the first place is occupied by the textile workers and, in general, by the so-called light industry.

What do the Data of the Statistics Show?

Do they confirm the thesis of the radicalization of the masses or do they refute it? First of all, we answer, it takes it out of the realm of abstractions in which Monmousseau says Yes and Chambelland says No, without giving any definition of what is meant by radicalization. The data of the strike struggle given above are indisputable proof of certain moves in the working class. At the same time, they give a very important estimate of the number and quality of these moves. They outline the general dynamics of the process and make it possible, to a certain degree to anticipate the tomorrow, or more exactly, the possible variations of the tomorrow.

In the first place, we can affirm that the data for 1928-29, compared with the preceding period, characterize the beginning of a new cycle in the life of the French proletariat. They give us the right to assume that deep molecular processes have taken and are taking place in the masses, as a result of which the inert force of the decline begins—if only on the economic front for the present—to be overcome.

Nevertheless, the same data show that the growth of the strike movement is still very modest, and does not in the least give a picture of a tempestuous overflow, which would allow us to draw conclusions about a revolutionary or at least a pre-revolutionary period. In particular, there is no marked difference between 1928 and 1929. In the front rank of the strike movement, there still stand, as

was mentioned above, only the establishments of light industry. From this fact, Chambelland comes to a general conclusion against radicalization. It would be a different matter, he says, if strikes were taking hold of the large enterprises in heavy industry and the machine shops. In other words, he imagines that radicalization falls from the sky ready made. As a matter of fact these figures testify not only that the new cycle of proletarian struggle has begun, but also that this cycle is now only passing through its first stage. After defeat and decline, a revival, in the absence of any great events, could only start in no other way than from the industrial periphery, that is, from the light industries, from the secondary branches, from the smaller establishments of heavy industry. The transfer of the strike movement into the metal industry, machine shops, and transportation, would mean its transition to a higher stage of development, and would signify not only the symptoms of the beginning of a movement but the fact of a decisive break in the mood of the working class. It has not come yet. But it would be absurd to shut our eyes to the first stage of the movement only because the second has not begun yet or the third, or the fourth. Pregnancy even in its second month is pregnancy. To force it may lead to a miscarriage. But it is possible to arrive at the same result by ignoring it. It may be well, though, to add to this analogy that in the social realm dates are by no means as stable as in the realm of physiology.

Facts and Phrases

In discussing the question of the radicalization of the masses, it should not for a moment be forgotten that the proletariat attains its "monolithism" only in periods of the highest revolutionary flood tide. In the conditions of "every day life" in capitalist society, the proletariat is far from being homogeneous. Moreover, the heterogeneity of its layers manifests itself most acutely precisely at the turning points in the road. The most exploited, the least skilled, or the politically most backward layers of the proletariat are frequently the first to enter the arena of struggle, and, in case of failure, are often the first to desert it. It is exactly in the new period that those groups which did not suffer defeats in the preceding period are easily attracted to the movement, if only because they did not generally take part in big fights. In one way or another, these phenomena are bound to appear also in France.

The same fact is shown by the indissolution of the organized French workers which is pointed out by the official Communist press. Yes, the organized workers have their inhibitions too well developed. Considering themselves an insignificant part of the proletariat the organized are often apt to play a conservative role. It is not, of course, an argument against organization, but an argument against its weaknesses, and an argument against those trade union leaders of the type of Monmousseau, who do not understand the nature of trade union organization and are not able to guarantee it a proper place in the working class. But, in any case, for the given moment the vanguard role of the unorganized testifies that the question is not as yet about a revolutionary, but about a joint-economic struggle, and that, moreover, in its elementary stage.

The same thing is demonstrated by the important role of the foreign born workers in the strike struggle, who—by the way—will in the future play in France a part analogous to that of the Negroes in the United States. But that is in the future. At present, the part played in strikes by the foreigners who often do not know the language, is another proof of the fact that it is not a question of political but economic struggle, to which an impetus has been given by the change in the economic conjuncture.

Even in relation to the purely economic front, one cannot speak of the offensive character of the struggle, as Monmousseau and company do. They base this definition on the fact that a considerable percentage of the strikes are conducted in the name of increased wages. The thoughtful leaders forget that such a form of demands is forced upon the workers on the one hand by the rise of prices

*The official central organ of the French Communist Party. What comrade Trotsky writes about it applies with little if any change to the official press of the Stalinists in other countries, the Daily

Throughout the World of Labor

The New Udrzal Government in Czecho-Slovakia

After six weeks of laborious combinations, the new government has now been formed. The government chief, Udrzal, is an Agrarian, his party (the strongest) has four ministers in the new cabinet. The other ministries are divided among the following parties: Czech Social Democrats, 3; Czech National-Socialists, 3; 1 ministry each to the following parties: Czech National Democracy, German Agrarians, Czech Industrial, Czech Clericals, German Social Democrats. The ministry of finance is allotted to a "non-Partisan".

Thus, eight parties participated in the new government. They unite more than 5 million votes; the parties outside of the government (Czech and German Fascists, German Nationalists, Hlinka, German and Hungarian Christian Socialists, Communists) have about 2,300,000 votes.

The new international-bourgeois-socialist coalition therefore has a strong majority. It also calls itself the Concentration Cabinet. The former national-bourgeois-socialist coalition showed themselves to be too narrow. The birth of the new government was a hard one. The old basis of democracy no longer suffices and the social democracy, in the role of a liberal party has to save bourgeois democracy. This is a sign of weakness in the politics of the

in food products, and on the other by the intensified physical exploitation of the worker as a result of new industrial methods (rationalization). A workman is compelled to demand an increase in his nominal wages in order to defend his standard of living of yesterday. These strikes can have an "offensive" character only from the standpoint of capitalist bookkeeping. From the standpoint of trade union policies they have a purely defensive character. It is precisely this side of the question that every serious trade unionist should have clearly understood and brought to the forefront by every means. But Monmousseau and company believe they have a right to be good-for-nothing trade unionists because they are, if you please, "revolutionary leaders". Shouting till they are hoarse about the offensive, political and revolutionary character of purely defensive strikes, they do not of course, change the nature of these strikes and do not increase their significance by a single inch. But on the other hand, they do their best to arm the bosses and the government against the workers.

It does not improve matters when our "leaders" point out that the strikes become "political" on account of . . . the active role of the police. An astounding argument! The beating up of strikers by policemen is designated . . . a revolutionary advance of the workers. The history of France knows quite a few massacres of workers in purely economic strikes. In the United States, a bloody settlement with strikers is the rule. Does this mean that the workers in the United States are leading the most revolutionary struggle? The shooting of strikers has in itself, of course, a political significance. But only a loud-mouth could identify it with the revolutionary political advance of the working masses—thus unconsciously playing the hand of the bosses and their police.

When the British General Council of Trade Unions represented the revolutionary strike of 1926 as a peaceful demonstration, it knew what it was doing: that was a deliberately planned betrayal. But when Monmousseau and company represent scattered economic strikes as a revolutionary attack on the bourgeois state, nobody will think of accusing them of a deliberate betrayal: it is doubtful of these people can act with deliberation. But it is certainly no help to the workers.

In the next article we will see how these terribly revolutionary heroes render some other services to the bosses, ignoring the rise of commerce and industry, underestimating its significance, that is, underestimating the profits of the capitalists—and by the same token undermining the foundation of the economic struggles of the workers.

All this is done, of course, to the glory of the "third period".

Prague, December 18, 1929

bourgeoisie. It is compelled to confide to the social democracy the safeguarding of its profit interests. The social democracy assumes the task of appeasing the masses aroused by the crises. Without the reformists it would hardly be possible to form a parliamentary government. At the same time, however, it shows the strength of the bourgeoisie and the weakness of the proletarian party (the Communist) when the bourgeois parties could permit themselves to carry on coalition skirmishes for six weeks without the combinatory idyl being destroyed by the proletariat.

What is the background of the new government formation and where are its perspectives?

The Czecho-Slovak bourgeoisie has an industrial crisis to overcome. Politically, this was expressed among other things, by its loss of the confidence of substantial masses and that it now required the reformists in order to establish the political equilibrium. But it utilizes the reformists without qualms for it has nothing to fear from them. On the contrary, they will assist it in surmounting the industrial crisis.

Φ

The economic situation is far from cheerful. The expansion of American capital in Europe, the concentration and rationalization measures in North America (for the overcoming of the crisis there) evokes crises in Europe. Germany and the other European states, supplanted by American capital, are sharpening the competition in Europe. Characteristic is the passive balance of trade of Czecho-Slovakia with Germany in September, the smallest total of foreign trade as a whole in comparison with the previous year. The largest figures of Czecho-Slovakia are shown by its foreign trade with Germany, Austria, Poland, England, Hungary, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia. In most of these countries the expansion of the Czech republic seems to be checked. In comparison with the previous year, the export of textiles fell 6 percent, leather goods, 4 percent, fruits and vegetables 27 percent. Other manifestations of a crisis are also plainly observable. There is a weakening of demand for money and a decline in industrial activity to record. The curve of industrial stocks is on the downgrade. The wholesale trade indices are included in the decline. Besides the sinking of the living standard index, a falling consuming power of the agricultural population is to be noted. In the metal industry, there are numerous discharges of workers; in building, there is a strong decline, although there was very favorable weather for it in the Autumn. There is a weakening of production in the chemical, wood, and leather industries. A falling off in orders in the glass industry from the U. S. A. is to be recorded.

The principal consequences are: increase in unemployment, insolvencies, revenue friction.

It is clear that there is no final solution for these problems of the Czech republic on a national scale. The manifestations of a crisis can temporarily be ameliorated at the expense of the working class and the petty bourgeois sections, but the development of the productive forces of the republic, just like in the other countries, is hopelessly checked by the many national boundaries of Europe. The figures for exports to Germany, England, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia give a clear picture of that. The bourgeoisie makes convulsive efforts to insure its profits: Trustification of the textile industry, rationalization, tax pressure on the urban and rural masses, all this is to make possible competition on the European markets. But it is precisely the profit economy that narrows the market possibilities internally and externally, crises arise which counterpose the hungry unemployed and the pinched masses to finance capital.

National boundaries are an expression of the interests of the profit economy of the financial groups of the country concerned, and the abolition of the limits and boundaries is equivalent to the suppression of the capitalists, that is, the proletarian revolution.

Only the United Soviet States of Europe can eliminate the chaos and misery in Europe.

The bourgeoisie exerts its political

domination over the decisive proletarian class in the Czech republic, which can carry out this revolution, through the reformists. The domination of the bourgeoisie in modern Europe is possible only through the isolation of the Communists from the oppressed sections and from the proletariat. If a genuine Left turn in the leadership of the Communist Parties does not take place within a short time and a Marxist direction established in the whole Comintern, then Europe is condemned to a further vegetation. The counter-revolution will continue its march in Europe and raise its head in Soviet Russia.

The student riots in the Prague universities, which took place under the leadership of the fascists, show the perspective. The reformists, who have four ministers in the government, will have to take a position on questions like unemployment, reparations (which signify a new tax burden on the people), crisis in agriculture, tenant protection, etc. They will of course not solve them in the interests of the working population.

It was only in the second session of parliament on December 13 that the new government came to a reading of its programmatic declaration. The fact that this was introduced only at the second session, and its general lack of concreteness, shows how difficult it is for the government to speak of its future, practical measures for surmounting the crisis.

Φ

Yet, a capitalist government shows its face even in its general declarations.

The government promises to overcome the industrial worries by a collaboration of the parties in the interest of the state. That is, of the capitalist state, whose interests are antagonistic to those of the toiling population. The government promises to defend the national economic interests of the capitalist state as a whole and its position on the international front, which means in other words, to sharpen capitalist rationalization in order to appear capable of competition on the markets and to conduct the eventual war conflicts that arise out of the nature of these affairs with sword in hand. In this connection, the declaration assures that the government will devote thorough attention to the security of the defense of the state. In the question of reparations, the government promises to yield as much as possible.

This then is the program of this new government of finance capital. It is noteworthy that the chairman of the house of deputies has been entrusted to the Agrarians, that of the senate to the social democrats. In the first and second sessions, the newly-elected Communist deputies carried through a technical obstruction. The government proceeded to its first "action": All the Communist deputies present were excluded for 10 sessions and a month's wages withdrawn from each of them. It is too bad that the party leadership of the C. P. C-S. takes no steps to expose the meaning of the democratic acts of violence of the new government in mass meetings. This fact may be traced to the isolation and theoretical untenability of the present Centrist leadership.

The Communist Party has the task of drawing the dissatisfaction of the masses into a revolutionary path through a correct mass policy. But the leadership of the C. P. C-S. has no clear perspective.

In its central organ, *Rude Pravo* (12-13-1929) an appeal to all the trade union, political, sport and cultural organizations of the proletariat, to the whole conscious working class of the republic, is issued in which we read the following:

"The five-year industrial plan is an achievement that humanity has never before seen. Through this plan, the Russian proletariat wants to reach and surpass the highest industrially developed states of the world (?) abolish the last remnants (?) of capitalism, and erect (?) the socialist society."

Thus, through the five year plan the Russian proletariat is to surpass the most highly developed capitalist world. This five year plan is to abolish the last remnants of capitalism and erect the socialist society.

What hinders this idyllic construction of socialism? Perhaps the economic isolation, the international division of labor

which requires the extension of the proletarian revolution in Europe, the United Soviet States of Europe? Not a trace! The appeal says:

"But the capitalists outside and inside Soviet Russia are striving with all means to make impossible the carrying out of this plan. They provoke the Russian proletariat and its government and want to pull them into war conflicts."

Φ

The idea consequently prevails in the appeal that if the bourgeoisie does not force a war, the five year plan will build up socialism in Russia, that is, in one country.

Is this perhaps ignorance or shameful stupidity? No, it more than that, it is reformism, it is the theory of socialism in one country.

This appeal was signed by 16 organizations under Communist influence and the Party Central Committee itself.

It is difficult to expect a Marxist position from such a leadership in all questions of the mass struggle (courageous leadership, preparation for surprising turns, correct trade union, peasant, national policy, questions of democracy, fascism, etc.)

The petty bourgeoisie, (middle peasants, officials) is showing a proletarianization in the Czech, German, and especially in the Slovakian sections. The proletarian and semi-proletarian class is growing. The enslavement of the exploited takes place through all the parties. The dissatisfied masses swing between democracy and fascism, which contain all the species of clericalism (Catholicism, reformed church, anti-semitism), Nationalism (Masarykism), humanism, pacifism, reformism, defense of the fatherland, irredentism, etc.

Communism is confronted with the task of finally finding a way out. Otherwise, Europe remains the home of convulsive crises, barbaric misery and war.

—H. LENOROVICS

Prague, December, 1929.

Φ

Fascism Still Alive in United States

NEW YORK — (FP) — That Mussolini was only kidding the U. S. when his black shirt ruffians recently announced the dissolution of their Fascist League of America is now definitely proved by activities and utterances from official Fascist sources in this city.

"American Fascism is more alive than ever," screeches *Il Grido della Stirpe*, (The Yell of the Race) Italian language newspaper published in New York as the official organ of Fascism in America. It tacks this statement onto the same headline in which it announced that the Fascist League is no more.

Dissolution of the official black shirt band only means that in the future "Fascism will be stronger, better armed, more effective, and if necessary more violent in all parts of America," *Il Grido* goes on to explain. Finally, it says, Fascism in America "will be ready to defend itself against attack others with words, the press, and fists".

Anti-Fascist leaders point to the ceaseless activity of scores of Italian consulates throughout the country as centers for spying, intimidation, and Fascist propaganda. Italian consuls, among other things are taking a systematic census of Italian Americans, especially wage workers. Pressure is brought to bare on these people—American citizens as well as Italian subjects—to reveal their trade, their place of employment, the number of persons in their families and other information.

Finally, there is the Italian Historian Society, a cover organization for the same bunch of terrorists which ran the deccase Fascist League. Its secretary is Harold Lord Varney, renegade I. W. W. who sold out to the bosses and renounced the labor and all its works 15 years ago. Since then he has been busy shocking timid gathering time stories about the horrible reds—at a much per shock.

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

By L. D. Trotsky

But to this day I have been unable to find in the papers of the Leninbund any echo of the discussion in the organization. The editors of *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* made a one-sided selection of ultra-Leftist articles from foreign Opposition papers, making the ridiculous article of the "Korschist" sympathizer the basis for the discussion. The editors themselves stood on the side, waiting to find what would come out of it all. In spite of the exceptional acuteness with which the problem was posed, Urbahns lost week after week, limiting himself to reprinting foreign articles directed against the Marxist point of view. Only after my article, that is, six weeks after the beginning of the conflict in the Far East, did the editors of *Die Fahne* judge the moment opportune to express themselves. But even then they took their time. A short article divided into two parts. The political conclusions are again put off to the following week. Why? Perhaps to make room for Radek's calumniations against the Russian Opposition that appeared in the same number? Then what was the line of the Leninbund on the most important question of international policy in the course of these six weeks? No one knows.

That won't do. Such methods weaken the Leninbund and render the best service not only to Thaelmann but to Brandler.

For him who knows the history of the Russian Opposition, it is clear that Urbahns expresses in an embarrassed manner the very opinions that the Stalinists have so perfidiously and with such bad faith attributed to the Opposition. Dishonestly concealing our documents

from the workers, the Stalinists tirelessly repeated and printed it in tens of millions of copies, that the Opposition considers the October revolution lost, Thermidor accomplished, and that it is directing its course towards bourgeois democracy. It is beyond question of doubt that Stalin's successes in the organization were in no small measure assured by the incessant spreading of this lie. But how great must be the stupefaction, and with it also the indignation, of the Russian Opposition when they find in the publications of the Leninbund, in a concealed form, this friendly counsel: Take the road that Stalinists have so long attempted to foist upon you.

This question assumes an all the sharper character because there are little gentlemen among the ultra-Leftists who whisper in each other's ear: the Russian Opposition itself agrees that Thermidor is accomplished, only it does not say so out of "diplomatic" considerations. How far from a revolutionary position one must be to admit that among revolutionists there can exist for a single minute such execrable duplicity! Only one thing can be said: the poison of Zinovievist and Maslowist cynicism has left its traces in the ranks of the ultra-Leftists. The sooner the Opposition rids itself of such elements the better for it.

The program article we have analyzed, which seems to draw a balance of the "discussion", contains frequent allusions to the effect that on various questions Urbahns was right while all the others were wrong (declaration of the Russian Opposition on October 16, 1926; the question of

creating the Leninbund not as a faction but as an independent party with its own candidates; the question of the First of May and the First of August, 1929, etc.) I think it would have been better if the article had not raised these questions, for each one of them indicates a definite mistake by comrade Urbahns, which he has not yet understood. I will not speak at all of the thoroughly wrong position in 1923-26, when Urbahns together with Maslow and others supported the reaction in the Russian Communist Party and conducted an ultra-Left course in Germany. If necessary, I am ready to return to all these questions and to show that Urbahns' mistakes are all connected, that they are not accidental but come from a certain method of thinking which I cannot call Marxist. In practice, Urbahns' policy consists of vacillations between Korsch and Brandler, or rather in the mechanical combination of Korsch and Brandler.

The Danger of Sectarianism and National Limitedness

In this pamphlet are analyzed differences of opinion that can be designated as strategical. Compared to them, the differences that exist on internal German question appear more as tactical differences, even though they can probably be traced back to two different lines. Nevertheless, these questions will have to be treated separately.

It is incontestable that the basis of the numerous errors of Urbahns in German policy lies in his wrong attitude towards the official Communist party. To consider the Communist Party—not its apparatus of functionaries, but its proletarian kernel and the masses that follow it—as a finished, dead and buried organization, is to fall into sectarianism. As a revolutionary faction, the Leninbund would have been in a position to play a great role. But it cut itself off from development by its pretensions, which are to say the least without foundation, to play the role of a second party.

With the ideological confusion of the Leninbund, its striving to become a "party" as swiftly as possible leads it to accept into its ranks elements that have long ago broken with Leninism and Bolshevism. In its anxiety not to lose these elements, the leadership of the Leninbund deliberately refrains from adopting a definite policy on a number of questions, which naturally only confuses and aggravates the situation by driving the disease deeper into the body.

There exist at the moment a good number of "Left" groups and grouplets that march on one and the same place; while guarding their independence, they accuse each other of not going far enough; they pride themselves on not being in one hundred percent agreement with each other; they publish little papers from time and find satisfaction in this illusory existence, without any ground under their feet, without a clear point of view and without perspectives. Feeling their weaknesses, these groups, or rather their directors, are above all afraid of falling under someone's "influence", or have to declare themselves in solidarity with someone—for what would become of that sweet independence contained in the 64 cubic meters required for an editorial chamber?

With that is connected yet another danger.

In the Communist International, the ideological leadership of the Russian party has long ago been replaced by the absolutism of the central apparatus and the dictatorship of the cash box. And while the Right opposition shows no less activity than the Left in its protests against the dictatorship of the apparatus, our positions in this question are nevertheless directly opposed. By its very nature, opportunism is national, since it bases itself upon the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not upon its historical tasks. International control is intolerable for the opportunists, and they reduce their international relations as much as possible to harmless formalities, thereby imitating the Second International. The Brandlerites will salute the conference of the Right wing opposition in Czecho-Slovakia, exchange amicable notes with the Lovestone group in America, etc., provided that no group prevents the other

from conducting its opportunist policy to its own national taste. All this is concealed beneath the cloak of the struggle against bureaucracy and the supremacy of the Russian party.

The Left Opposition can have nothing in common with such practices. International unity is not a decoration for us, but the very axis of our theoretical opinions and our policy. Still, there are not a few ultra-Leftists—and not in Germany alone—who, under the flag of the struggle against the bureaucratic command of the Stalinist apparatus, carry on a semi-conscious struggle for the dismemberment of the from international control.

The Russian Opposition has no less need of international connections, of international control than any other section. But I stronger fear that the conduct of comrade Urbahns is not dictated by the desire to intervene actively in Russian affairs—which could only be welcomed—but rather the contrary: by the desire to separate the German Opposition from the Russian.

A sharp lookout must be kept so that, under the pretext of the struggle against bureaucracy, there is no strengthening of tendencies in the Left Opposition toward separatism, which, in turn, would inevitably lead to bureaucratic degeneration not only on an international but on a national scale.

If the question were asked after thorough reflection: from which side is the Left Opposition at present menaced by the danger of bureaucracy and ossification, it would become completely clear that it is not from the side of international relations. The exaggerated internationalism of the Comintern could arise—on the basis of the former authority of the Russian party—only under the condition of a state power and a cash box. These "dangers" do not exist for the Opposition. On the contrary, there exist others. The pernicious policy of the bureaucracy leads to unrestrained centrifugal tendencies, and to endeavor to crawl back into a national and consequently a sectarian shell, for by remaining within national limits the Left Opposition could be nothing but a sect.

Conclusions

1. A clear position must be adopted on the question of Thermidor and the class character of the present Soviet state. Korschist tendencies must be mercilessly condemned.

2. The position of determined and unreserved defense of the U. S. S. R. against external dangers must be adopted, which does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes an intransigent struggle against Stalinism, in time of war even more than in time of peace.

3. The program of the struggle for "freedom of organization" and all other "liberties" in the U. S. S. R. must be rejected and condemned, for that is the program of bourgeois democracy. To this program of bourgeois democracy must be opposed the slogans and methods of proletarian democracy, which, in the struggle against bureaucratic centrism, has the task of regenerating and fortifying the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. A clear position must now be adopted in the Chinese question, so that the next stage does not take us by surprise. A stand must be taken either for the "democratic dictatorship" or the permanent revolution in China.

5. It must be clearly established that the Leninbund is a faction and not a party. From that flows a definite policy towards the party (especially during elections).

6. The tendencies towards national separatism must be condemned. We must actively enter the road of international unification of the Left Opposition on the basis of principled unity.

7. It must be recognized that *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* as it is today does not correspond to its designation of the theoretical organ of the Communist Left. It is absolutely necessary to create in Germany, with the united forces of the German and international Left, a serious Marxist organ capable of giving correct evaluations of the internal policy in Germany in connection with the international situation and its tendencies of development.

These few points, which are far from including all the questions, seem to me the most important and the most pressing. Constantinople, September 7, 1929

A Letter from the Chinese Oppositionists

Shanghai, November 15, 1929.

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

We, the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists have been conducting a struggle against Stalinism, for the Platform of the Russian Opposition for a year already. The situation in the Party is not very good. The relations between the Party and ourselves is very bad. We learned of your expulsion—that Thermidorian measure of the Stalinist bureaucracy—only after considerable delay, through the intermediary of the Opposition groups in other countries. We have received a letter giving us your address and we are writing to you forthwith. The Chinese Opposition sends you a hearty Bolshevik greeting.

Just as in other countries, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is under the direction of Stalinist opportunism. The Stalinist political line has not only suffered a defeat in the past, but will inevitably suffer a new one in the future. If we do not succeed in finally eliminating Stalin from the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese revolution will be unable to enter the path of victory. Unfortunately, we understood the truth of the Russian Opposition very late. As soon as it was known to us, we published the principal documents of the Opposition. Besides that, we have our regular publication. And for some time now we have been organizing a central faction of the whole Chinese Opposition.

It is precisely because our active work is a danger to the opportunist Central Committee of our Party, that it recently expelled a good number of Oppositionists. The bureaucrats go still further. Recently, at Canton, they fired openly upon a comrade who directs the Opposition's activity in the Tcheking section. This shameful deed of opportunism must be brought to the knowledge of the working class throughout the world so that the workers may have an idea of the real character of the present opportunist bureaucracy which is ready to employ such methods towards the Bolshevik-Oppositionists! But the counter-revolutionary and the opportunist terror cannot halt our forward march. That is why we are fighting even more obstinately. In the end, victory will be with us.

The Opposition in other countries has sent us letters and propaganda literature. Good contact now exists between us.

We have now published a platform of the Chinese Opposition. In the period that China is now passing through, all our ac-

tivity must follow the political line traced by this platform.

The requirements of the situation have obliged us recently to call a national conference of the Opposition. Many active militants participated. All important questions with which we are confronted were discussed.

We wholly approve of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

The former opportunist of the Chinese Communist Party, Tchen Du Hsiu (ex-general secretary of the Party), has been, as you know, expelled for some time. He also fights the Central Committee of the Party. But at bottom he is not against Stalin. Up to now he has not understood the viewpoint of the Opposition. He has simply made use of some passages from the Platform of the Left Opposition against his opponents. We have demanded of Tchen Du-Hsiu: 1. that he publicly declare the Stalinist leadership opportunist; 2. that he openly and honestly condemn his previous opportunist mistakes and that he acknowledge the correctness of the Opposition Platform; 3. that he publicly dissolve his own faction (recently constituted and very weak in numbers). He has rejected our demands and pursues an independent activity. Therefore, we consider that Tchen Du-Hsiu has not broken with opportunism. We have decided to combat him, like every opportunist.

Certain of our comrades think that the slogan of the United States of Asia can be issued on this continent. Is this slogan correct?

In the present conditions in China, the work is more difficult than in the other countries. But the only way for us is to fight against these difficulties.

We believe that the future development and the consolidation of our activity necessitates the organization of an international faction. What is your opinion?

Warm Bolshevik greetings, Yours,

—P.

(The next issue of the Militant will contain comrade Trotsky's reply to the Chinese Opposition, which deals with some of the burning problems of the movement.)

☐

\$2,500,000 in Profits in 1929

CHICAGO—(FP)—Hart Schaffner and Marx, biggest clothing makers in the world and pioneers in mass production of men's suits on a union basis, took a profit in 1929 of \$2,514,676. This equals 16.76% on the capital stock and compares with 17.22% for 1928.

Lenin's Work Lives in the Opposition!

Continued from Page 1

graded all the theoretical thought in the movement today and transformed it into a sleight-of-hand game for jugglers and scamps. For the neo-Leninists of Stalin's school, theory is no longer an instrument, a guide to action, a subject for considered reflection, a weapon against the enemies of the proletariat inside and outside the movement. It has been converted into convenient and constantly changed formulae, recast and readapted to "justify" each new blunder and crime of the leadership.

Exceptionalist or Internationalist?

The essence of Leninism is the application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The theories of Lenin are just as little "Russian" as those of Marx were "German". The favorite argument of the social reformists and revisionists in past decades—and even now—has been that while Marxism might be applicable to Europe, or to Europe of the last century, it did not apply to the United States, for example, or to Europe today. The argument of all national and social reformists today, of those to whom the name of socialist or revolutionary still applies only because of past associations, is that Leninism might be suitable for "backward Russia" but that it does not apply to highly developed industrial countries. The arch-type of this school is the Austrian social democracy. The new and shame-faced converts to this idea are the Right wing groups in the Communist movement. For them, Lenin's essence lies not so much in his internationalism as it does in his "exceptionalism". A recent article by one of the Right wing spokesmen even speaks of "Lenin the Exceptionalist".

It is of course unnecessary to share the conception of the present Communist party leadership, according to which the stage and rate of development of the situation in every country is unchanged and unchangeable—an enormous idiosyncrasy which only strengthens the hand of the Right wing—in order to reject out of hand the vulgar national "Communism" of the latter. What essentially characterized Lenin was not his emphasis upon the national peculiarities of the struggle in each country, but the fundamentally international features of the Communist party. On more than a hundred occasions, Lenin underlined the fact that while there were differences in the stage of development of the various countries, the basic tenets of Bolshevism were universally applicable despite these differences. "We have now considerable experience, of an international scope, which pretty definitely establishes the fact that some fundamental features of our revolution are not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but that they are of international significance. And I say 'international significance' not in the broad sense of the word; not some features, but all fundamental and secondary features are in the sense of their influence upon other countries, of international significance." (—Lenin, our emphasis.)

From Hillquit to Lovestone

The spokesmen for the opposing viewpoint used to be Hillquit, Longuet, Wallhead, Crispin and Bauer. Later on, they were Lazzari, Frossard, Phillips Price and Levi. Today they are Thalheimer, Sellier, Huber and Lovestone. And while these names are mentioned, let it be added that Lovestone is one hundred percent correct when he writes in a recent number of his paper that while he and his co-thinkers are condemned for "exceptionalism" in every part of the world, it is not only practiced but is the official theory of Stalin in the Soviet Union in the form of "socialism in one country."

In spite of either Stalin or Thalheimer, Leninism and internationalism are as inseparable as Leninism and "national

communism" are incompatible. The man who stands out in his work is not so much Lenin the Russian Bolshevik, but Lenin the international revolutionist who led the Left wing in the Second International, who laid the foundation stone for the Third, who poured out his vitriolic denunciation upon the heads of traitors who gave lip-service to "internationalism" and sent their followers into the trenches in order to defend their "national interests"; Lenin the internationalist, who considered the Russian revolution as a temporary outpost of the world's working class, a fortress to be defended at all costs until the workers of other countries could save it for socialism by overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

That it is necessary to emphasize and argue these features in Lenin's theoretical

in that fact, Stalinism can exist only at the expense of Leninism. It can live only by concealing or lying about Lenin's views.

Nowhere in history can a parallel be found to the six years of misrepresentation to which the official apparatus has subjected Lenin. Not even the falsification of Marx by the reformists before the war can equal—for cynical distortion, for disloyalty, for deliberate organized and outrageous lying—the campaign by Stalin-Bucharin-Zinoviev to devitalize Lenin. The most incredible enormities have been committed in an attempt to cover up the sins of Centrism and the Right wing in the Communist movement with the name of Lenin. So deeply ingrained in this horrible desecration have the Stalinist functionaries become that they can calmly reprint an article from

ficial and solemnly accepted version of Lenin, his work and his views.

It is in this abominable falsification of Lenin, that the greatest danger lies to the revolutionary movement. The big problem now is to unearth Lenin's truth from beneath the garbage of falsehood and revision and to reestablish it as the guide of the movement, just as Lenin reestablished the principles of Marxism in spite of their emasculation by the Kautskys of the world. That task has been assumed by the International Leninist Opposition. It is being carried out under the leadership of the greatest living revolutionist, L. D. Trotsky, the closest comrade of Lenin, the exiled warrior who provokes venomous fear of those who floated to the top in the swamp of centrism and inspires a deep regard and devotion to Bolshevism in every proletarian fighter. Not only on the anniversaries of Lenin, but every day in the year, the militants in our ranks will reconsecrate themselves to this task, for without being equipped with the teachings of Lenin the proletariat is unarmed and helpless, and cannot accomplish its destiny. In the struggle for Bolshevism carried on by the International Opposition, Lenin and Leninism live.

M. S.

CARRY OUT LENIN'S WILL!

Lenin's Last Words to the Party, Still Suppressed by the Stalinists

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in Russkye Mysl (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between these classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communication, is distinguished not only by his exceptional ability—personally he is to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee, but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be far too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split, if our party does not take measures

to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kameneff were not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Piatakov and Bucharin. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the Party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never fully understood the dialectic.)

And then Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view of the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness. December 25, 1922

Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

LENIN

January 4, 1923

conceptions, despite the fact that they are the very heart of his works, is only an indication of the extremes to which the false disciples of Leninism have gone to suppress, distort and falsify his views. The greatest crime of Stalinism lies precisely

Pravda on the 50th birthday of Stalin which is an insult to the intelligence of the reader and to the memory of Lenin. Stalin, upon whose removal from the post of party secretary Lenin insisted as one of the means of preventing a party split, whom Lenin denounced as rude and disloyal, is described as Lenin's loyal disciple! Stalin, who considered Lenin's contribution to the discussion on national questions as "superfluous", at whose activity in Georgia Lenin said he was "outraged", is characterized as the greatest theoretician of the Bolshevik party on the national question! Stalin is even credited with organizing and leading the Red Army to victory against the counter-revolution! A few years ago such hair-raising insolence would have been considered the work of a humorist or a madman. Today it is part of the of-

Ford's Parts Factories Drive Workers

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT—(FP)—While Ford is reaping the harvest of a high wage propaganda, workers are working in plants making Ford parts, straining under the 12-hour day and low wages.

Ford gets his wheels from the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corp. This plant runs its men seven days a week, two 12-hour shifts a day. A worker, if he is lucky, may make 65 cents an hour—but he'll be more than lucky if he is able to walk up the street to get a car. The speed maintained on the Ford wheel line is terrific. Kelsey workers told Federated Press. "If you thought Ford speed could only hold eight hours a day you ought to work on our line," said one worker. "We have a Ford boss and for 12 hours we got to go like shots out of hell. But you can't keep it up long. Three or four weeks lay you out."

The Briggs Mfg. Co. makes many Ford bodies. This plant is notorious among auto workers for its low wages, high accident rate and shameless exploitation of women workers. According to the state law, women are supposed to have stools when working. Very few women with whom your correspondent has talked have had these. Women are not supposed to work more than 54 hours per week but workers are not lacking who claim that they had to punch two separate time cards in order to evade the law. Attempts to have these women persecute have failed because they fear that if they do they will not be able to get a job in Detroit again, thanks to the blacklist and spy system.

This corporation recently took back some of its old workers—at 42 cents an hour. The workers have to work at high speed among machinery which for the most part is quite unprotected. A steady stream of Briggs workers pours into the company hospital all the time the plant is running, having lost their fingers, hands or whatnot.

Visitors are barred from the Briggs plants.

From such sources as these the Ford fortunes rise. These are the "economics of production" which make possible the low priced Ford and high Ford profits.

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Trustification of Pittsburgh's taxicab companies has been followed by a walkout of 1,500 taxi-drivers. The first act of the taxi merger was to cut wages, and the next act in the labor drama saw 1,000 drivers in Moose Hall to form a union.

The merger was effected by the Parmelee system. Within 48 hours after the announcement of the reduction, all the drivers involved had signed up in the union with demands for recognition, a 40% flat commission and a 10-hour day. The company flatly refused to receive a union committee or discuss their demands.

The new union men, meeting in Moose Hall pledged their solidarity while news was brought that drivers of an independent firm had walked out in sympathy with the strikers, making similar demands.

Subscribe to the MILITANT
\$2.00 a year

MEMORIAL MEETING

on

Saturday, January 25, 1930

at the

Militant Hall.

25 Third Ave. (Near 8th St.)

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS

Admission Free

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America

**LENIN
LIEBKNECHT
LUXEMBURG**

The Depression and Labor

Prospects for the Approaching Struggles in the United States

By Arne Swabeck

The American workers are now confronted with the prospect of an already advancing industrial depression. The questions of their preparations to meet it, the political development of the workers themselves, their degree of organization and their conception of the tactics to be employed, become vitally important. There need be no doubt about growing discontent and more severe struggles in the coming period.

That this is recognized by the capitalist class is most clearly evidenced in the increased anti-labor drive. It was demonstrated in the editorials carried by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper syndicate at the time of the American Federation of Labor convention at Toronto. The employers have become thoroughly alarmed at the appearance of Communists organizing, by militant methods, among a formerly backward but now awakening working class in the South. Hence they turn to the A. F. of L. officials demanding that they be the ones to organize and "lead". More recently it was shown in the Hoover "building conferences" in which A. F. of L. heads promised that there would be no movements for wage increases undertaken in the immediate future—that is, during the depression.

The Role of the A. F. of L.

This also indicates the role to be played and the perspectives of the A. F. of L. in the coming period. It is worth noting the most recent developments among the needle trades workers in the ladies garment and furriers sections, formerly largely under left wing influence. The A. F. of L. has actually succeeded in reestablishing its organization and "leadership". It has gained in co-operation with the employers, almost complete control of the jobs and membership dues payments. Among the New York food workers, where militants have lately been active in organization work, the A. F. of L. is now initiating an organizing campaign. The Toronto convention resolved to organize the South and the plans worked out are about to be put to test. The United Textile Workers union will have leadership and what it terms "any form of spectacular mass drive is banned. Negroes will be organized on approval of 'white locals' in the district, and—in separate locals.

Comments on the general organization policy to be pursued in this drive are quite superfluous as it is clearly indicated that there will be no departure from the general practice established by the A. F. of L. officials. Even among the hard boiled Bourbons of the South the main effort will be directed toward winning the bosses for co-operation with the labor "leaders" who have sufficiently proven their willingness to the greatest reciprocation in selling out the workers at the crucial moment. One question of the greatest importance, however, is whether or not the campaign will succeed in actually bringing the Southern textile workers into the U. T. W. The oft repeated statements of the *Daily Worker* that these workers, disgusted with the betrayals of the A. F. of L. in 1920-21 and recently, will never join its ranks are neither convincing nor true.

A comparison of events in the South, the frame-ups in Gastonia and the killings in Marion, clearly reveals that the Southern textile barons are set against any form of union or organization, whether led by Communists or by A. F. of L. officials. They will tolerate A. F. of L. "leadership" only so long as it is effective in helping to wipe out militant unions. Yet it would be idle to speculate on no results in the A. F. of L. organization drive. There are many reasons to assume that the Southern workers, driven by increasing speed-up pressure added to which there now appears the misery of unemployment, will respond and join, perhaps in large numbers, despite the sell-outs of the past. So much more so because the National Textile Workers union, under Communist Party direction, follows the usual method of practically abandoning a field when the opportunity for spectacular activities disappears. All recent history shows that during periods of industrial crisis workers flock to conservative unions. Nor is there anything horrible in this prospect when one remembers the development of the British trade unions from one of docile support of the capitalist empire to a situation where the

general strike could become a possibility in 1926. Now the process of developments proceed at a much more accelerated pace.

The Pressure of the Ranks

The prospects of growth of the A. F. of L. are not confined to the South. The developing industrial depression not only offers excellent opportunities for organization but is certain to throw large sections of the unorganized workers into the lap of the A. F. of L. Extended organization in this period will inevitably mean greater pressure from the ranks against the present wage cutting, speed-up campaign and for more persistent struggle to obtain the demands corresponding to their growing needs. If anyone doubts the probability of such struggles developing on the basis of A. F. of L. organization, or denies their probability, we might refer to such recent examples as the New Orleans street carmen's strike and the Marion textile workers' strike.

That this will not in the least mean any change of policy or outlook in the upper layer of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is of course amply proven by all past experiences. On the contrary, the demands of their capitalist masters will increase correspondingly and their faithful service will be expressed in more co-operation with these masters and the state powers in the violent suppression and cunning betrayal of workers' struggles. Especially will they attempt to buttress their own dominance over working class ideology by efforts to exterminate Left wing unions and any form of organized Left wing sentiment.

Yet it is under such conditions that new opposition develops. The "progressive" movement, already emerging within the A. F. of L. since the Left wing practically abandoned that field, was a natural first expression. But it was stillborn. It appeared in the form of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, dominated by the Socialist Party and, although having a progressive platform, it was based rather upon certain sections of the trade union officialdom than upon the main stream of organized workers. Hence, while being an outgrowth and expression of dissatisfaction with the official policies of the A. F. of L., it lacked the dynamic force for becoming a real opposition and its course of complete merger with the bureaucracy is pretty well decided unless pressure from below and from within forces it in a Leftward direction. To conceive of relying upon the "progressive" leaders to develop a real opposition would of course be folly. But the gap created among the workers by their leadership of a growing progressive sentiment—leading it backward—and that of the Left wing leading it forward, can most successfully be bridged by correct united front policies of the latter. In the recent period the exact opposite has been the case with the result of further isolation of the Left within the mass organizations and easier diverting of opposition sentiment into harmless channels. Nevertheless, such sentiment remains and is bound to grow. Its correct direction is still a task to be performed.

The present trends among workers are characteristic of what can be expected from the mature course of development. There is a restlessness over the prospect of employment with the ranks of the unemployed increasing. There is discontent with the growing speed-up exploitation, and here and there distinctly manifested readiness for struggle, with some instances of workers swinging toward the Left. These are some of the outstanding features. With a protracted severity of industrial depression it can easily lead to convulsions. But this does not mean that the working masses recognize the role of the A. F. of L. "leadership", of the so-called progressives, of the social democrats, or that they are ready for the leadership of the Communist Party. They are still far from it and several steps will yet have to be taken considerable experience will still have to be accumulated before the workers reach that point.

A False Assumption

It would be preposterous to assume that for instance the main body of the steel workers, actually enrolled into unions in the 1919 drive and then left in the lurch have learned a sufficient lesson to be able

to distinguish between leaderships. Even among the coal miners, where union official corruption and betrayal have yielded numerous bitter experiences, where the rank and file are far ahead of the workers in other industries in their readiness for struggle, the National Miners Union, under openly acknowledged Communist leadership, has thus far succeeded in enlisting the support of only a very small fraction (this, in large measure is also due to wrong policies which will be dealt with in separate articles).

Growing radicalization of the American workers, while likely to be accompanied by sporadic, unorganized struggles, essentially mean their turning more definitely toward union organization—mainly toward the existing mass unions without being able to comprehend the character of the A. F. of L. "leadership". A turn toward the building of a labor party is also likely. In one instance—the last New York City elections—the large increase in votes by the Socialist Party ticket, reaching a total of tens of thousands while that of the Communist Party ticket decreased to a little less than 6,000, is, despite the seeming paradox, an expression of radicalization in an American scale. Thousands of the workers who voted for the S. P. did so with the conviction of taking a step to-

ward the Left, away from capitalism and toward socialism, without being able as yet to understand the character of the S. P. leadership or the distance that the party has moved away from socialism. In that sense and to that degree they expressed their growing radicalism. There is no other basis upon which that vote increase can be evaluated. If these workers had wanted to remain ideologically as they were before—supporters of capitalism—they would naturally have continued to vote for the Republicans and Democrats. This and subsequent events also indicates that the S. P. and its social reformist leadership will change from its years of relative obscurity and paralysis, and become more of a factor misleading the workers. The course of working class radicalization in this course and the blunders of the official Communist party, gives it that opportunity. Nevertheless, the fact of the workers actually taking the first steps away from capitalist ideology and toward union organization is what holds out great hope and great possibilities for the revolutionary movement.

* * *

The problem of the new industrial unions will be considered in the next issue of *The Militant*.—A. S.

The St. Louis Unemployment Demonstration

ST. LOUIS—The march of 1500 unemployed workers to the local City Hall to present a set of demands to the Mayor was one of the best working class demonstrations that St. Louis has seen for a long time. The spirit of the workers and the readiness with which they responded to the call for the march is an indication of their temper and the severity with which the industrial depression has hit them.

St. Louis Hard Hit

St. Louis is one of the most heavily affected industrial centers. Industry is at a low point, and thousands of workers walk the streets desperately seeking any job at all that will offer them the barest possibility to live. The prospects for an industrial pick-up are far from bright here and instead of the ranks of the unemployed becoming thinner, they increase in number every day. A conservative estimate of the number now out of work in St. Louis is about sixty thousand workers.

In order to begin the mobilization of the employed and unemployed workers in the city for a fight to improve the frightful conditions of the jobless, the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) together with the Workers Alliance of St. Louis, planned the organization of a workers' march on the City Hall, where demands for the unemployed might be presented and a public forum be established so that an appeal that would reach the ears of the whole working class of the city could be made.

Without the bombast and cheap sensationalism that usually accompany the "mass demonstrations" of the official party, the League and the Alliance made all the necessary preparations for the march. In an effort to make the movement inclusive of all the radical elements in the city, an appeal was made to the local branch of the Communist party to join in the work and help organize the unemployed. The reply of the Stalinists—represented by one of the travelling "organizers", D. T. Early—was that they would have nothing to do with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", particularly since they were "dead". The local Stalinists showed that all their words about the conditions of the unemployed workers could not be translated into action but would remain just so much talk.

Leaflets were issued by the Communist League and distributed among the unemployed workers who received them with enthusiasm. The demands proposed by the League included the following:

Demands Proposed

1. Complete insurance against unemployment to be provided by the government, giving all unemployed benefits of the full wage rates, without any exceptions or disqualifications. The insurance to be financed by taxes on income, inheritance, and profits, and the administration of unemployment benefits to be in the hands of the workers, elected from the shops, and the organizations of the unemployed.
2. No evictions of the unemployed for non-payment of rent.
3. Emergency relief to be provided for the unemployed immediately, from city,

state and federal funds.

4. Full union wages on all public works, with the workers' right to organize and strike against discrimination and bad working conditions.

5. Abolition of private employment agencies; the establishment of free employment agencies, administered by workers' representatives.

6. Recognition of Soviet Russia, the only workers' and farmers' government in the world. This would alleviate employment through increased trade which Soviet Russia would place in the United States if relations were established.

7. Establishment of the seven-hour day and five-day week. No overtime work. Abolition of the speed-up system; 15 minute rest periods hourly, regulation of machine speed by the workers.

8. Immediate abolition of all "vagrancy" laws.

On the day of the demonstration, 1500 or more workers gathered at the appointed place and marched to the City Hall. The Mayor refused to see them. On the top steps of the City Hall, Elmer McMillan, leading St. Louis militant, read the demands of the Communist League and spoke in detail upon them. He was followed by Ralph Martin of the Alliance who spoke on the need for organizing the struggle against unemployment.

Cops Break up the Meeting

By this time, the Mayor had given his orders for dispersing the demonstration and a gang of cops and dicks sallied into the crowd. McMillan and Martin were arrested and taken to headquarters half a block away. The workers followed them, cheering and shouting for their release. After an hour of questioning by the cops the two militants were released.

As a result of the demonstration, thousands of workers throughout the city learned for the first time of an organized attempt being made to carry on a fight against the specter of unemployment. The secretary of the Communist League has been receiving numerous letters from workers throughout the city endorsing the movement and congratulating the League on its activity. A number of old time militants who had dropped out of the Communist movement some time ago have revived their interest and are turning toward the League particularly since the official party is doing nothing at all.

Plans are further being made for the continuation of the work in the form of protest meetings, the organization of Councils of Unemployed, and the formation of a broad united movement to combat the effects of unemployment on the workers.

This movement is meeting neither with approval of the St. Louis business men and their Mayor, Miller, or of the local A. F. of L. bureaucrats. For instance, Elmer McMillan is now up on charges before his local Painters Union for having participated in the demonstration. He is charged with being a member of a Communist organization. This is not the first time the reactionaries have tried to expel McMillan. A fight against these tactics is being organized.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 5.

Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, February 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Police Murder Steve Katovis

Naval Conclave Shows No Unity

More than one week of the London Naval Conference has already passed by without much more being accomplished towards the "limitation of armaments", than the coming to the fore of a number of conflicts and disputes between France and Italy, Japan and England and the like. In face of the obvious striving of each of the imperialist powers involved to hold as much strength as possible against its nearest rival gives the lie to all the pretensions of the diplomatic pirates to "disarmament".

Italo-French Conflict

The first part of the conference, as soon as it gets down to "work", will be the developing conflict between Italian and French imperialism for Mediterranean power. Italy is playing hard for support from the United States for parity with France, which will give Mussolini a bigger advantage in his attempts to become an even stronger Mediterranean force. The contention of Italy is that its naval strength as compared with that of France should be estimated not so much on the basis of the present situation and relations of forces, as on the "prospective" position of Italy. In other words, Italy has in mind such an extension of its imperialist interests as will place it on an "equal plane" with France in the immediate future. How this virtually unconcealed declaration of Italy's belligerent intentions can be reconciled with all the high-sounding phrases about permanent peace in the Kellogg Pact naturally remains unexplained by the imperialist statesmen.

There is very little if any prospect that a "satisfactory" agreement between the two Mediterranean rivals will be reached at this conference. The past history of imperialism indicates the contrary, that is, that decisive questions of power are only delayed temporarily around imperialists' discussion tables and are determined definitely in actual warfare.

Another rift in the conference lute is the attitude of Japan, which is seeking agreement on its cruiser proposals. Japan is dominated by fear of England's position in the Orient and wants to be in a better position to counteract British imperialist progress by adding to its own cruiser strength. At the same time, it has raised the "delicate" question of merchantmen, which was passed over with vague words at the Washington conference. The Japanese point out that there is nothing in the Washington agreement that prevents merchant ships from mounting guns greater than six inches providing they are built in a manner that makes this technically possible.

Merchantmen Limitation Hits England

There is no doubt that the United States is far from displeased at this question being raised, for a delimitation of the use of merchantmen in war time (regardless of the fact that they would be used—agreement or no agreement) can only serve to handicap England. That is because England possesses, in merchant ships of 4,000 tons or more and a speed of 15 knots, about 3,150,000 tons compared with only 880,000 American tons and 250,000 Japanese. The exclusion of merchantmen would therefore give America a theoretical advantage of some 2,700,000 tons. Needless to say, England will balk like a mule at such a proposal.

Green Stabs Marion and Gastonia

A Federated Press dispatch from Richmond, Va., reports that in a speech there William Green, president of the A. F. of L., disclaimed all connection and responsibility of the Federation with the Marion strike situation, where six strikers were massacred by company thugs, or with Gastonia, where six workers face life long imprisonment in a frame-up over the killing of a cop. Green's role in the labor movement has rarely been expressed more brazenly than in this incident. He is not only crawling before the Southern mill owners, pleading with them to recognize him as best labor overseer for the bosses, but is deliberately stabbing the Marion and Gastonia workers in the back. His speech gives the Southern reactionaries an open hand.

"So far as I am concerned, you can repeat all the Marions and Gastonias you want"—that is the essence of Green's remarks. Green is presuming to speak in the name of the A. F. of L. Every militant worker in the A. F. of L. must reply by repudiating Green and his crew and driving them out of the labor movement where they are working in the interests of labor's class enemy.

Communist Worker Shot Down in Cold Blood

Steve Katovis, member of the Building Maintenance Workers Union and the Communist Party, is dead. He was shot in the back by Patrolman Harry Kirtz of the New York police force in a conflict that followed an attempt by police to break up a mass meeting called to express solidarity with the members of the Food Clerks' Union on strike against Miller's Market in the Bronx.

Steve Katovis is the first workers to be shot by the police in a labor struggle in New York for years. The uniformed thugs have received their orders to club and shoot in order to prevent the organization of the rising spirit of the workers. A victim had to be found in order to warn the workers, who are losing their jobs in the industrial depression or having their wages cut, that they can expect any resistance to be met by the most violent and murderous repression by the police. The capitalist class is desperately afraid of the development of a militant movement of the American workers. It will use the most brutal measures to crush even the first signs of such a movement.

Savage Attack on Demonstration

The demonstration of the Communist Party at the City Hall following the death of comrade Katovis was the occasion for another manifestation of Cossack Sadism. The police of Mr. Whalen, under whose administration New York's underworld of gambling, bootlegging, racketeering thugery and general corruption have had free rein, sailed into the peacefully assembled workers with a bloodthirsty fury that has not been equalled in New York since the days of the war hysteria. Participants in

the demonstration as well as bystanders and curiosity seekers were mercilessly clubbed and pummelled by the "brave" police, on foot and horseback, armed with night-sticks, black jacks, brass knuckles and pistols.

Hundreds received at least one or more blows from the police; more than a score were severely beaten. Party leaders who attempted to speak were beaten and kicked while they lay on the pavement. Robert Minor of the Daily Worker had to be treated by a doctor for injuries, as were a half dozen or more others. Comrade George Clark, of the Communist League (Opposition), was beaten about the face and head by a number of police. A virtual reign of terror existed for almost an hour.

The attitude of the capitalist press towards this demonstration of police horrors was characteristic. The Telegram announced: "Curb Demonstration of 1,000 Communists, but Sticks Fall on Many Innocents". That is, the clubbing of Communists is quite in order, but "innocents" (!) must not suffer. The Mirror, the morons' picture paper, could find nothing wrong with the savagery of the police except that it made martyrs out of the Reds and helped to manufacture more of them! And it is no less characteristic that Norman Thomas, repeated the profound subway philosophy in his "protest" telegram to the mayor, of the Mirror. Instead of a call to the workers to protest the police terror and find ways of crushing it, Thomas wired the mayor—placing the responsibility for the cracked skulls and bleeding faces of the workers upon the Communists: "Why unnecessarily gratify Communists' mania for martyrs?"

United Front against Police Terror

Not a "mania for martyrs" is involved, but the capitalist and police "mania" for smashing every working class organization. As usual, they begin their attacks upon the most militant section of the working class, the Communists. The assault upon the Communists is a forerunner and an inseparable part of the attack upon the working class as a whole. That is why every worker must help to repulse and defeat this attack. The Communist movement by itself—in the present stage of its numerical and political weakness—cannot successfully defeat the police terror. For that purpose it is essential to set large masses of workers into action. It is necessary to develop a broad movement of the workers and all labor organizations ready to form a united front to drive back the monster of police brutality. The conscious workers, who detest the Cossacks and their deeds, can be rallied for such a movement if they are not repulsed by narrow sectarianism but approached in a spirit of proletarian solidarity. The savagery of the police, who can carry out their jobs with less difficulty when the Communists are separated from the rest of the labor movement can be overcome when the courageous handful of revolutionary workers succeed in rallying the fraternal support of tens of thousands of workers.

This can and must be done. The movement resulting from it will be the best memorial to Steve Katovis, the martyred worker-rebel, and the most effective reply to capitalist terrorism.

Mexico Breaks with Soviet Union

Following directly upon the United States visit of president-elect Ortiz Rubio, Mexico announced that it had broken all diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Mexican diplomatic representative in Moscow has asked for his passports, and preparations are being made for the return home of the Soviet minister to Mexico. The pretext for the break in relations were the Communist demonstrations in the United States during Rubio's visit, in which workers protested against the savage campaign of repression and murder of workers and revolutionists that the present Mexican government has been conducting for the past period.

The break does not come as a particular surprise to those acquainted with the development of relations between Mexico and the United States in the last couple of years. The pressure of American imperialism on Mexico, directly exercised by the House of Morgan through its partner Morrow, who was obligingly made Mexican ambassador by Washington, has resulted in the Mexican puppet government being entrained more firmly behind American finance capital. The resistance to American imperialist encroachments offered by the workers and peasants has been ruthlessly suppressed by both the Calles and the Gil governments. Rubio's present action indicates that he will follow directly in the footsteps of his bought-off predecessors.

The "reasons" given for the break are the hackneyed ones of "Bolshevik propaganda" in Mexico. The fact that Bolshevism naturally grows out of the soil of the class struggle in Mexico as it does in every other country is conveniently ignored by the American-controlled Mexican

government. What it is really interested in, is to give every assurance to its American masters in Wall Street and Washington that it will have nothing to do with the workers republic in Russia.

That the break is part of the international campaign of the bourgeois world, headed by the U. S., to press against the Soviet Union is only too plain. The fact that the Soviet Union has moved to the Left in the past period, under the pressure of the workers and the fight of the Russian Opposition, has been a sad disappointment to the imperialist world which hoped that the movement to the Right would continue uninterruptedly to the point where Russia could be made a colony divided among the imperialist bandits. The intervention of Stimson in the Manchurian situation, the threats of Henderson and MacDonald to break off relations with Russia, the recent intimation from Washington that the present "radical policy of the Soviets makes recognition an indefinitely postponed issue", and the present action of Mexico, are all part of one attempt to force Russia further away from the socialist path and toward the road of compromise with imperialism.

As for Mexico's "reasons" for the break, they become pitifully thin when it is known that no protest at all is made by its marionette rulers against the bold and ruthless "propaganda", both verbal and military that the United States conducts in Mexico 365 days in the year.

WHITTINSVILLE, Mass.—(FP)—Hard times in the textile industry have knocked 75 more workers out of jobs at the Whittin Machine Works. Although the number normally employed is between 3,000 and 3,500 only 2,000 are on the job now.

BOSTON—Benito Mussolini, Italy's leading Fascist, has been invited to speak at the American Legion convention in Boston this year. The American reactionaries feel an international solidarity with their Italian brothers.

After the Miners' Strike

Operators and Reactionary Union Leaders vs. the Illinois Miners

By Joseph Angelo

The fighting tradition of the Illinois coal-miners is not dead; and the events of last December—the strike of the National Miners Union, despite many avoidable shortcomings and the court injunction squabble between Lewis vs. Fishwick with no bread in the homes of many miners—has made it more alive.

Of course, the strike of the National Miners Union has been defeated, by the combined efforts of the state government, the coal-operators and the Lewis-Fishwick machine. But, beneath the defeat the miners are stirring and this liable to flare up into a statewide struggle any day. The coal operators-Lewis-Fishwick machine, with the support of the state government are desperately fighting to crush this rising tide of militant feeling among the miners.

Labor Bosses As Operators' Tools

The reason for this is obvious. Capitalism cannot live as at present organized without longer hours, lower wages, speed-up systems, etc. And the coal-operators with the support of their agents, the Lewis-Fishwick machine, have not even concealed their true objectives. Today hundreds upon hundreds of militant miners that participated in the last National Miners Union strike are being fired from their jobs by the bosses, and their places filled with unemployed miners brought in special trains by the Lewis-Fishwick funkeys from mining camps where the mines have been closed down many years. But this does not solve the problem because these new miners soon realize that they are up against the same problem that their black-listed brothers were. They soon realize that one of the obstacles in their road to better conditions is the Lewis-Fishwick machine, which must be replaced before any gains can be made.

It is either Fishwick or Lewis that comes to the aid of the coal-operators whenever it is necessary, as for instance in an editorial of a recent issue of the Illinois Miner, where Fishwick wrote that after the contract of the Indiana miners expires next April 1st, the Illinois miners will not strike to support their brother miners in Indiana to renew their contract nor to fight for better working conditions. Fishwick here, as always, is not expressing the sentiments of the Illinois miners or helping the Indiana miners, on the contrary Fishwick here is the official mouthpiece of the coal-operators and by such action gives direct support to the coal-operators and stabs the Indiana miners in the back and at the same time tries to shatter the militancy of the Illinois miners.

And Lewis is not one whit better. Already while speculating on the outcome of the injunction trial, his henchmen, instead of organizing West Virginia and Kentucky are gathering hordes of unemployed miners and promising them that in case of a favorable decision, he will ship them into Illinois to replace those miners that refuse to accept his orders.

Although the trial to set aside the injunction began on December 18th, the judge has not yet rendered a decision, but the consensus among the miners is that Fishwick, because of the support of the majority of the coal-operators of Illinois and the state political administration will get a more favorable decision than Lewis. But Lewis, also, because of the support from certain influential coal-operators will be able to appeal the injunction to a higher court.

Trial Served Good Purpose

Regardless of the final outcome of the injunction trial, it has served a good purpose. It tore the false mask from both Lewis and Fishwick and showed that both of them are crooks, election swindlers, agents of the coal-operators, grafters and

unfit to handle any affairs pertaining to the mine workers. The trial was like a match put to a cannon. It has awakened many miners and it marks the end of a rotten episode in the life of the coal-miners and the beginning of a period of growth of the National Miners Union. Both Lewis and Fishwick are playing hookey from the graveyard.

The National Miners Union is growing slowly from mining camp to mining camp while the Lewis-Fishwick company union is declining every day at an increasing speed. The miners are for the National Miners Union and the experience of a strike has had a tremendous effect in awakening the militancy of the miners. Whatever mistakes the National Miners Union made in the course of the last strike, the Stalin-Foster leadership is responsible and the members of the Communist Party must see that the mistakes are corrected. The policy of trying to side-track and lying about such militant and staunch fighters as John Watt of Springfield, Ed Morgan of Staunton, Fritz Bode of Taylorville and Luke Coffey

Prospects for New Struggles in New Bedford

New Bedford textile workers who made history in 1928 under the militant leadership of the National Textile Workers Union are again going into action. With almost half of the 30,000 textile workers of the city unemployed they are demanding immediate action to meet the critical situation.

Whether the N. T. W. U. will be able to meet the present tasks is difficult to determine at present. Two of the leaders of the struggle of two years ago, Eli Keller and Ellen Dawson, have been eliminated from the union on purely Communist Party lines while Raphael Pires, the editor of the Communist Party newspaper in the Portuguese language published in New Bedford has likewise been eliminated at the behest of the Stalinists. It is not necessary to defend Dawson, Keller, Pires and others for their support of the Right wing program of Lovestone. It is necessary to show that the Party's narrow faction game is being allowed to weaken the union struggle. Only those who believe in a certain interpretation of Communism, will be allowed to lead the New Bedford masses, says the official Communist Party. This is similar to decisions made in the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and other organizations. Such a policy can only lead to chaos and defeat for the working masses. A struggle of the broad masses cannot be based at the present stage upon a faction of a political party, but upon all workers who want to fight under a militant banner.

Just as in 1928 when the N. T. W. U. had to fight on two fronts, that is against the mill owners and the United Textile Workers Union led by William Batty, so will its present organization drive which may lead to a new strike, also be fought on two fronts. Under such conditions, the broadest possible basis for support must be obtained and all sections of the working class be allowed to participate in the struggle.

The prospects for developing the National Textile Workers Union in New Bedford into a powerful organization are unusually bright. In fact, the actual dues-paying membership in that city is larger than in any other part of the country. It is no exaggeration to state that the only organized mass base of the union at present

of Belleville and trying to replace them with faddlers from Chicago and preachers of the Latter Day Saints and Nazarene sects as was done in Taylorville, is not a correct policy with which to build the National Miners Union and must be corrected. These men have been in the forefront of all the great struggles of the Illinois miners for many years past and will continue to be, despite the childish attacks of the Stalin-Foster clique. Future events and pressure from below will prove that the present policy is incorrect.

Stalinists Retreat Partially

Under the blows of the Communist League (Opposition), the Stalin-Foster leadership has been forced to admit part of their mistakes and adopt a program of immediate demands, which should have been done before the strike. Yet, to adopt a program which reads, (Daily Worker 1-9-30) "that the miners must be imbued with the spirit of preparation for the coming general national movement of the miners, which will come next Fall." is not enough. Fishwick is afraid of the Indiana miners whose contract expires next April and that is why he is trying to prepare the minds of the miners of Illinois and Indiana against a militant struggle. The National Miners Union must make not only the Indiana strike but every strike an opportunity for launching demonstrations of national solidarity.

is in New Bedford. While in the South, the N. T. W. U. has many supporters, due to the semi-legal character of the work, the union does not function to any great extent. In most Southern towns it hardly functions at all. In New Bedford on the other hand, the work is carried on regularly, meetings are held and the union is a factor in the community. Although the United Textile Workers Union likewise has a strong branch in the city, the Left wing union fights it every inch of the way.

While the United Textile Workers Union membership in the main consists of the skilled workers, weavers, loom-fixers and spinners, the membership of the N. T. W. U. is composed mostly of the unskilled, such as warpers, spoolers, carders and speeder-tenders.

At present the two unions are divided on national lines—the highly skilled United Textile Workers being mostly English and French-Canadians while the members and supporters of the N. T. W. U. are in the main Portuguese and Polish.

If the present organization drive is to mean anything it must immediately break down the national barriers and have the English, French-Canadians, Portuguese and Polish workers unite in a common struggle. One of the greatest weaknesses of the 1928 strike from the point of view of the Left wing union, was the division on national lines. The inability of the N. T. W. U. to gain more than a score of supporters among the English and French-Canadian workers was one of the principal reasons why the Left wing was not more successful than it actually was. If the membership of the N. T. W. U. had been more varied in composition the sellout of the strike by the United Textile Workers Union in September 1928 may not have succeeded.

In brief: the present organization drive, which the N. T. W. U. says is leading up to a general strike, to be successful must be a broad movement, otherwise it will fail. All workers must participate and be given responsible positions. Let the Stalinist leadership forsake their factional game, which only discredits the Left wing and gives ammunition to Lovestone, and the New Bedford workers in 1930 will more than repeat their heroic struggle of two years ago. —FRANK BROMLEY

TROTSKY

The writings of L. D. Trotsky are the richest and most fruitful contributions being made to the labor and revolutionary movements today. There is not a problem that great Bolshevik touches which is not immediately illuminated in all its aspect. And the problems he deals with concern the most vital interests of the whole movement.

The international labor and Communist movements are in a critical situation. Never has the need for clarity been so urgent as it is today. Never has the need for straight Marxist thinking been so pressing. Nobody is doing more in this field than Trotsky.

The situation in the Soviet Union, the fountain-head of the revolutionary movement today, which offers so many complexities to the average observer, is made clear and understandable by Trotsky's writings. In fact, the course of events in the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist Party can be evaluated properly only by a reading of the works of the Russian Opposition which Trotsky speaks for and leads.

In the United States, Trotsky's writing appear regularly in the Militant. Just as the first writings of Lenin in this country became a mighty instrument for the molding of the revolutionary movement years ago, the writings of Trotsky now are playing the same role in the movement at a different stage.

Among the articles by Trotsky that have appeared in the Militant recently are: Disarmament and the United States of Europe. Syndicalism and Communism. The Austrian Crisis and Communism. Who is Leading the Communist International? What is Happening in China? Twelve years of the Russian Revolution. The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition, Etc. Etc. No active worker can afford to be without these contributions which appear only in the Militant.

In 1930, the Militant plans to continue the publication of Trotsky's writing, which will include some of the most brilliant work he has yet done in the course of his years in the revolutionary movement. The best way to insure getting these copies of the Militant regularly, is to subscribe for a year. A yearly subscription is \$2.00 or \$1.00 for six months.

MILITANT

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 7

THE BULLETIN
of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitulators. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

ALL ARTICLES IN RUSSIAN
25c each 18c in bundles

Order From
THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

DANCE

For the Benefit of the Weekly Militant
on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1930 at 8 p. m.
at the

HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street
Excellent Musical Program—Dancing—Entertainment
Admission: 50 cents in advance or 60 cents at door
AUSPICES: Communist League of New York (Opposition)
English and Hungarian Branches

If the number on your wrapper is

30

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, No. 5, February 1 1930. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Stassen, Ann Swaback. Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. (Total No. 30)

The Indian Revolution at the Cross-roads

By Max Shachtman

The resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress last month on the initiative of Mahatma Ghandi, which gives formal approval to "complete Indian independence" from the British empire as the goal of the Congress, is of tremendous importance, not so much for itself but for the temper of the Indian masses which it mirrors. And what characterizes the present spirit of the latter is much less the lukewarm if sonorous phrases of the elements which dominated the Congress than the militant action of the workers in Bombay on Independence Day (1-26-30) particularly the mill workers who attempted to hoist the Red Flag not only in place of the Union Jack but also of the red-green-white flag of Indian nationalism.

To grasp the enormous significance of a genuine revolutionary movement in India, a land embracing some three hundred million people—a fifth of the world's population—its place in the mosaic of British imperialism must first be established.

A Keystone in the British Empire

Out of every ten people in the British Empire, black, brown, yellow and white, more than seven are in India alone. From the very first days of the conquest of India by Britain and the ousting of the Portuguese and other mercantile pirates, the country has been a source of almost inexhaustible loot for the Englishman. The British bourgeoisie still remembers with satisfaction and longing the days of the notorious East India Company, whose profits frequently mounted to 250 percent a year. The period of ruthless primitive accumulation for British industrial capitalism was greatly accelerated by the plundering of India and the impoverishment of its millions. As a source of markets and raw materials for Britain India has occupied an almost unrivalled position in the scheme of the Empire.

In more recent times, it has offered an immense field for capital investments. The British investment in India today is estimated at more than one billion pounds sterling, or a larger sum than that of all the other British dominions combined. In four post-war years alone, from 1919 to 1923, British capital exported to India increased 1800 percent, from 1,400,000 pounds to 25,300,000 pounds, and constituted a change in the capital exported by Britain to all parts of the world from six-tenths of one percent to fourteen and four-tenths percent of the total, or an increase in the Indian proportion of British capital exports of 2400 percent. India is not only a source for capital exports. One-tenth of general British exports go to India—more than any other single country in the world—and represents 70 percent of India's total imports.

India has even more than an economic-financial importance in the British Empire; it is of incalculable strategical value. It is not for nothing that priceless India has been the central objective of British Mediterranean and Oriental policy for virtually centuries. It is not for nothing that every European maritime power has sought enviously at one time or another for a route to India. The fabulous riches that spurred Columbus to cross the Atlantic exist today in an even more substantial and developed form. The Gibraltar guards not only Egypt but India, Malta and Cyprus are stations on the road to India and so is the Suez canal. A look at the map will further show that India forms the apex of a rough triangle, the basis of which is formed by a line drawn between South Africa and Australia; that India is a guardian towering over Afghanistan and Arabia, in which England is heavily interested; that India neighbors upon that second great Oriental field for imperialist buccaneering, China; that India forms an unrivalled basis for Asiatic and Pacific power for the country that dominates it.

Loss of India a Fatal Blow

The loss of India would be a fatal blow to the British Empire, compared to which the loss of even Ireland or being driven entirely out of China would take second place. That is why England prizes India as highly as a pauper would value the Koh-i-noor. Not a single political party or group in England, with the exception of the Communists has the slightest intention of ever granting India genuine freedom. The policy of England towards its possession has been stated with harsh frankness in the noted "steel frame" speech of Lloyd George in Commons (8-2-1922): "That Britain under no circumstances... has responsibility in India

is a cardinal principle, not merely of the present Government, but of any Government which will command the confidence of the people in this country... I can see no period when India can dispense with the guidance and the assistance of this small nucleus of the British Civil Service... They are the steel frame of the whole structure."

With no essential changes, this policy has been pursued in India by every British government, be it Tory, Liberal, Coalition—or Labor. In two words, therefore, to find the forces and interests making for a movement to liberate India, one must look anywhere but in the ranks of British imperialism. The latter will never voluntarily yield its domination. The driving forces of the Indian revolution are consequently centered in India itself, even more so now than a few years ago because of the weakening of the revolutionary proletarian movement in England—the only other reservoir of Indian freedom.

What elements in India constitute these driving forces? In the first place, they are not the big Indian bourgeoisie or the native princes. The latter exist largely on the sufferance of Britain and are more or less satisfied with their present status. Imperialism exerts no particularly harassing pressure upon them. The former is an avowedly counter-revolutionary force. Much as it would like a larger share in the unequal partnership it has established with its British master, it likes infinitely more the suppression of every mass movement that threatens its social and economic position in the slightest. There is no movement away from Britain that has not been opposed by the native big bourgeoisie and the Liberal Federation. They can be counted upon to act hand in hand with the British bourgeoisie in crushing any struggle of the masses for the improvement of their economic conditions, not to speak of their liberation from the imperialist yoke.

The Nationalist Bourgeoisie

The second factor in the Indian struggle is the petty bourgeoisie in its various sections: landlords, merchants, professionals, small manufacturers, civil service employees, students, intellectuals, etc., etc. Having no really broad basis, and no over-secure economic position, they must rely for their troops upon the millions of workers and peasants. They are for the development of a native industry, by bounties if possible (Swaraj Party), for protection, for the decreasing of the heavy burdens of taxation, for the abolition of the irksome color discrimination that exists in governmental institutions, for a more decisive voice in the management of India's affairs and destiny.

But the national petty bourgeoisie constantly vacillates between its troops—the workers and peasants—and the class interests to which it is inherently inclined, to the big bourgeoisie and to compromise with British imperialism. It has always been ready in the past to accept some form of dominion status, which will allow it greater freedom of action and a larger measure of influence in India, without allowing the movement of the masses to "get out of hand". It lives in respect for the might of the British master and fear of a developing movement of the workers and peasants. On more than one occasion it has already demonstrated that when the miserably impoverished masses really enter the path of struggle against imperialism the role of the petty bourgeoisie is to sap the vitality of the movement, to misdirect its energies, to curb and limit it, and if necessary to betray it into the hands of British imperialism.

The Indian national bourgeoisie cannot and will not lead a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. It cannot and will not solve any of the fundamental problems that now strangle the development of India. It cannot and will not free the workers and peasants from the British and Indian chains that fetter them. If anything, its role will be even more rather than less ignominious and treacherous than the deceptive, murderous role played by the Chinese national bourgeoisie in the revolution of 1925-27 and thereafter. It will lead the masses of workers and peasants only to the extent that the latter can be used as a club with which to extort from England certain concessions for the national bourgeoisie, as obedient troops who can be ordered to advance or retreat as the class in-

terests of the bourgeoisie dictate at the moment. But so far as the interests of the workers and peasants themselves are concerned, whether they are viewed from the angle of the struggle against British imperialism, or the native capitalists, users and landlords, the native bourgeoisie will lead them only to defeat and slaughter.

That the nationalist leaders, from Ghandi to Nehru, have apparently moved to the "Left" in the recent period, under the pressure of the masses, is just an indication of the fact that they will make every attempt to head the mass movement in order to behead it the moment it presents a serious danger to British imperial rule and their hoped-for class domination in the future.

To put a pennyworth of confidence in the capacity of the nationalist bourgeoisie and its leaders to conduct a genuine struggle against imperialism is to prepare and permit the strangulation of the Indian revolution in the same manner as the national bourgeoisie rode to power over the backs of the Chinese workers and peasants. The conclusion flows not only from the bitter experiences of the Chinese revolution, but from the recent past of the Indian movement itself.

Ghandi's Record

Will Ghandi, for example, who introduced the apparently "revolutionary" resolution at the Congress, lead or participate in a real struggle against British imperialism? His whole record proves the folly of such a belief. From the days when he organized an ambulance corps for service on the side of British imperialism in the Boer War, and his war record as a chauvinist servant of Britain, down to more recent times when he has defended propertied interests in every workers struggle or strike, Ghandi has played a reactionary role (not to speak of his semi-feudal "economic" theories or his spiritualistic and mystical confusionism).

Or do the actions of Ghandi and all the rest of the national bourgeoisie in the period after the war inspire any confidence that their real role is anything but the restraining and betrayal of the movement and interests of the masses? It is sufficient to recall the period between 1919 and 1922, when the liberation struggle reached a high point, with millions participating. The Empire was really in danger. Demonstrations, strikes and various other struggles swept the whole country. The visit of the Prince of Wales was the occasion for magnificent demonstrations of mass antagonism and resistance to British imperialism. The temper of the masses was approaching a high pitch. At Chauri Chaura and Bareilly, conflicts took place between the workers and poor peasants and the authorities.

The role of Ghandi and the Congress was to stab the movement in the back, nothing less. The struggle was officially called off at the notorious Bardoli meeting which adopted a resolution deploring "the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned police (stations)" and demanding of the peasants that they recontinue the payment of taxes to the government and rent to the landlords! The contemptible middle class hoof of the hallowed Ghandis was revealed—as it always is and always will be—as soon as the storm of a mass movement of workers and peasants swept the country and threatened the existence of British imperialism and the "rights" of the landlords. The Bardoli resolution expressed in a classic manner the real role of the national bourgeoisie in the colonial struggle against imperialism: to stand by its foreign master, by the native landlord and business man against the masses of workers and peasants.

It is not the national bourgeoisie that will lead the Indian revolution. It will only mislead it. Its role will be no more glorious than the role of the Russian Kerenskys and the Chinese Chiang Kai-Sheks. The Indian revolution will not succeed as a "democratic revolution" carried on by a so-called "revolutionary democratic alliance." It will be successful only if it is led by the Indian proletariat, already quite numerous and enriched by many militant battles, supported by the mass of horribly pauperized tillers of the soil. It is quite true that there are gigantic difficulties in the way greater in many respects than those that confronted the Chinese workers and peasants. It is also true that the

course pursued by the revolutionary elements particularly by the Communist International, in the past few years, has not facilitated the success of the struggle—it has made it harder and introduced the most ridiculous and calamitous confusion into the situation.

At the Cross-Roads

But these difficulties are decreased at the present moment by the revolutionary situation that is developing at such a rapid pace. Under the concentrating pressure of such a situation, mistakes and shortcomings of the past can be swiftly rectified—or lead swiftly to catastrophe. A rectification is now an essential requirement that dare not be postponed, precisely because the Indian revolution now stands at the cross-roads: it can travel either the path of the 1927 debacle in China or the 1917 victory in Russia.

As for the workers and peasants, the shortcomings of the past, the mistakes of the present, the character of the coming revolution, the question of the Communist Party—all the problems of decisive consequence—a consideration of these points require and must be left to another article.

Φ

Stalinists Disrupt Minneapolis T. U. U. L. Conference

MINNEAPOLIS—Although the T.U.U.L. unfurled its banner at Cleveland several months ago with a call to the wide masses of workers for struggle on all fronts, the first district conference held in the northwest opened its one session today with expulsions of three well-known militant workers.

C. R. Hedlund presented credentials from the Railroad Council of Minneapolis, the only militant group of railroad workers in this city. His credential was not only turned down by the credential committee, but he was denounced in the conference as a "Trotskyist". Further than this the railroad workers' problems were not considered.

The same treatment was accorded Arnold Ronn of Superior who presented credentials from the Central Co-operative Exchange of that city.

Representing the women's section of the co-operatives, Helen Ronkenan, who came down from the Twin-Ports as a fraternal delegate, was also refused a seat.

The complexion of the conference was anything but reassuring to one at all familiar with the workers' movement in this section. Of the fifty men and women present, less than a half dozen represented any one except themselves. The Stalinist functionaries were there in force. The district had been carefully worked. The result was a party membership meeting—not a Trade Union convention. A long list of speeches by party bureaucrats, a still longer list of resolutions presented by the same people, together with the maneuvers both before and after the expulsions, give a fairly good picture of the meeting. If anything really constructive was accomplished it was not apparent to the writer. The great harm that would proceed from the narrow sectarian line given at the conference, in other circumstances, is minimized by the fact that the official party apparatus and its hangers-on have little contact with the workers movement here and still less authority.

Φ

\$81,000,000 CORPORATION REFUSES TO PAY 37 CENTS AN HOUR

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Rather than pay the extra 2 cents an hour provided by the state's minimum wage law, the wealthy Harvard University corporation has fired 20 scrubwomen without notice. The Harvard Scrub Women's Protective Aid Society, believed to have been started by students, is soliciting pennies to make up the Harvard budget so the women may not be jobless. They were getting 35 cents an hour, or \$10.50 a week.

Some of the discharged scrub women were reemployed as chambermaids for the dormitories at 32 cents an hour. Chambermaids do not come under the minimum wage provisions. Harvard investments, listed at \$81,000,000, have been swelled another \$5,000,000 by a recent donation.

N. Y. TELEPHONE GRABS \$14,000,000 MORE

NEW YORK—"To prevent confiscation of its property", the New York Telephone Co., Bell subsidiary, has announced a flat increase of \$1.25 a month in business rates and 50 cents for residence phones. The increase, to net \$14,000,000 for the already profitable company, was obtained through the courtesy of the federal courts.

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

Crises of Conjuncture and the Revolutionary Crisis in Capitalism

By L. D. Trotsky

At the Fifth Congress of the Confederation General du Travail Unitaire, A. Vassart made a lengthy speech against Chambelland*, which was later published as a pamphlet, with a foreword by Jean Brecot**. In his speech, Vassart attempts to defend the revolutionary perspective against the reformist perspective. In this respect, our sympathies are entirely on his side. But unfortunately he defends the revolutionary perspective with such arguments as can bring only advantages to the reformists. In his speech, there is included a series of fatal theoretical and factual mistakes. One may object: Are there so few mistaken speeches in the world? Vassart can still learn a great deal. I myself would be glad to think so. But it has been made difficult by the fact that the speech has been published in the form of a propaganda pamphlet. It is provided with a foreword by Jean Brecot who is at least a cousin to Monmousseau himself, and this gives the pamphlet a programmatic character. The fact that not only the author, but also the editor who prepared it for publication, did not perceive the enormous mistakes is witness to the sad state of the theoretical level of the present leaders of French Communism. Jean Brecot does not tire of smashing the Marxist Opposition. What he ought to do, as we shall soon demonstrate, is simply to sit down and study his A. B. C. S. Leadership of the labor movement is incompatible with ignorance, as Marx once said to Weitling.

At the congress, Chambelland expressed the superficial thought—based decisively on nothing but the reformist tendencies of the speaker—that capitalist stabilization will last for about another thirty-four years, that is, that even the new generation of the proletariat which is just coming forward cannot count upon the revolutionary seizure of power. Chambelland brought no serious arguments to substantiate his fantastic period of time. Whereas, the historical experience of the past two decades and the theoretical analysis of the present situation speak wholly against Chambelland's perspective.

But let us see how Vassart refutes him. He proves first of all that even before the war the capitalist system could not exist without convulsions. "From 1850 to 1910, an economic crisis took place approximately every 14 years (!?) bred by the capitalist system." (Page 14.) And further on: "If, before the war, the crisis took place every 14 years, we see a contradiction between this fact and the assertions of Chambelland who does not foresee a serious crisis before forty years." (Page 15).

It is not difficult to understand that with this sort of argument, Vassart, who confuses crises of conjuncture with the revolutionary crisis of capitalism as a whole, only strengthens the false position of Chambelland.

First of all, the establishment of the conjuncture cycle at 14 years is rather surprising. Where did Vassart get this figure? We hear it for the first time. And how is it that Jean Brecot, who instructs us so authoritatively, (almost as authoritatively as Monmousseau himself) did not notice such a crass mistake, especially in such a question that has such an immediate, such a vital significance for the trade union movement? Prior to the war, every trade unionist knew that crises or at least depressions recurred every seven or eight years. If we take the period of a century and a half, we find that one crisis was never separated from the other by more than eleven years. The average duration of the cycle was about eight and a half years, and furthermore, as was shown by the pre-war period, the conjuncture rhythm had a tendency not to slacken but to accelerate, which is bound up with the renewal of technical machinery. In the post-war years, the changes of con-

juncture had a disorderly character, which was expressed by the fact that the crises recurred more frequently than before the war. How does it happen that leading French trade unionists do not know such elementary facts? Especially how can one lead a strike movement without having in mind a realistic picture of the changes of economic conjuncture? Every serious Communist can and must put this question to the leaders of the C. G. T. U., primarily to Monmousseau—and that squarely.

That is how the matter stands from the point of view of the facts... It is no better from the methodological point of view. What does Vassart actually prove? That capitalist development is generally inconceivable without conjuncture contradictions; they existed before the war and will exist in the future. It is doubtful if even Chambelland would deny this commonplace. But from this there does not as yet flow any revolutionary perspective. On the contrary: if for the past century and a half the capitalist world passed through eighteen crises, then there is no basis for the conclusion that capitalism must fall with the nineteenth or twentieth. In actuality, conjuncture cycles in the life of capitalism play the same role as is played, for example, by the cycles of blood circulation in the life of an organism. From the periodicity of the crises, there flows just as little the conclusion of the inevitability of the revolution, as the inevitability of death—from a rhythmic pulse.

At the Third Congress of the Comintern (1921), the ultra-Leftists of the time (Bucharin, Zinoviev, Radek, Thaelmann, Thalheimer, Pepper, Bela Kun and others) calculated that capitalism would never again know an industrial revival because it had entered the final ("Third") period, which would develop on the basis of a permanent crisis until the very revolution. Around this question, a big ideological struggle took place at the Third Congress. My report was devoted to a considerable extent to proving the idea that in the epoch of imperialism the laws determining the change in industrial cycles remain in effect and that conjuncture vacillations will be characteristic of capitalism as long as it exists: the pulse ceases only with death. But from the state of the pulse, in conjunction with other symptoms, a doctor can determine whether he is dealing with a strong or weak organism, a healthy or a sick one. (Of course, I do not speak of doctors of the Monmousseau school.) Vassart however makes the attempt to prove the inevitability and proximity of the revolution on the basis of the fact that crises and booms take place every 14 years.

Vassart could easily have avoided these gross errors if he had at least made a study of the report and discussion at the Third Congress of the Comintern. But, unfortunately, the most important documents of the first four Congresses, when genuine Marxist ideology ruled the Comintern, are now prohibited literature. For the new generation of leaders, the history of Marxist thought begins with the Fifth Congress, particularly with the unfortunate Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The principal crime of the dull and blind bureaucratic apparatus consists in the mechanical interpretation of theoretical traditions.

Economic Conjuncture and Radicalization of the Masses

If Vassart does not know the mechanics of business cycles and does not understand the relationship between conjuncture crises and revolutionary crises of the capitalist system as a whole, then the dialectical interdependence of the economic conjuncture and the struggle of the working class is just as unclear to him. Vassart conceives this dependence just as mechanically as his opponent Chambelland, although their conclusions are directly contrary, and moreover erroneous to the same degree.

Chambelland says: "Radicalization of the masses is in a certain sense the barometer which makes it possible to evaluate the condition of capitalism in a given country. If capitalism is in a state of decline the masses are necessarily radicalized." (Page 23.) From this Chambelland draws the conclusion that because the strikes embrace only the periphery of the

workers, because metallurgical and chemical industries are affected only to a slight degree, capitalism is not as yet in decline. Before him there is still a forty years' period of development.

What does Vassart answer to this? Chambelland, according to him, "does not see the radicalization because he does not see the new methods of exploitation." (Page 30.) Vassart in every respect repeats the thought that if one recognizes the intensified exploitation and understands that it will develop further, "that in itself compels you to reply affirmatively to the question of the radicalization of the masses." (Page 31.)

When one reads these polemics, he gets the impression of two blind-folded men trying to catch each other. It is not true that a crisis always and under all circumstances radicalizes the masses. Example: Italy, Spain, the Balkans, etc. It is not true that the radicalism of the working class necessarily corresponds with the period of capitalism's decline. Example: Chartism in England, etc. Like Chambelland, Vassart also ignores the living history of the labor movement in the name of dead forms. Wrong also is Chambelland's conclusion itself: From the fact, that strikes have not as yet embraced the main mass of French workers, one must by no means deduce a denial of the beginning of radicalization; but what can and must be arrived at is a concrete evaluation of the extent, depth and intensity of this radicalization. Chambelland, evidently, agrees to believe in it only after the whole working class is engaged in an offensive. But such leaders who wish to start only when everything is ready, are not needed by the working class. One must be able to see the first, even though weak, symptoms of revival, while only in the economic sphere, adapt one's tactics to it and attentively follow the development of the process. Meantime one must not disregard, even for an hour, the general nature of our epoch, which has proved more than once and will yet prove, that between the first symptoms of revival and stormy upsurge which creates a revolutionary situation, not forty years but perhaps only a fifth or a tenth of that are required.

This matter stands no better with Vassart. He simply establishes a mechanical parallel between exploitation and radicalization. How can the radicalization of the masses be denied, Vassart says irritably, if exploitation grows from day to day? This is childish metaphysics, quite in the spirit of Bucharin. Radicalization must be proved not by deductions but by facts. The conclusion of Vassart can be turned into its opposite without difficulty. It is sufficient to put a question like this: How could the capitalists increase exploitation from day to day if they were confronted by the radicalization of the masses? It is precisely the absence of fighting spirit in the masses that permits an increase of exploitation. True, such reasoning without qualifications would also be one-sided, but still a lot nearer to life than Vassart's constructions.

The trouble is that the growth of exploitation does not under all circumstances raise the fighting spirit of the proletariat. Thus, with a declining conjuncture, with the growth of unemployment, particularly after lost battles, increased exploitation does not breed radicalization of the masses, but quite the contrary, the falling of spirit, dispersal and disintegration. We saw, that, for example, in the English coal mining industry right after the strike of 1926. We saw it on a still larger scale in Russia when the industrial crisis of 1907 fell with the wrecking of the 1905 revolution. If in the past two years the growth of exploitation in France brought about the evident growth of the strike movement, the ground for it was created by the rise in the economic conjuncture and not its decline.

False Revolutionaries Fear Economic Processes

But the ultra-Left opportunists leading the Comintern fear a rise in industry as economic "counter-revolution". Their radicalism leans on a weak reed. For the further rise of industry, business conjuncture would in the very first place have delivered a mortal blow to their stupid theo-

ries of the "third and last period". These people deduce revolutionary perspectives not from the real process of contradictions but from false schemas. And from this flow their fatal mistakes in tactics.

It may seem quite improbable that at the Congress of the C. G. T. U. in France the official orators tried above all to depict the affairs of French capitalism in the most piteous form. Loudly exaggerating the present swing of the strike movement, the French Stalinists at the same time gave such a characterization of French industry as would make strike struggles absolutely hopeless in the future. Among them was Vassart. Precisely because he, together with Monmousseau, does not distinguish between the crisis of capitalism and the conjuncture crisis, and figures this time together with Chambelland, that a conjuncture rise might further remove the revolution to a period of decades, Vassart is apprehensive of an industrial rise. On page 21-24 of his pamphlet, he proves that the present industrial revival in France is "artificial" and "momentary" (page 24). At the December national committee meeting, Richetat diligently painted the French textile industry as being in a state of crisis. If this is the case it means that the strike movement which so far served as the only indication of radicalization has no economic foundation under itself or is losing it rapidly. To say the least, by anticipation Vassart and Richetat give the representatives of capital a priceless argument against economic concessions to the workers and what is more important they give decisive arguments to the reformists against economic strikes, for it must be understood that from a perspective of chronic crisis one can by no means draw a perspective of increasing economic struggles.

Do not these sorry-syndicalists follow the economic press? But, they may say, the capitalist press deliberately parades its optimism. However, it is not a question of editorials here. From day to day, from month to month, the press publishes the market reports, the balances of the banks, commercial and industrial enterprises and railroads. Some of the totals involved have already been printed in No. 12 of *Verite**. The more recent figures are further proof of the rising tendency of French industry. The last economic weekly to reach me, *Le Temps* (October 9, 1929), carries for instance, a report of a general meeting of the stockholders of the metallurgical enterprises of the North and East of France. We do not know M. Quivelette's attitude to the philosophy of the "Third Period" and we admit that we are not very much interested. But nevertheless he can very well sum up profits and cut dividends. Quivelette sums up the total of the past year in the following phrase: "The condition of the domestic market has been exceptionally favorable." This formula, I hope, has nothing in common with platonic optimism because it is strengthened by forty franc dividends on stock instead of the twenty-five franc franc dividend the year before. We ask: Has or has not this fact an importance for the economic struggles in the metal industry? It would seem that it has. But unfortunately, behind the back of Quivelette we see the figures of Vassart and Brecot or that of Monmousseau himself, and we hear their voice: "Don't believe the words of this capitalist optimist who does not know that he is up to his ears in the third period!" Isn't it clear that if a worker makes the mistake of believing on this question, Monmousseau and not Quivelette, he will have to come to the conclusion that he has no ground under his feet for successful economic struggle, to say nothing of an offensive.

The Monmousseau school—if one may

*We can only welcome the fact that *La Verite* has introduced monthly economic reviews. The first article (No. 12) gives an excellent outline for the need of economic orientation for every Communist in the Party as well as in the trade union work. Particularly the Oppositionists must rely on this side of the matter: the establishment of a correct revolutionary perspective, based on a Marxist analysis of facts and figures, not only in opposition to the empty babblings of Cachin and Monmousseau, but also to the political fiction of some gentlemen who have wandered into the ranks of the Opposition by mistake.

*Spokesmen in the C. G. T. U. for the ruling regime in the French Communist Party.—Ed.

**Leader of the syndicalist minority group at the C. G. T. U. congress and one of the editors of *La Revolution Proletarienne*, organ of the Syndicalist League (Monatte Group).—Ed.

Throughout the World of Labor

The Developments in Germany

The German working class is now going through a far severer period of economic and moral depression than even the most pessimistic tables of statisticians can describe. It takes an insight into the conditions of the average proletarian family to establish this. Vegetable-butter (margarine is found everywhere at the workman's table instead of butter. The diet is entirely devoid of eggs. Only the most meager portions of meat find their way to the worker's stomach. Malt coffee has displaced bean coffee, and so on without end. In short, the working class diet consists in large measure of what was termed during the war and inflation periods *ersatz-lebensmittel* (substitute products).

Professor Kucinski, a bourgeois economist has figured out that the worker receives in wages only 85% of what he needs for a minimum standard of living! This at the same time that German industry increases its production by leaps and bounds. And yet the reformists, still backed by a

give such a title to an institution where people are taught to unlearn thinking, reading and writing—is afraid of an economic rise. It must be said plainly that for the French working class, which has renewed its composition at least twice—during the years of the war and after the war, having included in its ranks tremendous numbers of youth, women and foreigners—and is far from having fused this raw mass together in its melting pot—for the French working class, the further development of an industrial rise would have created an incomparable school, would have welded its strength, would have proved to the most backward sections their meaning and role in the capitalist mechanism, and would thereby have raised class consciousness as a whole to new heights. Two or three years, even one year, of a broad, successful economic struggle would give rebirth to the proletariat. After a properly utilized economic rise, a conjunctural crisis might give a serious impetus to a genuine political radicalization of the masses.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that wars and revolutions in our epoch result not from conjunctural crises but from the contradictions between the development of the productive forces on the one hand and the bourgeois characteristic of national boundaries on the other carried to their climax. Imperialist war and the October revolution have succeeded in showing the strain of these contradictions. The new role of America has developed them further. The more serious a character the development of the productive forces has in one country or another, or in a series of countries, the faster a new rise in industry will find itself confronted with the basic contradiction of world industry and the sharper will be the reaction—economic, political, domestic and international. A serious industrial rise would be at all events, not a minus but a tremendous plus for French Communism, creating a mighty strike forerunner to a political offensive. Conclusion: there will be no lack of revolutionary situations. It is quite likely, however, that there will be a lack of ability to utilize them.

But is the further rising development of the French industrial conjuncture guaranteed? This we cannot dare to confirm. Here all sorts of possibilities remain open. At any rate, it does not depend on us. What does depend on us, and what we are obliged to do, is not to close our eyes to facts in the name of pitiful schema, but to take the course of economic development as it really is and to work out trade union tactics on the basis of real facts. We speak in the given case of tactics in distinction to strategy, which is determined, of course, not by conjunctural changes but by basic tendencies of development. But if tactics are subordinated to strategy then, on the other hand, strategy is realized only through tactics.

To the Comintern as well as the Profintern, tactics consist in periodic zig-zags, and strategy—in the mechanical sum of zig-zags. That is why the proletarian vanguard suffers defeat after defeat. Prinkipo. December 22, 1929

majority of the working class, shout: Accumulate! Accumulate! For them the way out of this working class misery lies in the accumulation of capital in Germany.

There are more than 3,000,000 unemployed in the Reich, more than half a million in Berlin alone. There is hardly a family in proletarian Berlin that hasn't its *stempelbruder*. Unemployment insurance, of which the "social" state, Germany, so proudly boasts as against the unsocial U.S., is hardly enough to keep its recipient alive. The result is that the unemployed fill the "welfare offices" and "aid societies" day after day and are forced to degrade themselves to virtual beggars. The moral effects can be imagined.

The coalition government of the Reich is very shaky. It has done its work. It has brought about the reduction in unemployment insurance and the arbitration clauses through *Wissel*; it has cast the burden of the taxes on the working class through *Hilferding*. Severing's anti-Communist "Law for the Protection of the Republic" complete the circuit. Finance capital is preparing the boot for its social democratic lackeys. It needs more "resolute" servants for its purpose in the period to come.

The entire German economic system of the immediate future will live in the shadow of the recent Wall Street crash. A German economic journal writes on this:

"It is probable that at least partially the economic cooperation of similarly constructed concerns of the countries involved will take place of the formerly customary loan grants, namely, those made to the large industrial states like Germany, for instance, which (economic cooperation) powerful American capitalist enterprises will finance." (*Zeitschrift d. Deutsch-Amerl. Wirtschaft*, Ver., December, 1929)...

The favorable German industrial conditions, to be made yet more favorable by the greater depression of the German working masses soon to follow, now attract all the capital that formerly went to the prosperity-promising American industry. This means an advanced internationalization of industrial capital and a firmer grip on the latter by world finance capital (Morgan and Co.). How this works out in Germany may be gathered from the growing dictatorial strength of Morgan's German representative, Hjalmar Schacht, the president of the Reichsbank. Herr Schacht is the man who tumbled Hilferding from his ministerial chair, because he was not far-reaching enough in his "reforms" and because, for reasons of political demagoguery, he didn't go in energetically for immediately carrying out these reforms. Schacht is also the leader in the movement for the "decommunalization" of Germany, i. e., for the abolition of communal expenditure. (An example of ringing success is Mr. Schacht's plans was shown recently in Berlin, where the city council voted a Christmas surplus for the unemployed, which the magistrate, under Schacht's direction immediately repudiated.

In German politics, the situation finds a mirror and barometer. The coalition government is nearing the end of its string. Its prospective collapse is on the order of the day. The national "Right" is in a deep crisis. Those elements backed by heavy industry, like the *Landbund* and *Stahlhelm*, are breaking way from the irreconcilable Rights around Hugenburg and Hitler and are going in for a policy of supporting the status quo of the republic, because "it is developing in a direction towards us". Even Hitler is willing to "listen to reason". His papers are full of praise for Schacht, and despite all their radicalism and sham "revolutionary socialism" they write that they are for such a payment of reparations as the "nation finds bearable."

The C. P. of Germany is thus facing a very serious but promising state of conditions. Its victory in the Berlin elections was a real one, all the more significant because the Party campaign program was altogether out of proportions to real affairs—to the "Left". It is no exaggeration to say that a considerable majority of the Berlin proletariat is behind the Party and places all its confidence in it. Whether the party will be able to hold this mass and increase it depends entirely upon how much sanity it will apply in its tactics in the trade unions and towards the increas-

ingly disillusioned workers who still follow the S. P. while discontent within the reformist organization is growing, while rebellion against the treacherous leadership is brewing.

As a whole, the party seems to have sobered a good deal lately. The calls to arms echo very faintly in the press today. In the trade unions as well as in the party itself, the stress is being laid on organizational work. But the ultra-Left tactic of "revolutionary" *kampfleitungen* (struggle leadership) and separate factory councils lists has not been given up and may still do it much harm. In many factories (e. g., Ullstein, Simiens) where the largest Communist nuclei exist, these nuclei have pitted themselves almost unanimously against the party tactic. In the question of "social fascism", the Communist workers have solved the problem in their own way. They explain to the S.P. workers in discussion that the word is applied only to the social democratic leaders, to the "comrade"-ministers, etc.

The campaign of terror which the authorities and the bourgeois press have been conducting for some time against the party and the militant sections of the class is taking on ever greater proportions. Falsification, slander and provocation fill the air. The revolutionary masses are increasingly aroused to counteract violently to this terror, and the party functionaries sweat blood to keep the people in check at demonstrations and public meetings. The party's effort to connect the active discontent of the unemployed with solidarity actions of the workers in the factories is to be applauded. But here too it will not do to restrict oneself to phrases alone.

On the occasion of initiating a formal "Stalin cult", the *Rote Fahne* has not overlooked any opportunities to make personal attacks upon comrade Trotsky. It is significant to note who the attackers are, and how they attack. Heinz Neumann, accused by the social democrats and the Brandlerites (without any refutation up-to-date) of being in close connection with the German police is the star—using the occasion of a review of Willi Munzenburg's latest book "*Die Dritte Front*". He pits Munzenburg's "collective" spirit against Trotsky's "gnawing egotism". This is just too ridiculous, even when we overlook the incongruity of the comparison. For, as you know, upon Munzenburg's head hang the following charges made by Herzog, the editor of *Das Forum*: breaking the foreign trade monopoly of the Soviet Union, speculating with goods sent to relieve the Russian famine in 1921, misappropriation of W. I. R. funds—all for personal purposes. As far as I know Munzenburg has not as yet made answer to these charges.

While Willi does a thriving business with his newspaper-concerns, and lives in princely luxury in his home at "In den Zelten," comrade Trotsky, the "egoist" lives the life of exile in backward Turkey, refused a visum by the rest of the planet. Perhaps Heinz Neumann will make us believe that this ban is due to nothing more than Trotsky's "gnawing egotism". The workers know better. They know that in Trotsky, the bourgeois world fears the personification of that "haunting specter" that is rocking the foundations of the capitalist system, of victorious Communism.

The Brandlerites have had considerable success lately—in a material way: they have finally begun to publish a daily which appears in Leipzig. In Berlin, their publications have to be sought for with a search-light.

How Brandler goes about in organizing his international faction may be seen from his article on the amalgamation of the three Czecho-Slovakian opportunist groups. Brandler was present on the scene of action. His role can only be imagined. He writes, among other things:

"Only when the united opposition applies the united front tactic wrongly will the confederation (amalgamation) be, not a step forward, but a retreat. But there is no occasion to assume this, despite (!) the false formula of 'class conscious parties' (referring to united front with the social democrats.—S. G. See last issue of *Militant*.—Ed.) in the unity resolution." (*Gegen den Strom*, No. 1, 1930.)

Brandler reprints Lovestone's articles on the International, which are only an echo of his own and Roy's articles. Where Roy writes: "It is unfortunate that the factional struggle in the C. P. S. U. lost such valuable revolutionaries as Trotsky for the movement", Lovestone, for his own purposes, substitutes Zinoviev for Trotsky, and Brandler adds a little note, remarking that after Lenin's death, Zinoviev never played an independent role in the International. A similar instance of "differences" is Roys "polemic" against Wolfe, in which he criticizes the latter's theory that the resolutions of the Sixth Congress were correct, but were revised at the Tenth Plenum. Here too, the theory is made to fit "national" purposes.

I visited a Brandler meeting recently. Brandler gave a pretty accurate appraisal of conditions in Germany, from which there was much to learn. When he was asked in the discussion part how the Communist Party and the International came to be in such a position of impotence at present, he simply answered that this condition is due to the failure of the revolution to arrive in the rest of Europe and to the increasing difficulties in the building up of socialism in Russia. Almost in the form of asides, he remarked that the failure of the revolution in Germany in 1923 was due to the threat of the Entente to come to the aid of bourgeois Germany (!) and further: "Even the skilled leadership of Marx and Engels was not able to hold together the First International, built on centralized direction. Its decomposition showed that it is necessary that the proletariat of each country work out its own problems in the struggle for power."

Berlin, January 10, 1930.

—S. GORDON

Communist Injunctions. . . .

The 3rd period according to the 6th World Congress, represents a critical stage in the class struggle against capitalism... great industrial strikes, increasing unemployment, growing crisis, etc. etc.

In Canada, beginning with Aug. 1, 1929, the shades of the Third Period were more visible than ever before. The Party had openly challenged the Toronto police force on the issue of freedom of the streets, free speech and assembly. Unfortunately, the failure of the Party to mobilize the masses had doomed the struggle almost from the beginning as to its possible success in forcing reactionary powers in Toronto to withdraw their edict making the revolutionary movement semi-illegal.

But in spite of the buoyant boasting and revolutionary chatter of the Party leadership the membership and working class were soon to be treated to the spectacle of a form of the class struggle of the A. F. of L. fakers. On Oct. 9, Jack McDonald, secretary of the C. P. of Canada, R. E. Knowles, Jr., a petty bourgeois liberal and J. W. Gill, a social democrat and petty bourgeois storekeeper filled and filed an injunction against the Toronto police force, for trying to suppress the class struggle.

But fortunately for the powers that be, the bourgeoisie remains as class conscious in the Third Period as they had been in the previous periods and the injunction was squashed. It would seem that the police had taught the Party leadership a lesson in the A B C of Communism but no...

Another three months were hardly to elapse when Rev. A. E. Smith, secretary of the Canadian Labor Defense League and a Party leader, was to announce to a Convention of the Labor Circle, that at last the break in the fight for free speech had come. The police had prohibited the *Freiheit* Singing Society the use of a hall for a concert.

An application for injunction was once more filed against the police and again the courts of capitalism taught the party the same lesson they had taught them so short a while ago—the laws and constitution of a bourgeois state, are made to serve the interests of the capitalist class. Injunctions, even in the 3rd period, still remain a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class to suppress the workers and cannot be used as a substitute for the class struggle by the proletariat.

Toronto, January 21, 1930

—M. Q

On the Chinese Revolution

Trotsky's Reply to the Letter of the Chinese Opposition Group

Dear Comrades:

On December 20 I received your letter of November 15: it took 35 days from Shanghai to Constantinople. For my reply to reach you, at least as many days must be allowed. Nothing can be done about it: neither air mail nor radio are yet at the service of the Opposition's cause.

The most important thing in your letter is the announcement that you have published a platform of the Chinese Opposition. You should immediately translate it at least into a European language. The whole International Opposition must have the possibility of knowing this highly important document. I will await your platform with the greatest impatience.

In your letter, you pose two questions connected with the platform: the Constituent Assembly and the United States of Asia. The second question is entirely new; I must put off my reply until I can devote a special article to it. On the question of the Constituent Assembly, I will answer in a few words:

The Constituent Assembly in China

The political task of the Chinese Communist Party, weakened and driven into illegality, is to mobilize not only the workers but also the broad social layers of the city and the country against the bourgeois-military dictatorship. It is to this end that the simplest and most natural slogan under present conditions, the Constituent Assembly, must serve. A tireless agitation must be carried on under this slogan, in correlation with other slogans of the democratic revolution: the transfer of the land to the poor peasants, the eight-hour day, the independence of China, the right of self-determination for the people that constitute it.

The agitation must be supplemented by a propaganda that will make at least the most advanced sections of the proletariat understand that the road leading to the Constituent Assembly can only pass through the insurrection against the military usurpation and the seizure of power by the popular masses.

The government that will issue from the victorious revolution of the workers and peasants can be nothing but a government of the dictatorship of proletariat, leading behind it the majority of the exploited and oppressed people. But the difference must be clearly understood between the general revolutionary perspective which we must tirelessly develop in articles and in theoretical and propaganda speeches and the present political slogan under which we can, beginning today, mobilize the masses by actually opposing them to the regime of the military dictatorship. Such a central political slogan is the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

This slogan is dealt with briefly in the draft of the platform of the Chinese Opposition, drawn up in Constantinople by some Chinese and foreign comrades. My young friend N., I know, has transmitted this draft to you. With all the greater impatience do I await your platform so as to be able to judge, documents in hand, if there are differences between you and comrade N. and if the separate existence of two groups is justified. Up to the time that I am able to become acquainted with the facts and documents, I am obliged to refrain from formulating any judgement on this important question.

Stalinist Impotence and Violence

You report that the Chinese Stalinists have fired on an Oppositionist in the streets of Canton. Monstrous as this act may be, I do not consider it impossible. In his "Testament," Lenin accused Stalin personally of having a tendency to abuse power, that is, of violence. Since then, this trait has developed monstrously in the apparatus of the Russian Communist Party and has been extended to the Communist International. Naturally, the dictatorship of the proletariat is inconceivable without the use of force, against certain parts of the proletariat itself as well. The workers' State, however, also requires that workers' democracy exercise the most vigilant control in order to know who, how and in whose name violence is employed. This question presents itself in an entirely different manner in the bourgeois countries where the revolutionary party constitutes only a small minority of the working class and where it is obliged to fight in order to gain the majority. Under such conditions, the use of violence against ideological opponents—who are not strike-breakers, or provocateurs or fascists attacking treacherously, but ide-

ological opponents, honest social democratic workers included—is an enormous crime and madness that must inevitably turn upon the revolutionary party itself. In the bitter struggle that Bolshevism conducted against the Narodniki and the Mensheviks for the 15 years that preceded the October revolution, there was never a question of employing methods of physical violence. As for individual terror, we Marxists rejected it even with regard to the czarist satraps. Nevertheless, in recent times the Communist parties or rather their apparatus people, have resorted more and more frequently to the disruption of meetings and to other methods of the mechanical suppression of adversaries, notably the Left Opposition. Many bureaucrats are sincerely convinced that this is what real Bolshevism consists of. They avenge themselves on other proletarian groups for their impotence towards the capitalist state, and thereby transform the bourgeois policy into an arbiter between us.

It is difficult to imagine the depravity engendered by this combination of impotence and violence. The youth becomes more and more accustomed to thinking that the fist is a surer weapon than argument. That is, a political cynicism is cultivated, which prepares individuals better than anything else for passing over into the fascist camp. An implacable struggle must be conducted against the brutal and disloyal methods of Stalinism, by denouncing them in the press and in meetings, and by cultivating among the workers a hatred and contempt for all these pseudo-revolutionists who, instead of appealing to the brain, take a crack at the skull.

As for the Tchen Du-Hsiu group, I am pretty well acquainted with the policy it followed in the years of the revolution: it was the policy of Stalin-Bucharin-Martinov, that is, in essence, a policy of Right Menshevism. Comrade N. wrote me, however, that Tchen Du-Hsiu, basing himself on the experience of the revolution, has come considerably closer to our position. It goes without saying that this can only be welcomed. In your letter, however, you categorically dispute this information of comrade N. You even contend that Tchen Du-Hsiu has not separated himself from the policy of Stalin, which presents a mixture of opportunism and adventurism. But here again, I have up to now read only one program-declaration of Tchen Du-Hsiu. I am therefore in no position to express myself on this question.

In other respects, I conceive a solidarity in principle in the Chinese question only on the basis of clear replies to the following questions:

So far as the first period of the revolution is concerned:

1. Did the leading role of the "national" Chinese bourgeoisie follow from the anti-imperialist character of the Chinese revolution (Stalin-Bucharin)?

2. Was the slogan of the "bloc of four classes"—the big bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the proletariat (Stalin-Bucharin)—correct, even for a single instant?

3. Were the entry of the Chinese Communist Party into the Kuo Min Tang and the admission of the latter into the Communist International (resolution of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party) admissible?

Wages Decline

Wages are also in a bad way, the state department reports. Payroll totals fell off 4.3% in manufacturing though showing slight gains in other industries, chiefly department stores and mail order houses that profit by the orgy of Christmas spending on the part of the comfortable classes. But normal manufacturing was impaired by widespread shutdowns or layoffs.

"The volume of unemployment is con-

4. Was it admissible, in the interests of the Northern Campaign, to curb the agrarian revolution (telegraphic directives in the name of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party)?

5. Was it admissible to renounce the slogan of Soviets, from the moment that the broad movement of workers and peasants developed, that is, in 1925-27 (Stalin-Bucharin)?

6. Was the Stalinist slogan of a "workers and peasants" party, that is, the old slogan of the Russian Narodniki, acceptable for China, even for an instant?

So far as the second period is concerned:

7. Was the resolution of the Communist International which said that the crushing of the workers and peasants movement by the Kuo Min Tang of the right and left signified a "transition of the revolution to a higher stage" (Stalin-Bucharin), correct?

8. Under these conditions, was the slogan of insurrection, issued by the Communist International, correct?

9. Was the tactic of guerilla warfare, recommended by Ho-Lun and Ye Tin, and approved by the C. I., at the moment of the political ebb-tide of the workers and peasants, correct?

10. Was the organization of the Canton uprising by the agents of the C. I. correct?

So far as the past in general is concerned:

11. Was the struggle of the C. I. in 1924-27 against the Opposition in the Chinese question a struggle of Leninism against Trotskyism or, on the contrary, a struggle of Menshevism against Bolshevism?

12. Was the struggle of the C. I. against the Opposition in 1927-28 a struggle of Bolshevism against "liquidationism" or, on the contrary, a struggle of adventurism against Bolshevism?

So far as the future is concerned:

13. Under the present conditions of victorious counter-revolution, is the mobilization of the Chinese masses under democratic slogans, notably that of the Constituent Assembly, necessary, as the Opposition believes, or is there any ground for being limited to the abstract propaganda of the slogan of Soviets, as the C. I. has decided?

14. Has the slogan of the "workers and peasants democratic dictatorship" still a revolutionary content, as the C. I. thinks, or is it necessary on the contrary to sweep away this masked formula of the Kuo Min Tang and to explain that the victory of the alliance of the workers and peasants can only end in China in the dictatorship of the proletariat?

15. Is the theory of socialism in one country applicable to China, or, on the contrary, can the Chinese revolution triumph and accomplish its tasks to the very end only as a chain of the world revolution?

These are, in my opinion, the principle questions to which the platform of the Chinese Opposition must necessarily give a reply. These questions have a great importance for the whole International. The epoch of reaction that China is now passing through must become, as it has always been in history, an epoch of theoretical preoccupation. What characterizes the young Chinese revolutionists at the present time is the passion to understand, to study, to embrace the question in its entirety. The idealless bureaucracy, the Chinese vanguard of the proletariat will produce from its ranks a pleiade of notable Marxists who will render service to the whole International.

With Opposition greetings,

L. D. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, December 22, 1929

Hoover Prosperity Invisible in State of Illinois

CHICAGO—Figures of the Illinois department of labor do not show much hope of Hoover prosperity coming to this important industrial state. There were almost two applicants for every job listed, the ratio being 181 jobseekers for every 100 available jobs. A year ago there were only 14 applicants. Both figures apply to November, the latest month officially available. In October 1929 the ratio was 147 applicants for every 100 jobs.

Wages Decline

Wages are also in a bad way, the state department reports. Payroll totals fell off 4.3% in manufacturing though showing slight gains in other industries, chiefly department stores and mail order houses that profit by the orgy of Christmas spending on the part of the comfortable classes. But normal manufacturing was impaired by widespread shutdowns or layoffs.

"The volume of unemployment is con-

siderable," the department asserts on the basis of its free employment service. Corn-husking machinery caused an unusually light demand for farm labor during the month. With road work also slacker the department says that "a large volume of common labor is idle, presenting a serious unemployment problem in practically every large city of the state."

The average weekly earnings of male workers in all Illinois industries were \$32.21 in November. Females earned \$18.94 a week on the average. In manufacturing the average was over a dollar lower, being \$31.14 for males and \$17.08 for female workers.

If a man were employed 50 weeks a year in Illinois this would give him \$1,610.50 at the average rate, which is far below even the government's minimum decency standard as worked out by the U. S. bureau of labor statistics.

Mummery in Labor Unions

Very few workers are conscious of the destructive influence of secret and ritualistic work in their union meetings. The altar, with its open bible in the center of the lodge room, the chaplain with his reading of the prayer at the opening and closing, the juggling of pass words, signs and counter-signs, creates a stifling and depressing atmosphere of solemn mummery in workers' meetings. This is especially true in the division and lodge rooms of the Railroad Brotherhoods, where ritualistic mummery is practiced under the influence and support of the official bureaucrats who figure that it is a harmless way to spend their time when together. The officials know that as long as they can induce and compel the workers to practice these useless ceremonies at their meetings, it will naturally help to keep their minds and attention away from more serious and important problems, such as organization, amalgamation, labor party instead of labor lobby, repeal of gag laws and lowering of official salaries, etc.

Bosses are Wiser

What would be thought of corporation officials if they would open their meetings with altar, prayer, ritual, pass word, grips, signs and countersigns as the workers do in the Railroad Brotherhoods and many other labor organizations? It would be thought that they were crazy, wouldn't it?

Our useless and overpaid craft officials are also anxious to keep so many gag laws in our labor constitutions as they can, so as to stifle every impulse towards change that may place their fat meal ticket in jeopardy. Section 84, page 73, of the constitution of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is a typical example of the kind of gag laws that are considered most precious by the labor fakers. This law forbids every member and local union in the B. of L. E. from printing anything concerning the Brotherhood or its leadership. Think of such ignorance enforced on the workers. It is this gag law which now protects the B. of L. E. officials from the wrath of the membership. It is section 84 that protects the officials in their game of robbing the membership by levying five dollar monthly assessments on the members without being compelled to render a definite account of the proceeds.

Lengthy obligations, incorporated in the rituals, administered to applications for membership, also contain a lot of gag rules which are practically hidden from the rank and file.

Militant Twice Expelled

The writer of this article has on two different occasions seen these gag laws in practical operation by the B. of L. E. bureaucrats and their henchmen in the ranks. In 1919, Grand Chief Warren S. Stone used Section 84 in ordering me expelled from Division 369 of the B. of L. E. because I published two articles on amalgamation which he refused to publish in the B. of L. E. Journal. Ten years later, in 1929, I was again expelled by Stone's successor in office, Alvanley Johnston, aided by his tools in Division 369, for spreading literature pointing out the injustice of the five dollar special assessment without the rendition of a definite account to the membership as to where the proceeds of this special assessment are going and why we are paying it. This time the obligation was brought into play as I had not violated Section 84. The obligation not only forbids the printing of literature but also forbids the giving out of literature pertaining to the Brotherhood. Thus, gag rule in the B. of L. E. is complete.

A systematic and organized fight must be carried on by the militant section of the labor movement against these gag laws. Raise these questions at your local and union meetings and at conventions. Send in amendments to the constitution calling for the repeal of gag laws like Section 84 and the abolition of obligations and secret work. Obligations and gag laws are always used by useless and crooked officials to protect themselves against the intelligence of the masses while in office. They never operate against the official bureaucrats. The B. of L. E. situation shows this plainly.

Obligations, gag laws and secret mummery belong in the garbage can, not in workers' meetings.

—C. R. HEDLUND

YOUNG VANGUARD

- - A Section Devoted to Problems of the Working Class Youth - -

The Last Plenary Session of the Y. C. I.

Note: The author of this article is a member of the Young Communist League in New York, whose name cannot of course be revealed. At the time of our expulsion from the Party, he voted with the majority of the Party and League. Recently, he has written to us after a thorough study of the question, he has decided to support the Communist League (Opposition) working as much as possible inside the Y. C. L. and Party for our viewpoint. The course of comrade R. is only a sign of a steady movement inside the official Party in our direction.—Ed.

A most remarkable document, indicative of the trend of development in the Communist movement, and therefore deserving of the close study of every sincere Communist, is the theses adopted at the last enlarged Plenum of the Young Communist International (Daily Worker, 1-14 and 15-30). If the members of the Y. C. L. would give some deep thought to these theses many of them would see in the depths of the Communist stream much that they fail to see on the surface. It would enable them to begin the process of breaking through the thick shell of deception in which they have been steadily encased. They might then observe in the face of the Party, lines and features of a strange and peculiar nature—lines that run crooked, features that reveal sharp distortions.

The theses speak of "the unsatisfactory situation in the sections of the Y. C. I. which in some countries takes on a form of a crisis". The theses state that "there was to be observed during the past year an exceedingly dangerous lagging behind in the tempo of work of the Y. C. I. compared with the general tempo of revolutionary development". We are informed that there has been an average decrease of 20% in the number of members and factory nuclei in most countries and an even sharper decrease in some countries ("serious political and organizational crisis" in Czechoslovakia, England, Norway, Austria). We are made to understand that the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Y. C. I. have suffered the fate of merely remaining decisions.

The Cause For The Situation — The Situation

What is the cause of this deplorable situation? "The main reason for the unsatisfactory situation in the Y. C. I. should be sought in the sectarian isolation and separation from the basic mass of the working class youth which dominates in the organizations of the Y. C. I." Can this be the reason? It must be plain to every intelligent Communist that what is stated here as a reason is no reason at all, but only the consequence of a wrong line. They have substituted the results of an ultra-Leftist policy for the cause. This is standing matters on their head. Why don't they explain the reason which has led to this sectarian isolation, and not tell us that there is an unsatisfactory situation and the reason for this is sectarian isolation?

The whole situation as described in the theses must lead every Communist to serious thought. And a series of questions must loom up in his mind:

How does it happen that the sections of the Y.C.I. reveal such a stubborn inability to adapt themselves to the "general tempo of revolutionary development"? Why is it that the sections are lagging behind, continue to lag behind and still lag behind? How does it come that this lagging behind has become such a universal phenomenon? Does this not lead one to believe that the roots reach deeper than is apparent to the eye? Is there not reason to believe that the cause of this crisis is not merely that there is no will, no determination on the part of the Leagues to accomplish their tasks in accordance with the necessities of the situation, but that there is something politically unsound at the bottom of the structure? The theses tell us that we lag behind. But what does it propose? It says: we must not lag behind. It tells us that the situation is unsatisfactory. What must be done? More of this kind of work and more of that kind of work must be done!

How does it happen that the Y. C. L.s

show such a sterility that they cannot create the forces to conquer their shortcomings and assure their growth?

What kind of a situation have we reached when leaders of the Leagues must be threatened like two-year olds to carry out their Communist duties? "The enlarged Plenum of the E. C. makes it mandatory for all Leagues to create in the immediate future strong working factory nuclei in the large enterprises employing many young workers. The failure to carry this out must bring with it a change in the composition of the leading organs of the League". Does this not resemble the last, strained efforts of people who feel helpless before a hopeless situation? And should this not put a spur to every Communist to start thinking seriously, and to stop shouting in chorus: "Trotskyist renegades"?

Confusion on Right and Left Danger

The theses speak of the Right danger. Then they go on to say: "Along with this danger there is also the so-called 'Left danger', namely: a tendency towards petty bourgeois radicalism leading to the divorce of the leadership from the masses and the mass organizations, its transformation into narrow groups of 'Left' phrasemongers." Then it goes on to say that this danger is either not seen or underestimated, "that they do not want to or are unable to carry on the struggle against it". Why is this so? Why cannot the Left danger be seen and fought against? The answer is: for the same reason that Lovestone saw the Right danger in "Trotskyism". He himself was the most typical and consistent representative of the Right danger in America. The enlarged Plenum looks into the

The Disruption of the Canadian Youth League

It is now one year since the first group of young Communist League Members in Canada challenged the arbitrary methods of forcing decisions down the throats of the membership. Since that time the leadership following out with servile obedience instructions from the Young Communist International, have plunged the league from one crisis into another till today the Canadian League is fighting for its very existence. The Y. C. L. membership continues to shrink; its influence wanes with dangerous rapidity; the Young Worker as a bi-weekly comes out at rarer intervals than when it was supposed to be published once a month. It is time the members of the Y. C. L. began seriously considering the reasons for the failure and degeneration of the League in Canada and also the Young Communist International.

Responsibilities With Y. C. I.

Basically responsible for this condition, of course has been the failure of the leadership of the Young Communist International and the Comintern on an international scale which undermined the revolutionary movement throughout the world, and contributed to the revival and growth of the socialist Reformism. Until the first fight inside the Y. C. L. about six months previous to our expulsion, a more homogeneous organization could have hardly been imagined or found in the Y. C. I. The progress of the League was good. We were able to strengthen the National Executive, organize sport units and form a National Workers Sports Association, increase the membership, and take on more activity in the trade unions and on the cultural field.

In spite of these redeeming features, the ideological level of the membership remained very low. Factional fights were practically unknown, and so far as political differences there hardly seemed to be any. The expulsion of comrade Spector on the issue of "Trotskyism" came like a bolt from the blue. The opposition squabbles of the American Party had been always regarded with disdain and cynicism. The fight inside the Comintern, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Chinese Revolution, the differences inside the Russian Party, didn't directly bother anybody and were never discussed.

The issue inside the Y. C. L. had arisen from the insistence of the Toronto membership to criticize the N. E. C., and, while it led to the expulsion of 77 active members, had been confined solely to Toronto. There

mirror and cannot see who is reflected there.

Many comrades will see in the theses the virtue of fearless self-criticism. But this in itself can lead us nowhere. Self-criticism which is not subordinated to Leninist political analysis is meaningless. It would be like the doctor who has the "courage" to inform you that you are suffering from a curable disease without telling you how to take measures to remedy it. The theses have the "courage" to inform us of an unsatisfactory condition in the Y. C. I., but they can give no political analysis for the basis of this situation, and can only propose artificial measures for the elimination of this situation.

What stage of political paralysis and stagnation has been reached in the Y. C. I. can be clearly seen from the methods by which the leaders hope to uncover the cause of the crisis. They are going to make an investigation in the Czechoslovakian, British, Norwegian and Austrian Leagues! Doesn't this show complete political impotence? Not to be able to analyze the political factors which are the cause of the unsatisfactory situation but to make an investigation as if trying to detect some technical irregularity! Yes, they have arrived at a blind alley, and do not know how to retrace their steps. The seeds of the struggle against "Trotskyism" have ripened into a pernicious plant.

It is plain. The poisonous opportunist course of the last six years could result in nothing but political demoralization. The road of bureaucracy, forgery and falsification, mockery of self-criticism, elimination of inner-party democracy, expulsion and exile of the Leninist vanguard could lead only to confusion, bankruptcy and disintegration. No number of revolutionary phrases about the brave young Communists can help. The brave young Communists can find a solution only beneath the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Along this path they will find their way, even if at the present moment its direction is not yet clear to them. The course of events is bound to illuminate the road.—R.

had been no political principle at stake. The ideological reign of terror and provocations to which the expelled were treated, had, unfortunately, been a lesson only to the Toronto membership.

The Hypocrisy of the Stalinists

In the narrow development of the Canadian League, it is not at all surprising that the leadership was so easily able to force the bogeyman of "Trotskyism" down the throats of the membership. Instead of trying to raise the political consciousness of the rank and file, who were crying for discussion, the leadership demanded under threat of expulsion machine-like obedience. Those who protested were expelled. The leadership, playing on the ignorance of the League was able to defeat and deaden the fighting spirit of the membership. For the Smiths and the Bucks to come out now and blame the League and Party rank and file for passivity and disinterestedness in the fate of movement is sheer hypocrisy. They themselves are responsible. The League and Party membership repeatedly demanded discussion on the issues that were splitting the world Communist movement.

The cutting off of the Opposition has not strengthened the Y. C. L., as the leadership promised it would. On the contrary it has drained and continues to drain blood. It has opened up the organization to the attack of Police Chief Draper, which has ended in a miserable fiasco for the League and Party. Today the Party is not even able to organize an election campaign in Toronto, units don't meet, complete demoralization exists. The League has false policies due to the wrong estimation of the world situation. The Workers Sports of Canada has been completely wrecked due to the ridiculous irresponsible tactics.

In the trade unions the influence of the Y. C. L. has completely disappeared because of the adventurous Leftism of the leadership. The Socialist Youth Organizations, which had repeatedly met with failure in trying to organize the youth, has since our expulsion been successful in forming an Arbeiter Ring Club and a National Workers Alliance. In the Palestine affair, many former League sympathizers marched together with the Zionists and are today coming more under their influence. The main activity of the once leading Toronto League has been reduced to monthly social gatherings.

The answer to the question of what now is to be done is therefore more than ur-

The Curse of Mining Accidents

TAYLORVILLE, Ill.—Since the strike of December 9, after the underground wage slaves had been driven back to work by the united and unscrupulous forces of the Farrington-Fishwick gang, the Peabody Coal Co. officials, the tin soldiers of Governor Emmerson, the sheriffs and gunmen and the whole of the yellow press, two deaths by electrocution in the mines, several semi-serious and almost fatal accidents in which miners had their spinal columns fractured, have occurred.

Speed-up Causes Accidents

Let us see what is the cause of all this slaughter of the miners underground. The answer that any experienced miner will give is: the speed-up system, the arrogant handling of the men by the infernal officials and their lickspittles of the Peabody system, in conjunction with the Fishwick-Haywood officials of the company controlled union, the United Mine Workers.

The union double-crossers and the Peabody Simon Legrees know that thousands of miners are tramping the streets in search of work, and that those at work, who get only a scanty wage, fear to open their mouth to protest against the inhuman and brutal conditions and handling of the miners, for that would mean the loss of their jobs which is equivalent to a death sentence to many of them, as well as for their wives and children. If it is not direct death it is at least a slow death by starvation, since the jails and poorhouses are already overcrowded.

Now let us see the additional causes for accidents. In my experience, I have come in contact with men who have passed their examination before the Board of the State of Illinois, appointed by the Governor that did not know the rudiments of third grade arithmetic. Some of them had no or little practical experience in the mines. But they had a pull with the bosses who know that this ilk of numbskulls make good slave drivers. They generally pass the examination (we have some that can't even read or write) and then are turned loose to look after the miners' safety. Such violation of even the state mining laws and misconduct of coal company officials is general and rampant all over the Peabody system.

U. M. W. Officials Delinquent

The officials of the U. M. W. generally stand idly by and apparently don't care how many violations of the mining laws the coal companies commit, or how many deaths and accidents occur. They only watch the check-off system. So long as they can draw their fat salaries and hug and squeeze the fat lady, Miss Cellaneous Expenses, they are deaf and dumb to anything pertaining to the welfare of the hands that feed them.

The National Miners Union intends and strives to do away with this disgraceful and deplorable condition. But it has a tremendous front aligned against it, running from the officialdom of the old union to the state soldiers.

So the miners continue to be plucked and degraded with the aid of the invisible whips, Hunger and Starvation. The miners must wake up to the fact that the U.M.W.A. officials only want their dues and assessments to spend, as they are doing now, for court proceedings where they fight for the remnants of the loot that remains in the U. M. W. The U. M. W. treasury is virtually depleted, even the sick and death benefit fund is almost gone. The miners have nothing left to lose now, except bad mining conditions, but they have a new world to gain. A united battle by them, with the spirit of the old days of 1894 to 1898, when it was necessary to organize miners secretly, will win the miners their victory.

—FRITZ BODE, Sr.

gent. It is not yet too late to save the Y.C.L. if the rank and file begin immediate agitation for—

1. Reinstatement of all the expelled with full rights and positions held prior to the expulsion.
2. Down the arbitrary methods of the suppression of league discussion.
3. The full discussion of the platform of the Russian Opposition.

M QUARTER

The New Industrial Unions

The Mass Organizations of the Workers or Narrow Party Sects?

By Arne Swaback

The new industrial unions organized under Communist Party leadership, have in the short period of their existence in several instances succeeded in inspiring workers to militancy; they have thrown fear into the hearts of the exploiters. But they also have shown serious failures caused by basically wrong policies.

The efforts to organize new unions in the unorganized industries remain as necessary and as correct as ever. But since the new line of the "third period" these efforts have become caricatures of what they should be, mainly through the basically wrong conception of "revolutionary unions", from which so many other mistakes flow. If this were merely a matter of grandiloquent phraseology with which this period is "enriching" itself, it might possibly be ignored. But unfortunately it has become an actual conception. The results of this can only be that the splendid opportunities available for organization become entirely neglected; the working masses, growing more ready for struggle, become alienated from these unions and the unions themselves will come to occupy a position of narrow sects, isolating the Left wing from the working masses.

Revolutionizing the Unions

Unions become revolutionary in revolutionary periods, and in general, when, having a mass basis, they reflect the degree of development of the workers. When separated in exclusive crafts of skill trades they naturally lag behind this development; but even the most backward ones can in such periods be pushed forward, though they usually remain several steps behind the working class. It is the duty of Communists to help and to guide this process of revolutionizing the unions. It will certainly require the most persistent, devoted activities and struggle of the revolutionists to organize new unions in the unorganized industries, but the false conception of "revolutionary unions" in the United States at the present degree of development of the working class, when even a revolutionary party does not yet exist as a mass factor, if continued, completely annihilates the necessary mass basis of the unions. This is what is happening now, made yet worse by extremely adventurist, Leftist enterprises, maneuvering without any regard for responsibility to the working class.

As a natural consequence of this essentially wrong conception, the Party appears in the role of exercising complete mechanical control over these unions. It prevents the development of a leadership coming from out of the ranks of the workers—a leadership which could stand on its own feet and gain the confidence of the membership. Selection of leadership thus becomes arbitrary, based exclusively upon the prerequisite of ability merely to accept orders and such leaders usually have the least experience. Independent views, in general conformity with the Left wing program of the unions, are not even tolerated. Communists and Left wingers who disagree with Party bureaucrats are arbitrarily removed from office and barred from participation in the work. These digressions are quite inevitable when mechanical control becomes substituted for the correct method of establishing Communist influence. Mechanical control has nothing in common with Communist leadership and the results cannot be without effect upon the union membership who see in it only a repetition of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. It destroys the confidence of the workers in the unions, narrows its leadership basis and separates the Party ever more from many valuable experienced elements. This in turn becomes one of the important reasons for many mistakes in policy.

The Third C. I. Congress on Trade Unions

The correct relationship of the Communist Party toward the unions could not be more explicitly stated than in the theses of the Third Congress of the Communist International, then still under the leadership of comrades Lenin and Trotsky:

"To increase the union of the Party with the masses means above all a closer alliance with the workers' organizations. The task does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work, but in the revolutionary, Communist elements within the unions

giving them that direction which answers the general interests of the proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of power." (Emphasis in original.)

And further, under the heading "The Tasks of Our Parties":

"The real test of the strength of every Communist Party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labor unions. The Party must learn how to influence the unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist fraction of the union is subject to the control of the party, not the labor union as a whole. If the Communist fractions persevere, if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be accepted gladly and readily by the unions."

The establishment of the "revolutionary trade union center", the T. U. U. L. could have become an important factor in strengthening Left wing influence. The organization of a center for Left wing activity and groups is not only correct but a pressing necessity. Its basic conception, however leads it in the opposite direction. The conception of a center in the sense of a new federation at the present time, naturally means a head on clash with the old unions for the control of the workers, coming long before the Left wing has succeeded in establishing and extending its influence.

New Unions Everywhere?

From that follows competition for building of unions all along the line also in organized or partly organized industries. The fight of the Left wing becomes one not against the reactionary leadership of the existing unions but against the unions as such, and certainly it can appear in no other way to the workers. Where some Left wing elements are still within the old unions they split off—as the whole policy is a split policy—and completely withdraw all Left wing activities from the A. F. of L. and kindred unions. It is a split policy, not applied when it is necessitated by developments, but resulting in the "revolutionary center" getting the small fraction outside isolated from the mass section of organized workers while the reactionary bureaucrats, who are an integral part of the capitalist structure are enabled to solidify their influence over these masses.

One of the most recent examples of this development is the creation of a couple of small unions in New York with big pretensions to an industrial form and affiliated to the T. U. U. L., appearing as split off sections: the new Subway Workers Union and the new Building Service Union. Their course will be one of so many of its small split-off predecessors. They will lead a sectarian existence until they disappear, unless they grow sufficiently conservative to again become part of the organizations from which they split. In industries where the existing unions are more firmly established the result will just be much more fatal because such policy has nothing in common with the conquest of the majority of the working class by the Communists.

Of the new industrial unions none has escaped suffering under these wrong conceptions and wrong policies. The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is but a fraction of the once powerful Left wing influence among these workers. The National Textile Workers union is now facing a decline in the South despite the favorable objective conditions. In both instances may be noted the failures of the Left—which means the Communist Party—to attempt to develop united front actions with the workers in A. F. of L. unions. It might be objected that reactionaries oppose it, that they betray the workers or lead them in fake strikes, etc. These are not valid objections. The workers in both industries suffer intolerable conditions, they have been engaged in struggles which would give the Left wing the opportunity through efforts for united action to broaden their contact with the masses, better expose the betrayers, turn the demands of the struggles into more genuine accord with the interests of the workers and give them more political and revolutionary content. The growth of the National Miners Union has certainly suffered from the mechanical maneuvers. The recent experience of

wrong policies preceding and during the Illinois strike is already making its effects felt more deeply.

Every mistake made strengthens the position of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. But these mistakes are typical of the Centrist leadership as directed throughout the International by the Stalin regime. They zig-zag from Right to Left, from unity with the betrayers of the British general strike to extreme leftists chatterings, which in reality isolate and weaken the Left wing in the labor movement. It should be remembered that at the time we introduced the correct conception in to the Communist Party of organizing the unorganized industries, Foster joined with the Lovestone group in opposition. Ever since then the Centrist Party leadership has been feeding and strengthening the Right wing Lovestone group by giving it apparent justification for much of their criticism.

The Responsibility of the Right Wing

The Right wing in turn carries heavy responsibility for the present Leftist rantings and irresponsible mechanical maneuvering with workers interests. When in control of the Party, it proved itself master of such maneuvering. It consistently opposed the conception of organization of the unorganized into new unions. Now it is trying to take up our criticisms as a cover for the introduction of its own tendency toward social reformism into the labor movement.

The present epoch is the epoch of capitalist decay and proletarian revolution. It is now further accentuated by the present advancing industrial depression. If it teaches Communists anything in winning through the unions an influence over the majority of the working class, it teaches that the new industrial unions must have a mass basis and that the policies must be shaped so as to accomplish this. One necessary part of this is the correct coordination of the Left wing within the unions with the Left wing and opposition movements within the A. F. of L. There can be no disputing the necessity of taking up in earnest the work of building a revolutionary ideology and understanding within the existing mass organizations and giving it organized expression. We must also accept the duty of organizing workers into these mass organizations where they exist and stop the senseless split off of small sections.

The advancing period of depression poses many serious questions to the Communist movement; but especially does it pose the one of correctly applying the united front policy in such a manner as to bring the largest sections of both the old unions and the new unions into united struggle for their class interests. Once that is learned, a big step will have been taken toward extending Communist influence among the American workers.

Where to Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Belmont News Co., 101 East 5th St.; Western News Stand, Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C.: Gale's Book Shop 300 Tenth St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St. N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; and on various newsstands.
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We.ley St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington.; Andelman's, 291 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
DETROIT, MICH.: Aldas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 5th & Market; 11th & Market; 13th & Market; Market between 19th; 9th & Locust; Warwick's News Depot, 262 So. 11th St.
BUTTE, Mont.: International News, 121 So. Arizona.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave

Cleveland Labor News

By John Foley

CLEVELAND—The garment workers strike has been settled with a weak compromise, accepting the 42-hour week as against the 44-hour week they were working. They struck for the 40-hour week and as fine a display of solidarity of workers as ever existed was manifested in this struggle. The union shops came out to the man, and about 700 from the non-union shops are still trying to get recognition from the American Plan Shops, this city being the national headquarters of the American Plan Association.

As a spectator at the Garment Workers Union convention a couple of months back at the Public Auditorium, listening to resolutions calling for Bronze Convention Badges being turned into Gold Badges for spineless officers, I don't think that the American Plan Association will have much trouble defeating this jellyfish of the old International Ladies Garment Workers Union that once affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam-Second International fame. But I don't think it makes much difference whether they are sold by International Ladies Garment Workers Union or driven by the American Plan Association.

In regards to the trial of 11 demonstrators arrested in the City Council on December 2nd the case was nolleed on account of capitalist hoodlums trying to get rid of the city manager in Cleveland. At the last two meetings of City Council, they turned this dignified, august sanctuary of priests into a bedlam, according to the daily murder sheets, into scenes similar to the French Revolution. The judge admonished the group of laughing Communists and said he had a sense of humor and would not allow them to martyr themselves in his court.

I wonder if the bourgeois judges think that breaking into jail is martyrdom. Their rotten system of starvation and eviction is the cause and jail is the only home the worker has got under capitalist production.

I had the American Civil Liberties Union defend me, the other ten the I. L. D. Because I employed the American Civil Liberties Union the I. L. D. sent me a letter that my bond would be withdrawn the next day! It seems that the worker that went my bond had more spirit of solidarity in the workers movement than the secretary of the I. L. D. in District 6 and refused to withdraw it. I suppose he will be disciplined for this breach of Stalinist Communism.

I travelled the slave market today looking over the situation. I find in Cleveland about one hundred unemployed for every single job that shows up.

On January 17, 1930, at three p. m. we held a meeting on Public Square. It was very cold but a couple of hundred unemployed stood in the cold to listen to speakers. One wobbly whom the workers have respect for, has been co-operating with the International Brotherhood Welfare Association, the Communist Leaguers, the Anarchists, the emergency program of the Industrial Workers of the World and the official Industrial Workers of the World members all responded to the call of organizing the unemployed and unorganized workers. I spoke at the first meeting and explained that these organizations represented flows of social forces in society and they all called for the class war, and we could all fight the common enemy together, use the movement for recruiting grounds for members, as no organization has a monopoly on unemployed and misery, and use the movement also as a training ground for dynamic rebels.

But of course, you know we have the remnants of Lovestoneism and Amerism and the hero-worshippers yet in Cleveland, although we have a new district organizer, Anthony Simba, and a Trade Union Unity League secretary, Douglas. They may or may not be responsible, but due to mechanical control and suppression of unemployed expression. All these elements mentioned above withdrew their cooperation. The burlesque tactics of artists and bourgeois-trained youth looking for careers and ego expression hung the crepe on the movement as far as real spirit is concerned. We have had the finest type of fighting spirit, the most dynamic individuals of past class battles all working together here. When these fellow-workers start organizational work, the comrades of Stalin fame become so jealous that they try to lightning-rod and smother the work

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol III, No. 6,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, February 8, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO BLUMKIN?

Let Stalin and the American Party Leaders Answer!

The Paris organ of Miliukov, Latest News prints the following telegram:

"BLUMKIN IS SHOT"

"COLOGNE, December 28.—The Moscow correspondent of the Cologne Journal telegraphs: These days, there was arrested upon the order of the G. P. U. the notorious Blumkin, murderer of Mirbach. Blumkin was accused of maintaining secret relations with Trotsky. According to the sentence of the G.P.U., Blumkin was shot."

This telegram has been reprinted in many other papers, but up to the time this is written the entire Stalinist press has maintained an ominous silence: the story has neither been denied nor affirmed.

Is this horrifying report true?

When the Bolshevik revolution broke out, Blumkin was one of the leaders of the Left Social Revolutionaries. He did indeed kill the German ambassador, Count Mirbach. But immediately thereafter he joined the Bolshevik party and played a heroic part in the civil war. For a while he worked in the military secretariat of comrade Trotsky and helped edit some of his military works. For some time, in the last period, he has been carrying on work of a highly important character, from which

he was never removed by his chiefs, Menzhinsky and Trillisser, despite the fact that they knew him to be a supporter of the Leninist Opposition from the very beginning. That he continued to maintain relations with comrades of his viewpoint was his right and duty, and a tribute to his devotion to the principles of the revolution.

Information that we have received leads us to believe now that Blumkin has simply been assassinated by Stalin for adhering to the Opposition. But the formal certainty is not yet established. We therefore demand of Foster, Bedacht and the others, of the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, which supports the present regime in the Russian Communist Party:

If the report of Blumkin's killing is false, then make a public declaration to that effect in the Party press!

If the abominable crime has really been committed, do you take responsibility for it before the revolutionary working class together with Stalin?

If you assume joint responsibility for the assassination, will you make a corresponding statement in the Party press?

We await the reply of the leaders of the Party, for there is much to be said yet about this frightful deed!

City of Chicago Goes Bankrupt

Chicago, the "great" metropolis of the Middle West, is in a financial dilemma. Actually the city government, and the county government, too, have gone bankrupt, of course, without any official declaration being made. With thousands of workers tramping the streets in vain search for work this bankruptcy becomes but one more evidence of growing inability of capitalism to govern society.

Much excitement was stirred up throughout the city when by a majority vote the city council passed upon the 1930 budget, calling for an expenditure of \$55,000,000. This was 7 1-2 million below the last two years budget but claimed to be within the revenue of the city which has suffered an indebtedness of \$13,000,000 during these last two years. Twice the mayor, the "famous" Big Bill Thompson, vetoed this budget merely to have it pass as often in a slightly amended form. But then the cuts necessitated layoffs. The first to come under the axe were 473 policemen. The excitement became a panic among the "better" citizens. Various rescue "Citizens Committees", with which Chicago has been so much "blessed" in the past were again formed.

The "Poor Policemen"

Some of the "very best" citizens even thought it a damnable outrage that these alderman had voted a sum of \$45,000 in the budget for their own automobile maintenance but would not appropriate enough to pay these "poor" policemen and thereby deliberately throw the city into "darkness and crime". Last year by their own efforts these "best" citizens had succeeded in adding 750 huskies to the city's force, and now—that seemed to have been all in vain—who would protect their property?

Meanwhile, 40,000 city employees are running far behind in wages. County employees have been voted a cut of 10 months pay for one year's work. These are the white collar workers being hit. In addition many white collar workers and regular city and county maintenance workers have been laid-off, increasing the ranks of the unem-

ployed. The city government is short of funds because the large property owners, the big corporations have paid no taxes for 1928 and 1929, awaiting a reassessment of tax valuation. The city government in its place is peddling tax anticipation warrants to such bankers and corporations willing to take them over, receiving an interest of 6 percent. This interest paid by the city now amounts to \$36,000 per day. Even at this handsome return the corporations have been very unwilling to buy. But now a ray of "hope" appears. The Down Town Property Owners Association has declared its willingness to take over \$10,000,000 worth of such warrants, to be returned in tax payments when the reassessment some day shall be completed. Meanwhile they collect 6 percent on their own tax payments they are thus withholding.

As an example of tax valuation in Chicago, it suffices to mention a couple of instances—not, however, those of workers who happen to own a shack, and are assessed up to the hilt. The Union Stock-year company is assessed, upon its property covering 135 acres, a valuation of \$11,000 per acre, making a total of less than a million and a half for taxation. The company's own appraisals, filed by the Department of Agriculture, shows a claimed valuation of \$130,000 per acre, amounting to a total of \$18,000,000. The Stevens Hotel claimed a property valuation of thirty one million dollars for bonding purposes; on the tax books it stands at a valuation of eleven million. These are but two examples.

Tax Valuation Cut

In 1926 and 1927 a big campaign started in the city, supported by the A. F. of L., for a reassessment of tax valuation to catch these big tax dodgers. A reassessment was finally granted, and although not yet completed, has already resulted instead of catching any dodgers, in further cutting tax valuations from 1927 to 1928

(Continued on Page 2)

Dress Strike on Schlesinger and Bosses Cooperate

Left Wing Can Win Workers by Quitting its Isolationist Attitude

The long-awaited dressmakers' strike of the Right wing union, the International Ladies Garment Workers, has finally been called with the approval of the dress manufacturers. Thousands of workers have quit their shops. The dressmakers' strike, like that of the cloakmakers which took place last year, is pretty unique in labor history. It was not called until a virtual agreement had been reached between the Right wing union leaders and what the New York Times calls "the better element" of the manufacturers.

So far as the union leaders are concerned, the main purpose of the strike is to demonstrate to the bosses that the Right wing is able to rally the workers behind

it, and draw them into one organization freed of all militant elements. The bosses want the elimination of the Left wing from the industry because the "red trouble-makers" defend the interests of the workers and carry out a policy of class struggle instead of class collaboration. They therefore hope that the present strike of the dressmakers will isolate the Left wing and reduce it to an inconsequential factor in the industry.

Workers Need Left Wing

A weakening of the Left wing in the present struggle would be a heavy blow to the needle trades workers. It is significant that at the head of the Right wing union strike committee are to be found the same ultra-reactionary forces—Schlesinger, Nadler, Hochman, Dubinsky, etc.—that dragged the formerly powerful organization into the deepest swamps of "peace with the bosses" at the expense of the workers, of class collaboration, the lowering of living standards the abolition of union control and continual defeats. The leadership of the Right wing today is the same outfit that split the old I. L. G. W. U., expelling militant members by the thousands in order to prevent a Left wing leadership, which had the support of the mass of the membership, from directing the activities of the organization.

To place the fate of the dressmakers into the hands of this discreditable crew would be to surrender the interests of the workers into the tender mercies of the manufacturers.

The bosses realize that they have nothing to lose by a victory of Schlesinger and Co. and a lot to lose by a victory of the workers, the rank and file. The various bosses' associations have already given a virtual endorsement to the strike. They want to drive the workers into the Right wing camp, under rigid Schlesinger control, in order to wean them away from any Left wing influence, to which they correctly attribute all their "difficulties". This attitude is taken not only by the dress bosses, but by the New York employing class as a whole, which speaks of the strike through the New York Times. This paper is notoriously an enemy of the workers, and of all strikes for the improvement of their conditions. But it designates the present strike as "the second step in the reconstruction of the garment industry" (2-3-1930) and points out that "the better element among manufacturers, jobbers and contractors is in sympathy with the step taken by the garment union".

What the bosses and their press endorse, the workers must be wary of. The dressmakers must understand that the essential purpose of the strike is to wipe out the Left wing, the main defense of the workers in the trade. If the Left wing makes the mistake of isolating itself from the main mass of the workers on strike, it will only fall in unconsciously with the plans of the bosses and their union agents. That is precisely why the present policy of the Left wing is so dangerous for its future and for the interests of the workers.

Left Wing Errors

It is wrong for the Left wing union to keep its members at work during the strike in the shops where it has a "sacred contract" with a handful of cockroach manufacturers. This will only strengthen the hypocritical position of the Right wing bureaucrats. The Left wing

(Continued on Page 2)

Enormous Profits in U. S. Steel

Every possessor of \$6,000 of watered U. S. Steel stock "made" as much money through that ownership in 1929 as the average U. S. Steel worker got out of an entire year's employment. The owner of the 60 shares of golden steel stock got \$1,270.80 for the year which is the average wage the steel trust pays the producers of the basic industrial metal.

The net profits of U. S. Steel for the year were \$197,531,000, all available for dividends. Only half of the last quarter's earnings were paid out in dividends, the rest going into the surplus fund which for the year totals \$108,003,000. It is all the property however of the stockholders who have the right to vote themselves the entire sum.

The 1929 earnings were twice those of the bonanza year of 1928 and focus attention on the steel trust as a main beneficiary in this country of low wages and high tariffs. In 1927 the company made \$114,000,000 clear, turned into dividends and plant.

The traveler entering Pittsburg along the Ohio, Alleghany or Monongahela would little imagine that he was entering the territory of one of the world's wealthiest corporations. Drab, smoke-grimed shacks line the river banks for long miles. Badly clothed children play in muddy, rutted streets, their only playgrounds. Houses are long rows of dilapidated shacks and the horizon is relieved only by the tall stacks of mills and spires of Catholic churches.

The average weekly wage in these steel mill towns is \$31.63 but tens of thousands according to federal labor statistics get under \$25. Laborers' wages—and laborers are more and more typical of the steel industry as mechanization throws out skilled workers—get from \$20.38 in the puddling mills to \$27.03 in the tinplate mills. The maximum wage in the blast furnaces is \$31.90 a week.

For 273,000 workers whose earnings were tabulated by the federal bureau of labor statistics, wages averaged \$31.63. With 40 weeks work during 1929, the steel worker got \$1,264, or the same as the holders of \$6,000 stock in his company "earned" during the same period.

If a common laborer in the blast furnace could have worked the 62 hours a week he is credited with by the federal figures for 52 solid weeks of 1929, he would have earned about \$30 more than the holder of the \$6,000 U. S. Steel stock.

Dressmakers on Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

must call down its own members in every dress shop.

It is not enough for the Left wing, which has been so seriously weakened in the last year or two to call upon the dress strikers to come to the Left wing halls. The fact is that the bulk of the striking workers are going in the other direction, and it is imperative to keep close contact with these workers so that the Left wing is not isolated. The Left wing must follow a conscious and persistent policy of mingling with the workers temporarily misled by Schlesinger and Dubinsky. It must work shoulder to shoulder with them.

Fighting side by side with the mass of the workers, gaining their confidence in struggle, the Left wing will be able to put a spike in Schlesinger's efforts to round up the workers without protest for sale to the bosses. By permeating the ranks of the Right wing workers, the Left wing will be able to reawaken their militant sentiments, and prevent a premature and treasonable conclusion of the strike.

Schlesinger has planned a parade of workers on his field in order to show the bosses that he is worthy of their hire.

The Left wing must establish fraternal contact with the strikers' ranks and turn the parade into a real struggle, prevent the dispersal of the forces of the workers. They will not win the sympathy and support of the strikers by remaining isolated in their own little Left wing halls. They will win them by fighting by their side to make Schlesinger's "strike" a real strike of the workers against the bosses and their emissaries in the labor movement.

Φ

MILWAUKEE—Wages of 32 to 42 cents an hour do not indicate "American prosperity" and constitute an indirect wage cut, contrary to the promise made by the bosses to Pres. Hoover, according to business agent Jac. Friedrick of the Milwaukee machinist union.

New men are being hired at this rate, though the previous rate was higher. This constitutes a wage cut because the ultimate effect will be to drag the other wages down to the 32-42 cents level. In spite of the low hourly rate there are up to 500 men seeking jobs at the plant every day.

Φ

NEW ORLEANS—(FP)—Bitter cold, and the hunger of the jobless, have sent a record number—100—of men, women and children daily to the Warrington House for food. At night the floors of the dormitories are covered with sleeping men and boys. Rugs and matting are used in place of beds. Early comers get chairs to sleep in.

Φ

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Max Schachtman will speak on the London Naval Conference at the regular Open Forum meeting of the Militant Hall, 25 Third Ave. Room 4, on Saturday, February 8, 1930, at 8 p. m. Admission is free and all workers are invited. Questions and discussion after the speaker's presentation. Bring your friends.

Chicago

HARD TIMES PARTY & REBEL DANCE

Given by Communist League (Opposition)
Saturday Evening, February 22
STISKA'S HALL, 4021 N. Drake Ave.
(3335 West)

Doors Open 8 p. m.

Dance Music Refreshments
Special Entertainment Number
Admission 35 Cents

If the number on your wrapper is

31

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Hoover and the Farmers

An intelligent member of the working class cannot help being astonished at the utter helplessness of the capitalist economists and their complete bankruptcy in ideas. Though not in so many words, they yet admit that they do not know how to solve the economic problem confronting the world today.

In the annual outlook report issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economy of the Department of Agriculture published by the New York Times (1-27-30) farmers are warned against overproduction because of the period of industrial depression we are now experiencing. They are plainly advised not to plant too much and to economize in their expenditures. This—in the face of four to five million industrial workers unemployed or working on a part time schedule (also because of overproduction) who scarcely know where they are going to find the wherewithal to live from one day to the next.

The Capitalist "Solution"

The only solution, judging by this report, that the capitalist economists have to offer to the tremendous problems raised by this situation is for the proletariat to starve for want of surplus of food products in the farmers' warehouses, and for the farmer to economize on clothes, shoes, farm machinery, and other necessities of which the industrial proletariat in its turn has produced a surplus. Both are expected to continue in the hope that the almighty will find a way out that has so far escaped the attention of his apologists.

The farmer himself is certainly in a sad fix. "The world do move"; technical changes are going on, even in the most backward of industries, and with the introduction of power machinery in agriculture, and large scale farming, the farm hand and the small farmer have no alternative but to go to the city and join the ranks of the harrassed proletariat. Here again they are confronted with the ever increasing productivity of machinery, this time industrial, which has already made superfluous large sections of the working class.

The report from Washington at first raises the slight hope that conditions abroad will improve at a point somewhere between 1930 and 1931 and provide a market for the American farmer's surplus but immediately shatters the hope by announcing that export will be met by keen competition from Argentina and Canada and possibly Russia. This is bad news. But what can a poor economist—a capitalist economist—do about that? "Lie low and get along the best way you can. In a couple of years things may brighten up. May, mind you." That is the essence of what Hoover's economists have to tell a few million cultivators of the soil in the early moments of this era of "prosperity".

In other words, a bona fide capitalist document once more offers a proof of the Communist contention that the private-property system is obsolete, that it has served its historic function and the day is not far distant when it must give way to a cooperative commonwealth. Capitalist economists may issue reports and serve the interests of their masters in many a learned volume wherein they prove that Marx was wrong, but the accusing finger of the Communist will always point to the capitalist class and will say:

The Communist Answer

"You can't solve your own national or the world's economic problem, and sooner or later the millions of unemployed proletarians and the expropriated farmers as well will realize your failure. They are slowly learning that the Russian workers and peasants have managed to do without

you. They will ask themselves, 'Why is it that in this country, though we have an abundance of fertile land, raw material of all descriptions, the most highly developed industrial and transportation systems in fact, everything to satisfy human needs, yet millions of industrial workers are denied the right to produce the things of which the farmers are in want, and at the same time, the farmers must let their land lie idle while millions in the cities starve?'

"And the Communist's answer to their question will be: 'The capitalist system can only allow industry to run when there is profit in it for the capitalist; his only interests are rent from the land and dividends from the factory—human beings don't count, for, under capitalism, property rights precede human rights.'"

Day by day the proletariat learns by experience that the Communists are right. The time will come when it will challenge the rule of the working class and the poison gas of the capitalist press will be but a puff of wind in its face.

Neither their paid intellectuals nor their armed strength will be able to save the capitalists' state. For the proletariat has the power and will know how to use it. Russia has taught us how.

—PETER HANSEN

Chicago Is Bankrupt

Continued from Page 1

by over \$400,000,000. The big down town properties alone cut over \$300,000,000 with none of these taxes paid as yet. Injunctions, suits and political maneuvering keep this money in the pockets of the exploiters. As one City Hall authority stated significantly to a newspaper reporter in regards to the fight stirred up over the budget: "The finance committee group (who fought for the cut) will win a victory or two. The mayor will save his face. The appropriations may be a million or two above the estimated revenue, but no more. The battle was decided in advance by the bankers."

Oscar Nelson, the alderman who carries a union card, vice President of the Chicago Federation of Labor and floor leader for the Big Bill Thompson administration in the city council, has voiced aspirations to become candidate for mayor in the Spring elections. But such change of personality would mean not the slightest break in the continuity of capitalist politics. The Chicago workers are, of course, not so much stirred by the budget fight, one way or the other. While they could, by acting politically in their own name and using their own mass power, easily catch some of these big thieves and tax dodgers, their real task will still remain ahead until they chase all the capitalist politicians out.

—A. S.

Help Us to Sustain The Militant

A labor paper, particularly a revolutionary organ, does not receive the big advertisements and subsidies, without which a capitalist paper is unthinkable. The Militant is no exception to this rule. It must depend entirely upon readers and supporters for its existence and growth.

The Militant was founded because it fills a special and urgent need in the labor and revolutionary movements. It has been maintained by a group of devoted workers, who understand the value of adherence to the fundamental teachings of the great leaders of our movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These teachings are not strong if they are limited to small groups; they become a powerful weapon for labor's liberation when they are made known to the whole working class—honestly and truthfully. This is the task set itself by the Militant.

This great work can be carried out effectively only if the existence of the Militant is secured. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish and strengthen a systematic SUSTAINING FUND. Such a fund will not only enable us to print a whole series of most valuable books and pamphlets. The Militant has on hand a number of manuscripts by L. D. Trotsky. They include: "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" "The Struggle for the Chinese Revolution", "Europe and America", "The Great Organizers of Defeat: a Record of Five Years of the Comintern", and many others. If the SUSTAINING FUND of the Militant is assured, we can proceed to the immediate publication of these Bolshevik classics.

The sooner donations accumulate for the FUND, the more rapidly can we proceed with this important job. Every dollar counts doubly now. We are depending upon all our readers and friends to act with speed. The blank below is for your use. Fill it out now!

THE MILITANT
2525 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the Militant SUSTAINING FUND to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

City State

★ DANCE ★

For the Benefit of the Weekly Militant
on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1930 at 8 p. m.
at the

HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street

Excellent Musical Program—Dancing—Entertainment

Admission: 50 cents in advance or 60 cents at door

AUSPICES: Communist League of New York (Opposition)
English and Hungarian Branches

BOSTON—(FP)—More building trades workers are walking the streets in Boston today than at any time since the depression of 1920-21, concedes the Building Trades Employers Assn., in a public appeal for resumption of construction activities. Half the 25,000 men in the building crafts are jobless, according to the employers' figures.

Building Trade Council officers admit that the estimate is not overdrawn. The Carpenters District Council is broadcasting appeals throughout the country warning mechanics to stay away from Boston.

THE MILITANT, Vol III, No. 6, February 8 1930. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Total No. 21

A Repast of Wild Beasts

A French Communist Viewpoint on the London Naval Conference

By Paul Sizoff

PARIS

On January 21, the imperialisms that divide the surface of the globe will meet in London to discuss ways and means of making war cheap. Naturally, the servile press is intoning the pacifist chorus: to believe it, the governments would ask no better than to make pickling cases with armor-plate, but there is "security" which requires or wants it, etc., there is the neighbor who has not had in its past the same traditions of "generosity" and humanity, etc.; the neighbors are responsible for everything: without them there would be no more war and the peace of the Lord would reign over the fleets... "Peace" in capitalist language means hegemony, absence of competitors, since the time when the word of the Lord was expressed in good English.

The Importance of Naval Transport

From the seventeenth century to the world war, English "peace" has actually prevailed uncontested over the expanse of the seas. First capitalist country in history, the United Kingdom has been, because of that, the first naval power of the world. Freedom of the seas plays a predominant role in commerce. Even today, when land communications are multiplied, when railroad lines are more and more contracted, maritime transportation remains the only means of access to the distant countries pounced upon by the capitalist ventures.

"Security" is needed for capital used to exploit raw materials; "security" is needed for the merchandise that the metropolitan factories throw on the market among the backward populations of the colonized lands. This "security" is demanded from the war fleets, the sharks of capital. The existence of a great imperialist country cannot then be conceived without a war-fleet in proportion to the extent of its world expansion: to that extent naval hegemony is synonymous with world hegemony.

England has had the first to the extent that she has been able to retain the second. The extraordinarily rapid growth of German imperialism having threatened her pretensions, she stopped at nothing, even war, in order to save decadent England from great peril and now, the formidable German fleet, the pride of the Kaiser, rests on a thick bed of shellfish at the bottom of a little bay of Scotland.

Despite that, the war did not save British hegemony. Before her has arisen the American colossus which little by little has forced her exhausted forces to retreat; and thus America has become the greatest imperialist power in the world. Her capital, her merchandise, her navies go everywhere. Even Europe and the Dominions, those ancient sacred shrines of British finance, are penetrated. A new star has arisen on the Far Eastern horizon, Japan, which in Asia vigorously competes with England and America. By means of her fleets she keeps watch over the Chinese ports on the Pacific. This causes grave concern to Wall Street and the White House; China, the outlet of enormous Asia, is under the Japanese menace and that makes it necessary for them to maintain a powerful fleet in the Pacific.

In Europe, France and Italy enviously spy upon each other; Italy suffocated within her national frontiers and on a poor soil requires land for colonization whereas France is firmly entrenched in the best parts of Northern Africa. Their colonial antagonism results in their naval antagonism and the victory will belong to the one that controls the Mediterranean.

Such are the naval powers which, periodically, in 1930 as in 1921 feel the need of limiting their armaments. Of course, peace serves, once again, as tinsel which functions to hide from the masses the intrigues of imperialism. On the day the naval conference at Washington decided to equalize the tonnage of British and American armament, the American Secretary of State Hughes declared that "A new era is opened for humanity." He should have been more exact and be satisfied with the statement that in actuality a new era is opened for American imperialism.

"Humanizing Warfare"

When Sir Arthur Balfour, British delegate to the conference, asked for the prohibition of submarines "in order to humanize warfare" France and Japan,

which require a submarine fleet, replied that what was more necessary to "humanize warfare" was the suppression of capital ships. The proletariat will make these scoundrels agree by suppressing them together with capitalism which they represent!

The bourgeoisie whose domination is founded on the subjection of the working class, could not, without danger, lay before the masses the contradictions that torment it. It needs a whole front of abstract phrases, such as peace, humanity, civilization, right, disarmament, behind which to conceal its appetites and the resultant antagonisms.

Just as in its colonial enterprises, it makes use of pastors and other agents of God to persuade the natives that for their own good they ought to become Christians that is, wage slaves, so, in defense of its hegemony, it utilizes pacifists, socialists, and other agents of capital to persuade people that it is capable of bringing them a ray of hope in their misery.

We saw above that a war fleet was an indispensable instrument to any self-respecting imperialism. Unfortunately for it, it is a costly instrument. An armored ship having a crew of a thousand men is worth about 800 million francs; a well placed torpedo sends it to the bottom in a few minutes. At this price, and with less risks, one can equip an army. Besides with the lightning progress of industrial technique, the completed ship whose plans date back several years is almost out of style. The rival imperialisms have already conceived of more powerful, less vulnerable ones. After twenty years, it is useless and sold as a pile of junk. This involves considerable budgets: the United States spends 10 billion francs a year for its navy; England 7 billion, France 3 billion. There are hundreds of billions in capital tied up in all the fleets of the world, producing nothing, wasting themselves in smoke.

The Washington Conference

An economic power, however weak, must therefore have a relatively satisfactory economic perspective, to keep its rank in the great naval competition. This is no longer possible for England. In other days its Admiralty set itself the task of having a fleet at least the equal of the next two smaller fleets combined. Now, it must be satisfied with equality with the United States. It was at the Washington Conference (1921) that this first stage of British decadence was, so to speak, solemnly recorded. A vast economic crisis raged throughout the world; all the industrial powers were in a weakened condition. In order to lighten the excessively burdensome budgets, rising America and declining Great Britain agreed to fix the tonnage of capital ships at the same value, while preserving their privileges as regards the smaller ships, the cruisers and the submarines. At the same time Japan, the principal opponent of the United States in the Far East, abandoned by her former ally England, had to accept, under pressure, a smaller tonnage for its effective forces. France and Italy, which cut a figure with their fireworks at the repasts of wild beasts that these "disarmament" conferences are, had to be content with very little. Finally, the ship tonnages were fixed in the proportions 5-5-3-1.75-1.75 for the five powers. Since the position of England has not been re-established, it has constantly sought to obtain new naval agreements, but has failed because of American hostility. Yankee capitalism, being in good health could permit itself the construction of a dozen cruisers, while signing Kellogg Pacts at the same time.

Today the perspective of a new economic crisis, which seems bound to hit the United States; the technical revolution performed by the Germans in the construction and use of cruisers which, from auxiliary units become battleships—all these preliminary factors are required for the two Anglo-Saxon imperialisms to seek an understanding on a formula for cruiser limitation.

That is the real cause of the new conference which will be held in London. Such is the world hegemony of these two states that the others are so to speak constrained to come and talk. The large fleets swallow the small ones as small enterprises devour weak ones. So, each country will go to

London but each will defend its own appetite; Japan wants more cruisers than the others will let it have; France develops the weapon, the submarine, and desires very much to keep that advantage; Italy, its immediate rival, seeks to come closer to America and will defend her theses: prohibition of submarines and freedom of commerce in times of war. We shall witness a great battle around the militaristic porringer, but there is no doubt about the victory of the strongest. America could, if it wished, construct a fleet capable of crushing all the others; England knows this and that is the reason which forces it to accept a formula of limitation which maintains in appearance a sort of equality between it and its rival. In appearance only; for what is decisive in a conflict is not the military power at the outset—it is the ability of a country at war to repair and construct new material. This is the "potential of war", and it requires capital, raw materials, and a highly developed capacity for production. It is for this reason that America obligingly lends itself to this disarmament comedy. With a little pacifist air, it makes sure of a superiority gotten at a bargain.

Thus, the "disarmament" conferences make ready for the war just as surely as do irrational programs of ruinous armament construction. They permit the release of non-productive capital to economic branches of construction, and force the militarists to perfect the technique of combat and to design weapons infinitely more murderous than those of the past.

That is the real, the productive side of conferences, but they also play a moral role which must not be neglected, in that they give a semblance of reality to the talk-fest at Geneva. The Socialist International avails itself of these conferences in order to spread its opium among the workers. It has formed a commission for disarmament (of the working class, we might add, through which it expresses the opinion that the London Conference will have lasting value, only "if it accomplishes its task in the general organization of peace sought at Geneva", in other words, only if the famous preparatory conference at Geneva, supposed to discuss above nations, confirms purely and simply the orders of American imperialism, which dictates them according to its momentary needs. Peace, according to our social democrats, still speaks English as it did formerly, but with a strong Yankee accent. All socialists are not Americanized. There are French ones like the social-chauvinist Paul Boncour, who worries over the limitation from "above" (at a "height" which French capitalism evidently cannot reach); he adjures the government to have "our rights" respected, to the applause of a hundred deputies of the French section of the Workers' International.

The genuine struggle against war is that of Lenin, of Rosa Luxemburg, that of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against capitalism. Any solution that will not exterminate capitalism, the sole cause of war, is like cauterizing a wooden leg. In order to save ailing humanity the proletariat must cast off the social democratic witch-doctors and bone-setters, together with their poisonous methods and join the school of revolutionary Communism in order to march along the sure road of the liberating revolution.

Φ

NEW KIND OF TRADE UNION WORK

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

Yesterday I attended a conference and mass meeting called ostensibly to hear Otto Wangerin of Chicago explain why new unions on the U. S. railroads were necessary.

The call was circulated among as many railroad workers as they thought safe and those who would not bother them with Trotskyism. Out of the tremendous force that the C. P. boasts, only three bona fide railroad workers were present. But this did not stop the hoodlums from expelling those who are not converted to the third period. When I arrived in the hall the giant minds were set into motion to find out who can best interpret this period. A tremendous struggle was waged amongst themselves, which took up a good portion of an hour. Finally unity was achieved and I was ordered out of the hall. Poor Otto Wangerin, his soul is not in the best of condition. But what can a poor fellow do who always bows before the almighty apparatus? After I left the hall the formulae was developed in detail and now the unity-purity squad will go on as ever before.

CARL SKOGLUND

United Front in Boston in the New Style

Boston is known as a historical city, particularly so to the working class. But unfortunately Boston can boast of a great deal more destructive work than constructive. So while this city is mentioned historically let us not forget to put in a page for January 19, 1930.

On that day a conference was called by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, inviting all organizations in Boston and vicinity to build a united front of all workers for the defense of the union in the coming struggles. Two of the members of the Communist League (Opposition) branch came to 22 Harrison Avenue to participate in the conference. We came as ever before to help build the union and not to thrash out political differences.

What did we find? We found assembled in a hall a number of people most of whom were Communist Party members, each one giving his name as representative of a certain organization. Incidentally, the names of the various organizations were not disclosed to the gathering.

Everything is "Properly" Arranged

The meeting was opened by a member of the union who at once gave the chair to a man elected from the floor—not a member of the trade but a member of the party—before he had been seated as a delegate.

The same maneuver was exercised in electing a credentials committee. Here too, one of the five was not in the trade but a delegate who had not yet been seated. When the credentials committee appeared, it brought in a majority report against seating us at the conference because we were "Trotskyists". When we asked for the floor to explain our attitude towards the union, we were refused that also!

We were "cleverly" refused the floor on the ground that it is unconstitutional to grant the floor to any guest before the delegation is constituted as a body. If this is the case, I would like to ask those of the conference who are so constitutionally correct: How did it happen that the chair man was elected out of the delegation before its constitution as a body? And was there not a slight breach of good ruling when a guest from the floor was placed on the credentials committee to vote us out? What does this mean? Is this not a repetition of the expulsion policy employed by the reactionary International Ladies Garment Workers Union? How much more justified are these people in barring us than the bureaucrats of the International were in barring us? As Left wingers, we always fought and always will fight most bitterly against this policy of disruption.

I want to remind the members of the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union—and particularly those who were so ready to expel us from the conference—to look back only a short time when the bureaucrats of the International expelled them for their political views. How bitterly we all fought against it! And when, in the summer of 1928, the call came to mobilize and build a new union of the workers and for the workers, a union that would embrace all workers regardless of their political views, we felt that this was a sacred task.

Joyous was the response of all our comrades, whether actually engaged in the needle trades or not, whether they were "Trotskyists" or Stalinists. We all took up arms to fight the bosses and their agents, the bureaucrats of the International. We took up arms to help build the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

Opposition on Side of Union

From the time of its coming into existence, throughout every strike conducted by the Left wing union, our comrades stood by its side on the picket line and everywhere else. Now the few party members who came up to give the keynote to the conference, suddenly declared us to be—not workers, but bosses, shopkeepers! Is this their conception of a united front? Is this their conception of how to build?

It is painful to see such work carried on by those who themselves were born in the struggle against just this type of work, which can prove nothing but detrimental.

No, it is not by expulsion, not by trying to push away those who come in earnest with the interest of the union at heart, that the union can be built, but by a real united front of all workers regardless of their political views. Only through such a united front can we build a strong union.

—CHARLOTTE SHECHET

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

Where are the Symptoms of the Political Radicalization of the Masses?

The question of the radicalization of the masses is not exhausted, however, with the strike movement. How do matters stand with the political struggle? And above all: how do matters stand with the numbers and influence of the Communist Party?

It is remarkable that in speaking of radicalization the official leaders, with a striking light-mindedness, ignore the question of their own party. Meanwhile, the facts are that beginning with 1925 the membership of the party has been falling from year to year: in 1925, 83,000 members; 1926, 65,000; 1927, 56,000; 1928, 52,000; 1929, 35,000. For the past years, we use the official figures of the secretary of the Comintern, Platnitzky; for 1929, the figures of Semard. No matter how these figures are regarded, they are undoubtedly highly exaggerated. As a whole, they very vividly present the curve of the party's decline: in five years, the membership fell by more than half. It may be said that quality is more important than quantity, and that there now remain in the party only the fully reliable Communists. Let us assume that. But this is not at all the question. The process of the radicalization of the masses can by no means signify the isolation of the cadres, but on the contrary, the influx into the party of reliable and semi-reliable members and the conversion of the latter into "reliables." The political radicalization of the masses can be reconciled with the systematic decrease in party membership only if one considers the role of the party in the life of the working class the same as a fifth wheel to a wagon. Facts are stronger than words: we observe a steady decline of the party not only during the years 1925-27, when the strike wave was ebbing, but also during the last two years, when the number of strikes was beginning to grow.

At this point, the honorable Panglosses* of official Communism will interrupt, pointing to the "disproportion" between the numbers of the party and its influence. This is now generally the formula of the Comintern, created by the shrewd for the simpleton. However, the canonized formula not only fails to explain anything but in some respects even makes matters worse. The experience of the labor movement testifies that the difference between the extent of organization and the extent of the influence of the party—all other conditions being equal—is all the greater the smaller the revolutionary and the bigger the "parliamentary" character of the given party. Opportunism is a lot easier than Marxism, is based on the diffused masses. This is especially evident from the simple comparison of the socialist and Communist Party**. The systematic growth of the "disproportion," with the decline in the numbers of organized Communists could consequently mean nothing but the fact that the French Communist Party is being transformed from a revolutionary into a parliamentary and municipalist party. That this process to a certain degree took place in the last years, of that the recent "municipal" scandals are incontestable witness; and it may be feared that "parliamentary" scandals will follow. Nevertheless, the difference between the Communist party in its present form, and the socialist agency of the bourgeoisie, remains enormous. The Panglosses in the leadership merely slander the French Communist Party when they discourse on some kind of a gigantic disproportion between its numbers and its influence. It is not difficult to prove that the political influence

* Pangloss is Voltaire's classic character for whom everything is at its best in this "best of all possible worlds"—Ed.

** On the eve of the legislative elections of 1924, the president of the E. C. C. I. in a special appeal to the French Communist Party pronounced the Socialist Party of France as "non-existent". The call emanated from the light-winged Lozovsky. I protested in vain, in a letter addressed to the president, against this light-minded evaluation, explaining that a reformist-parliamentary party may retain a very wide influence with a weak organization and even a weak press. This was looked upon as my "pessimism". Naturally, the results of the 1924 elections, just as the entire further course of development this time also light-mindedness of Zinoviev Lozovsky.

By L. D. Trotsky

of Communism, unfortunately, has grown very little in the last five years.

For Marxists—it is no secret that parliamentary and municipal elections sharply distort, and—always to the detriment of revolutionary tendencies—change the actual mood of the suppressed masses. Nevertheless, the dynamics of political development find their reflection in parliamentary elections: this is one of the reasons why we Marxists take an active part in parliamentary and municipal struggles. But what do the figures of the election statistics show? In the legislative elections of 1924 the Communist party polled 875,000 votes, a little less than ten percent of the total electorate. In the elections of 1928, the party polled a little more than a million votes (1,064,000), which represented eleven and one third percent of the votes cast. Thus, the specific gravity of the party in the electoral body increased by one and one-third percent. If this process were to continue further at the same tempo, then the perspective of Chambelland with regards to thirty or forty years of "social peace" would appear too... revolutionary.

The socialist party, already "non-existent" in 1924 (according to Zinoviev-Lozovsky) polled almost 1,700,000 votes in 1928, more than eighteen percent of the total, or more than one and a half times the Communist votes.

The results of the municipal elections change the whole picture very little. In some industrial centers (Paris, the North) the winning away, of votes from the socialists by the Communists undoubtedly took place. Thus, in Paris the specific gravity of the Communist vote increased in four years (1925-29) from 18.9 percent to 21.8 percent, that is, by three percent, at a time when the socialist vote fell from 22.4 percent to 18.1 percent, that is, by four percent. The symptomatic significance of such facts is undeniable: but so far they have only a local character, and are strongly discredited by that anti-revolutionary "municipalism" personified by Louis Sellier and other petty bourgeois like him. Generally, the municipal elections that took place a year after the legislative elections did not bring about any real changes as a result of the Selliers.

Other indications of political life speak just as fully against, to say the least, premature parrottings on the so-called political radicalization of the masses, which is to have taken place in the last two years. The circulation of *L'Humanite*, to our knowledge, has not grown in the past two years. The collections of money for *L'Humanite* undoubtedly represent a gratifying fact. But such collections would have been considerable, in view of the demonstrative attack of reaction on the paper, a year, two and three ago as well.

On the First of August—it must not be forgotten for a minute—the party was incapable of mobilizing not only that part of the proletariat which voted for it but not even all the unionized workers. In Paris, according to the undoubtedly exaggerated accounts of *L'Humanite*, about fifty thousand workers participated in the First of August demonstrations. That is, less than half of the unionized. In the provinces, matters stood infinitely worse. This fact proves, be it noted in passing, that the "leading role" of the Political Bureau among the C. G. T. U. apparatus men does not at all mean the leading role of the party among the unionized workers. But the latter contain only a tiny fraction of the class. If the revolutionary rise is such an irrefutable fact then what good is a party leadership which, in the acute moment of the Soviet-Chinese conflict, could not bring out an anti-imperialist demonstration even a quarter (more correctly stated, even a tenth) part of its electorate in the country. No one demands the impossible of the leadership of the party. A class cannot be seduced. But what gave the August First demonstration the character of a flat failure is the monstrous "disproportion" between the victorious shouts of the leadership and the real echo of the masses. So far as the trade union organizations are concerned, they went through the party's decline—judging by the official figures—after a delay of one year. In 1926, the C. G. T. U. numbered 475,000 members. In 1927, 452,000. In 1928, 375,000. The loss of 100,000 members by the trade unions at a time when the strike struggles in the country increased, represents an irrefutable proof that the C. G.

T. U. does not reflect the basic processes at work in the field of the economic struggles of the masses. As an enlarged shadow of the party, it merely experiences the decline of the latter after some delay.

The data cited in the present outline confirm with double strength the conclusions we made in a semi-priori order in the first article of the analysis of the strike movement figures. Let us recall them once more. The years 1919-20 were the culminating point of the proletarian struggle in France. After that, an ebb set in, which, in the economic field, began to change six years later by a new, but still slow tide: but in the political field the ebb-tide or stagnation continues even now, at any rate, in the main mass of the proletariat. Thus, the awakening, of the activity of certain sections of the proletariat in the field of economic struggle, is irrefutable. But this process too is only passing through its first stage, when it is primarily the enterprises of light industry that are drawn into the struggle, with an evident preponderance of the unorganized workers over the organized and with a considerable specific gravity of the foreign-born workers.

The impetus to the strike struggles was the rise in the economic conjuncture, with a simultaneous rise of the cost of living. In its first stages the strengthening of economic struggles is not accompanied ordinarily with a revolutionary rise. It is not evident now either. On the contrary, the economic rise for a certain time may even weaken the political interests of the workers, at any rate, of some of its sections.

If we take further into consideration that French industry has been experiencing a stage of rise for two years now; that there is no talk of unemployment in the basic branches of industry and that in some branches there is even an acute shortage of workers, then it is not difficult to conclude that with these exceptionally favorable conditions for trade union struggle the present swing of the strike movement must be acknowledged as extremely moderate. The basic indications of this moderation are: the depression in the masses that still remains from the last period, and the slowness of the industrial rise itself.

What Are the Immediate Perspectives?

Regardless of the rhythm of the conjuncture changes, it is only possible to foresee approximately the change in the phases of the cycle. What was said refers also to pre-war capitalism. But in the present epoch the difficulties of conjuncture prediction have multiplied. The world market has not attained, after the shake-up of the war, the establishment of a single conjuncture, even though it approached it appreciably compared to the first five years after the war. This is why one must now be doubly careful in attempting to determine beforehand the alternating changes in world conjuncture.

At the present moment the following basic variations appear likely:

1. The New York stock market crisis proves to be the forerunner of a commercial-industrial crisis in the United States, which reaches great depths in the very next months. United States capitalism is compelled to make a decisive turn toward the foreign market. An epoch of mad competition opens up. European goods retreat before this unrestrained attack. Europe enters a crisis later than the United States but as a result the European crisis assumes extraordinary acuteness.

2. The stock market crash does not immediately call forth a commercial-industrial crisis, but results only in a temporary depression. The blow at stock market speculation brings about better correlation between the course of paper values and commercial-industrial realities, just as between the latter and the real buying power of the market. After the depression and a period of adjustment, the commercial-industrial conjuncture rises upward once more, even though not as steeply as in the previous period. This variation is not excluded. The reserves of American capitalism are great. Not the last place among them is held by the government budget (orders, subsidies, etc.)

3. The withdrawal of funds from American speculation generates commercial and industrial activity. The further fate of

this revival will in turn depend just as much upon purely European as upon factors. Even in case of a sharp economic crisis in the United States, a rise may yet be maintained in Europe for a certain time, because it is unthinkable that capitalism in the United States will be able in the period of a few short months to reconstruct itself for a decisive attack on the world market.

4. Finally, the actual course of developments may pass between the above-outlined variations and yield an equivalent in the form of a shaky, broken curve with weak deviations upward or downward.

The development of the worker, particularly through the strike movement in the whole history of capitalism, has been closely bound with the development of the conjuncture cycle. It is not necessary, however, to conceive this connection mechanically. Under certain conditions that overflow the boundaries of the commercial-industrial cycle (sharp changes of the world economic or political environment, sharp social crises, wars and revolutions), it is not the current demands of the masses evoked by the given conjuncture that find their expression in the strike wave, but their deep historical tasks of a revolutionary character. Thus, for instance, the post-war strikes in France did not have conjuncture character but reflected the profound crisis of capitalist society as a whole. If we approach the present strike in France with this criterion, it will present itself primarily as a movement of conjuncture character; the course and tempo of the labor movement will depend in the most immediate sense on a further movement of the market, on alternating conjuncture phases, on their fullness and intensity. All the more impermissible is it, in a changeable moment such as we are now passing through, to proclaim the "third period" without any regard for the real course of economic life.

There is no need to explain that even in case of a renewal of the favorable conjuncture in America and the development of a commercial-industrial rise in Europe, the coming of a new crisis is entirely unavoidable. There is not the least doubt that when a crisis actually arrives, the present leaders will declare that their "prognosis" was fully justified, that the stabilization of capitalism proved its weakness, and that the class struggle took on a sharper character. It is clear, however, that such a "prognosis" costs very little. One who started to predict daily the eclipse of the sun would finally live to see his prediction fulfilled. But it is doubtful if we would consider such a prophet a serious astronomer. The task of the Communists is not to predict crises, revolutions and wars every single day, but to prepare for wars and revolutions, soberly evaluating the situation, the conditions which arise between wars and revolutions. It is necessary to foresee the inevitability of a crisis after a rise. It is necessary to warn the masses of the coming crisis. But to prepare them for the crisis will be more easily possible the more fully the masses under a correct leadership, utilize the period of rise. At the recent (December) Plenum of the national committee of the C.G.T.U., quite healthy thoughts were expressed. Thus, Claveri and Dorelle complained that the last C. G. T. U. congress (May 1929) evaded the question of economic demands of the working masses. The speakers, however, did not stop to think how it could happen that a trade union congress passed by that which should be its first and most urgent task. In accordance with the so-called "self-criticism", the main speakers this time condemned the C. G. T. U. leadership more thoroughly than the Opposition ever did.

However, Dorelle himself introduced not a little confusion in the name of the "third period", in connection with the question of the political character of the strikes. Dorelle demanded that the revolutionary trade unionists, that is, the Communists,—there are no other revolutionary trade unionists in existence at the present time—show the workers in every strike the dependence of isolated manifestations of exploitation upon the whole contemporary regime, and consequently the connection between the immediate demands of the workers and the task of the proletarian revolution. This is an ABC demand for Marxists. But by this is not at all determined the character of a strike as such. By a political strike

(Continued on Page 8)

Throughout the World of Labor

A Step Backward by French Syndicalism

The *Revolution Proletarienne** has just changed its label. Its first number of the year calls itself revolutionary syndicalist and no longer syndicalist-Communist. That makes for clarity. The editors of the R. P. consider moreover "that there can exist no more genuine proletarian revolutionaries, no more real Communists than the genuine revolutionary syndicalists". The formula would have been correct enough had there been added: before the war. But today, the substitution of the revolutionary-syndicalist label for that of the syndicalist-Communist, implies a very plain retreat, accomplished progressively, and materializing only today.

In the first number, Loriot takes it upon himself to show us that it is not a question of an external formality but rather of a new content, of a final rupture with Communism, that is, with the revolutionary experience of the last fifteen years. The article of Loriot, entitled "The Bankruptcy of the Communist International and the Independence of the Trade Union Movement" adds nothing essential to the arguments expounded two years ago in his pamphlet on "The Problems of the Proletarian Revolution". One finds developed there the same Utopia of a single trade union gathering, one class party of the proletariat (of the type of English Laborism). One finds there the same absence of political perspectives (does Loriot trust to the wholly false analyses of Chambelland?) the same errors concerning the course of the Russian revolution and the same appeal to the "politically enlightened" elements of the proletariat opposed to the "social elements whom ignorance and misery bring to consider violence more as an end than a means". In the meantime, there are in France many C. G. T. members to whom the newly organized minority of the C. G. T. U. has just been added, there is a Communist party and there is also the Communist Opposition. But Loriot does not dwell on these details. At any rate, he does not point out by what processes, thanks to what circumstances, there will issue from all this a single mass trade unionism supplanting all the parties in the accomplishment of the revolution.

However, Loriot has added something unimportant to his argument: the role of the Left Communist faction. He does not believe that "the present position of comrade Trotsky and the small groups of the Communist Opposition, which like him, are devoted to the task of regenerating the C. I., is correct." He gives only empirical reasons: few Communists come to us, for five years no substantial Communist nucleus has been able to organize outside the C. I., no influence has been obtained over the party from the outside, etc... The healthy elements are leaving the party and will be replaced by others "only to the extent that the Opposition groups will entertain the idea of the possible regeneration of the C. I." Finally, here is the preemptory conclusion: "The French workers are not content with being liberated from the command of the bureaucrats, who do not think that the party which generates the Communist bureaucracy is capable of ridding itself of this institution, who see the salvation of the proletariat and its revolution in a class and not a sectarian trade union organization, controlling its internal political formations and independent of parties on the outside, will leave the Leninist Opposition to pursue the chimera of the resurrection of a dead past."

We think quite the contrary, because for us "the resurrection of the dead past" is the resurrection impetus of the proletarian under the new capitalist crisis—and not the perspective or thirty or forty years of relative peace between the classes. The party or the trade union are not, for us, instruments of the working class created by the whim of a few individuals; they are the result of certain class relations in struggle. They arise in certain circumstances

against which one cannot act, and live in the same manner. Like the trade unions, the Communist party corresponds to certain needs of the class struggle. In the present epoch, it corresponds to the necessity of accomplishing the proletarian revolution, of working immediately on the basis of the revolutionary post-war struggles in Russia, Germany, Austria and elsewhere.

We are entirely disinterested in the academic character of the discussion: which is the "better" proletarian organization to accomplish the revolution? We do not deny the importance and the role of the trade union. That would be foolish. We know that the reformist trade unions often play an important role in the orientation of the mass. But we also know that the reformist trade unions often play the role of a brake in revolutionary action. We want to base ourselves on the experience resulting from the development and the crisis of the Communist parties, that is, from the development of the class struggle itself.

The "degeneration" of the parties plays pretty nearly the same role for the pure syndicalists as "petty bourgeois opportunism" for the leadership of the party and the C. G. T. U. It is a hollow phrase. The Left Opposition gives it a precise and concrete sense. It designates by that a false policy. It is not a formal decrepitude, due to old age or disillusion. It is perseverance in a false political line, whose consequences can be fatal, and have in fact been fatal, notably in England and in China. Those who have only disillusion cannot profit by experience; they call everything into question again and admit having deceived themselves in the past. Those who assimilate the objective and subjective reasons that determine this false political line work to reconstitute the nuclei around which will be gathered subsequently the correctly orientated party.

Loriot and the R. P. turn their backs to Communism. That is a fact. They justify those who expelled them. Monatte has written that Sellier was right to expel him from the party. Thus, they also have no interest at all in the fate of the C. I., and consequently of the Russian revolution. It will be said that they have in mind to justify (if not to legitimize) the attacks of Monmousseau. At the same time, they abandon all political perspective, no matter how small. The speech of Chambelland at the last congress of the C. G. T. U. is lamentably weak in this respect. Louzon recommends the surrender of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Russia at the same time that he underlines the great success of Stalin in the collectivization of agriculture. Repelled by "Russian" Bolshevism, the R. P. retreats into a narrowly "French" attitude. It hardly seems to suspect the existence of millions of foreign-born workers in France and the unity of the international struggle, even with the scattered organizations.

Obviously, we fight on a different path. We do not speak of "regenerating" the C. I. as one re-infuses blood into an old organism. But we have no reason to abandon the general principles of the C. I. We want to make up for it in the revolutionary struggle which it is less and less capable of conducting properly, but which only an organization of its type can conduct. We do not prejudice its developments. It may be, and so far as France is concerned, it is probable, that the Communist organization as it exists today is incapable of recovery. But what is essential is to take a correct position under present circumstances.

The fact that the present cadres of official Communists are not susceptible to regeneration does not at all mean that we are not capable of development. Or development is not bound to the retrogression of the party or to its regeneration. It is bound to a correct revolutionary political line, different from that of the party. We do not address ourselves only to the healthy "nuclei" still existing in the party (they are few) but also and above all to the mass that stands outside the party. Our activity is bound to that of the workers who are not satisfied by the policy of the party, but who remain Communists, inside or outside the party. Loriot and his friends bind their fate to those who cannot be satisfied by the policy of the party, but who abandon Com-

munist. There is every reason to think that their position will become still plainer in this sense.

PIERRE NAVILLE.

Paris, January 17, 1930

Lovestone's German Friends

In the years that followed the defeat of 1923, the Right wing never stood up against the policy of Zinoviev or against that of Stalin. Its leaders formulated no political judgement on the subject of international questions, even though Brandler and Thalheimer, living in Moscow, were very well informed on the internal policy of the Comintern. Today they explain their silence by the obedience to discipline.

But the real reason for their silence was their desire to "conquer" the German party by means of this same bureaucratic apparatus whose faults they refrained from disclosing. Not knowing whether it was Stalin or Bucharin who would prevail, they dared not take a position for one or the other. Today, they convert this cowardice into a theory, saying: We have no business mixing in the internal affairs of the Russian Communist Party. That is a very singular attitude for internationalist revolutionaries. Why was it necessary to observe discipline up to 1928, and why does it cease, beginning with that date? And did not Brandler say during a meeting of his faction at Leipzig that he hoped to receive the German party from the hands of Stalin? Before his departure from Moscow Stalin is said to have told him that if, in the future, the Right wing should gain sufficient influence in the German party, he would conduct his policy with it.

The Right wing views the defeat of October, 1923 as a "legend". According to its spokesmen, there was no defeat and it maintains this point of view in spite of the flat refutation produced by the years that followed, by the economic and political stability of capitalism.

That is why they are always for the tactic of the united front with the social democracy, in the manner extolled by them in 1923. And logically, one of them, Paul Boettcher, applies this tactic to England and declares that the defeat of the C. I. there is due to the fact that this kind of a united front was not sufficiently realized there.

Thalheimer is hostile to the struggle against the Kulak. But generally speaking, the Right wing does not take a position in Russian questions.

In Saxony, its faction was very strong for many years; it nevertheless suffered a heavy defeat in the elections. It received only 22,500 votes and no mandate. Immediately after the electoral results, many functionaries of the first order belonging to the Right wing faction went over to the social democratic party.

In Leipzig, it attempted to form a party grouping together the remnants of the Independent Socialist party and the Ledebour group. At a meeting of these groupings, the representatives of the Independent Social Democratic "party" declared that the U. S. S. R. could not be defended while Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were imprisoned. And he is a member of the committee for the defense of the U. S. S. R.

The Right wing boasts, in Leipzig, of being in touch with the French Opposition. The French Opposition is the Alsatian group of Hueber, which is intimately connected with the clerical autonomists. To defend themselves for this relationship the Right wing leaders declare that they are not "completely" in accord with the Alsatians, but why not make use of the Alsatian organ while they have the possibility of writing in it!

The attempt of the Right wing to found a new party of the type of the Second and a Half International, will not succeed. That period is historically passed.

Our own task, the task of the Left Opposition, is to win the workers who have gone to the Right, driven by discontentment with the bureaucratic policy of the C. P. The Leninbund, not clear on the formal questions and the work to be accomplished, has not been able to assemble the revolutionary forces of the Opposition. It

The Results of the Soviet-China Conflict

1. In its last stage, the conflict revealed as is known the complete military impotence of the present Chinese power. This shows clearer than anything that we have in China not a victorious bourgeois revolution, as Louzon, Urbahns and others think, for a victorious revolution would have consolidated the army and power. We have in China a victorious counter-revolution, directed against the overwhelming majority of the nation, and therefore incapable of creating an army.

2. At the same time, it shows in a striking manner the inconsistency of the Menshevik policy of Stalin-Martinov based since the beginning of 1924 on the assumption that the "national" Chinese bourgeoisie is capable of heading the revolution. In reality, the bourgeoisie was only capable, with the political support of the Comintern and the material aid of the imperialists, of smashing the revolution and thus reducing the Chinese state to complete impotence.

3. The Soviet-Chinese conflict, in its military stage, revealed thus the enormous preponderance of the proletarian revolution, even though weakened by the wrong policy of the leadership for the last few years, towards the bourgeois counter-revolution, which had at its disposal the substantial diplomatic and material support of imperialism.

4. The victory of the October revolution over the April counter-revolution (the overthrow by Chiang Kai-Shek in April, 1927), can in no sense be considered a victory for Stalin's policy. On the contrary, the latter has suffered a series of heavy defeats. The very seizure of the railroad was Chiang Kai-Shek's payment for the services rendered by Stalin. Stalin's subsequent gamble on Feng Yu-Hsiang was just as completely inconsistent. The Opposition warned against the adventurist combinations with Feng Yu-Hsiang against Chiang Kai-Shek after April 1927, just as energetically as it protested against the bloc of Stalin with Chiang Kai-Shek.

5. The unprincipled gamble on the Kellogg Pact suffered a no less heavy blow. The adhesion of the Soviet government to the pact of American imperialism was just as shameful a capitulation of the Soviet government as it was useless. By his adherence to the pact, that pretended instrument of peace, Stalin openly assisted the American government to deceive the working masses of America and Europe. What was the aim of this adherence? Evidently to gain the good will of the United States and thereby hasten diplomatic recognition. As should have been expected, this aim was not achieved, for the American government had no reason to pay in cash for what it got for nothing. New York took the first opportunity, basing itself on the Kellogg Pact, to play the role of protector of China against the Soviet republic. Moscow was obliged to reply with a sharp rebuke. That was right and inevitable. But it is perfectly clear that the compulsory demonstration against the American government's attempt to intervene disclosed the whole criminal light-mindedness with which Stalin adhered to the Kellogg Pact.

6. There still remains the question of the revolutionary Communist detachment under the leadership of Tchu-Deh. Pravda reported about it on the eve of the transition of the conflict into a military stage. After that, we hear no more about those Chinese workers and peasants whom somebody sent into armed battle under the banner of Communism. What were the aims of the struggle? What was the role of the Party in it? What was the fate of this detachment? And finally, in what mysterious kitchen are all these questions decided?

On this last point, no less important than all the rest, a final balance cannot yet be drawn. But everything speaks for the fact that bureaucratic adventurism here, like everywhere else, bears the responsibility for the weakening and exhaustion of the reserves of the Chinese Revolution. January 3, 1930 —L.TROTSKY

will be unable to do it except by remedying this grave defect. Leipzig, January 1930. —ROMAN WELL

*Organ of the Syndicalist League of France, whose leaders include Monatte, Chambelland, Loriot, Louzon, etc., etc.

The Proletariat and Peasantry in the Indian Revolution

By Max Shachtman

The essence of the colonial nationalist theory is that the pressure of imperialism on the colonies has welded together a nation, all of whose native inhabitants have identical social and historical interests in a joint fight for liberation from the foreign yoke. This is a "theoretical" trait common to Chinese, Indian and all other petty bourgeois nationalist movements. According to them, the colonial domination of imperialism abolishes the class struggle in the colonies and creates a united front of all layers of the population. This conception, embodied for example in Sun Yat Senism, is the theoretical justification of the colonial bourgeoisie for its domination and suppression of the working class and peasantry in the struggle against imperialism.

It was reflected in the Communist International in the period of the Chinese revolution (1925-27) in the theory of the "national government of the bloc of four classes" (Martinov-Stalin-Bucharin-Roy), which was the "justification" for chaining the proletariat and peasants' movement to the war chariot of Chiang Kai-Shek. This theory, in any of its multitude of variations, is a gilt-edged guarantee in advance that the coming Indian revolution will be strangled in the blood of its own working class and land slaves.

In the previous article, we described the position of the Indian big bourgeoisie and feudal and monarchial lords, the full-fledged allies of British imperialism, and the petty bourgeois nationalists, at present dominating the movement and ready at any and every opportunity to make a compromise with the British in order to prevent the rise of a genuine mass movement. There remain the basic forces of the Indian revolution, the workers and peasants.

The Indian Proletariat

The Indian workers are among the most scandalously exploited in the world. The last Factory Amendment Act recognizes a maximum working week of 60 hours and an 11 hour day; needless to say, the actual working day frequently runs as high as 15 hours. Tens of thousands of women and children work not only in the light industries (textile, etc.) but in even heavy, dangerous industries, like mining. Wages are hideously low, frequently making anything but the barest existence impossible.

"Records of wages," writes Dutte in "Modern India", "show the average wage of a Bengal coal miner in 1922 as 12 annas (an anna is about 2 cents, U. S. coin) per day, of an Assam plantation laborer as 4 annas, and of Bombay skilled textile workers as 12 annas to rupees .8 (about 50 cents) per day. What these figures mean, even in the case of the better-off Bombay workers, is shown by the enquiry of the Bombay Labor Office into 2,473 working class budgets. The enquiry showed:

That no less than 56 percent of the income went on food. 2. That even so the quality of food obtained did not reach the prison standard. The general conclusion is that industrial workers consume a maximum of cereals allowed by the Famine code, but less than the diet prescribed in the 'Bombay Gaol Manual'. 3. That 97 percent of the families were living in overcrowded single rooms. 4. That 47 percent of the families were in debt."

Housing conditions in the city are frightful. "In the Bombay one-room tenements, the Medical Officer's Report for 1921 declared that 13 percent contained ten or more persons and 73 percent of the workers' children are born in these one-room tenements." (Ibid).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the profits of industrial enterprises in India rival the most gorgeous fantasies of the first conquerer of the country.

The Spoilation of the Peasantry

The conditions of the Indian peasantry are even worse if possible. The ryot (peasant) is constantly on the verge of physical annihilation. The ruthless destruction of all handicrafts, the driving of the artisan and even many thousands of industrial workers back to the land has resulted in an overcrowding of agriculture. In one section of the country, inquiry showed that the average holding had decreased from 40 to 7 acres in less than 50 years. The corollary to this situation is the immense expanse of land not placed at the service of the peasants, (in big landed estates, etc.) which is neither fallow nor cultivated, and amounts to practically 25 percent of the total cultivable and uncultivable acreage of British India. The land hunger of the Indian peasants is as acute as it is remediable.

Not only that, but the meager holdings of the 210 millions of peasants and landless laborers are usually squeezed to exhaustion by heavy rents, exorbitant taxation, and the ruthlessness of the village usurers. Any typical taxation year indicates the brutal exploitation of the peasantry. Where, in England proper, direct taxation for 1923-24 covered 54 percent of the tax revenues, it covered less than 10 percent in India. Indirect taxation in India for 1924-25 (customs, excise, stamps, salt, opium) brought in 63 percent of the whole, and taxation on land, an additional 2 percent. The results of this practical course are shown in the conclusions of a noted British investigator (Dr. Mann). In one of the first villages, he found that 81 percent of the buildings "could not under the most favorable circumstances maintain their owners." In another village, far from an industrial center, he found 85 percent of the population in literal misery. Further, the peasants are usually heavily in debt. Then they are attacked by the landlords, who frequently take half of what the cultivator is able to produce.

These are some of the reasons why the Indian masses have the highest death rate in the world. These facts account for holocausts of famine and epidemics sweeping the country, and as in the influenza epidemic after the war, killing off 13,000,000 people at virtually a blow.

A movement in India that does not place on the agenda as one of its leading tasks the solution of the agrarian problem (the agrarian revolution) cannot be designated a revolutionary movement, or even, for that matter, a movement that conducts a genuine struggle against imperialism. But what class can lead the struggle for the agrarian revolution? In the answer to that also lies the reply to the question of the character and leadership of the Indian revolution.

What is clear from all modern history is that the peasantry itself, as a "class" (a petty bourgeois layer of society whose social and economic base tends to diminish steadily), can play no independent role in the class struggle. The "peasant" government of Stambulinsky in Bulgaria, the Croatian "peasant" movement led by Raditch, the North-Western farmers' movement in the United States which is dominated by the bourgeoisie and its social conceptions (not to speak of the Russian peasantry in the March and November revolutions)—all these demonstrated that the peasantry is either an instrument of the bourgeoisie or an ally of the proletariat; any other position is a deception and a dream.

Peasantry and National Bourgeoisie

The more than 200,000,000 Indian peasants are today principally under the command of the national bourgeoisie, for whom they are nothing else—considered essentially—than troops. The nationalist bourgeoisie of India cannot carry out the agrarian revolution, and will not carry it out, for they are joint exploiters with imperialism of the misery existing in Indian agriculture. The "national democratic revolution" carried out by the "revolutionary democratic alliance" under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie—the program for India envisaged by Roy (Revolutionary Age, No. 7)—cannot and will not solve the problem of the peasantry by carrying out the agrarian revolution.

All recent history proves this. The Chinese revolution, in which the workers and peasants were led by Chang Kai-shek and the national bourgeoisie (assisted, alas! by the Comintern) did not solve the agrarian problem, which is just as acute today as it was before the establishment either of the Canton, Nanking or Wuhan governments. The bourgeois democratic movement of Kerensky equally failed to solve the problem of the agrarian revolution. That task was executed only after the Bolshevik revolution, during its so-called "democratic" period, (1917-18) when the land program was put through by the collaboration of the Communists and the Left Social Revolutionaries. In Russia, the agrarian revolution was accomplished only under the leadership of the proletariat. That holds true with equal force for India, despite the fact that, unlike Russia, it is a colonial country. Otherwise the whole lesson not only of the Russian revolution but also of the Chinese revolution, has passed by unobserved by the revolutionary movement.

But for the Indian proletariat to be capable of leading the peasantry behind it, it must have, as its first pre-requisite, political and economic organization, i.e., trade unions and a revolutionary proletarian party. Without these all talk of the leading role of the proletariat is just so much wind. It is precisely in this capital question that the leadership of the Communist International has shown its most catastrophic bankruptcy in the last few years, to such an extent, in fact, that the whole immediate future of the Indian revolution is imperilled. At the present moment, there is no spokesman for the Stalin faction in any C. P. that can say with authority just what is the Comintern's policy in India. The *Daily Worker* is a typical instance of hopeless confusion. Its "specialists" write on India one day that the aim of the revolution is the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants", (Browder); and other day that the "Left wing" in the trade unions (!) will lead the masses of the workers and peasants to Soviet power (J. W. Ford).

The Absence of a Communist Party

The fact is that the decisive element required for a successful revolutionary struggle is lacking in India, primarily because of the policy pursued by the Comintern in the last five years: a revolutionary proletarian (i.e., a Communist) party. For years in which splendid opportunities for the creation of such a party were at hand, the policy of the Comintern in India was in no essential different from that followed in China, that is, the creation of a Kuo Min Tang on an Indian scale. The most prominent spokesman for the C. I. policy in India was M. N. Roy, the heat of whose nationalist passion burns through the thin coat of Bolshevik veneer acquired by rubbing shoulders with Lenin while the latter was alive.

It is pitiful to read the diatribes directed against Roy today by the very same people in the International who defended his views for four or five years previous to his expulsion. The only crime of which Roy is guilty is that he is faithfully continuing the policy officially sanctioned by Stalin, Bucharin and Martinov for the Chinese revolution, and for India as well, during the whole struggle against the Russian Opposition. Roy continues this policy; Stalin has not yet entirely dissociated himself from it. And the party members have every right to ask Stalin and Co:

Why is the policy of the Comintern in the Chinese revolution, never condemned or rejected, inapplicable to a similar situation in India today? Why is Roy wrong for advocating a "revolutionary democratic alliance, which under present Indian conditions will embrace well over 80 percent of the population"—without saying a word about working class domination of the bloc—when that is what Stalin-Bucharin-Martinov carried through in the Chinese "bloc of four classes"? Why is Roy wrong for warning that the "process must proceed in stages," when it was precisely with the same "theory of stages" that Bucharin and Roy justified the suppression by the Kuo Min Tang of the agrarian revolution and workers' strikes during the Chinese revolution? Why is Roy wrong for forgetting entirely the elementary requirements of proletarian leadership of the movement, of the creation and strengthening of a Communist Party, training the young movement to regard the nationalist bourgeoisie with suspicion, when Stalin and Bucharin overlooked all these requirements in the Chinese revolution? What is wrong with Roy's completely "forgetting" the slogan of Soviets in India, when the official Comintern virtually expelled the Russian Opposition for demanding that slogan in China at the moment of a rising revolutionary tide? Finally, what is wrong with Roy's conception of providing the masses "with a program of National Democratic Revolution and (leading) them by stages in the struggle for the realization of that program"—a conception that conceals the real aim of the victory of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the subjugation of the workers and peasants—when that was precisely the conception that animated all the activity of the C. I. in the Chinese revolution?

Where Roy is Right and Wrong

Considered from the standpoint of the officially endorsed policy of Stalin in the Chinese revolution, Roy is to this day consistent and correct, while his Stalinist con-

tics are wrong. Considered from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, Roy remains what he has been for years; a Menshevik of the colonial type, i.e., shot through with nationalist ideology.

That the ruling regime in the C. I. has changed its position from the days of the Chinese revolution, is incontestable; that it has not, however, adopted the correct revolutionary standpoint,—which would be an acknowledgement that the whole struggle against an alleged "Trotskyist deviation" in the Chinese revolution was a monstrous fraud—is equally true. Every possible course has been adopted by the Centrists and the Right wing in the International—except that of the burningly urgent formation of a Communist Party. The "Communist Party of India" is today a myth; it is non-existent. No serious attempt has been made by the Comintern to aid in its organization. On the contrary, it has been deliberately neglected. The policy of the C. I. in India, as expressed officially by Roy for years, has been:

"What is needed is a revolutionary People's Party which is alone capable of defending the immediate as well as the ultimate welfare (so!) of the toiling masses."

Or else: "The organization of a party of the workers and peasants has become an indispensable necessity. The Communist Party of India (?) is called upon by history (!) to play this role."

And: "We will endeavor to push the middle class nationalists forward in the struggle . . . We will force the (National) Congress to declare boldly for a Republican India."***

And more: "Where then is the 'Bolshevism' in our programme? Wherein lies its danger to the established order of capitalist society?"**** (Yes, that is what we would like to know: Wherein?)

Roy's Line Was Stalin's Line

This was not Roy's line of thought and action; it was the line of the whole official Comintern (Stalin-Bucharin) applied in India and in China. Through Roy, the Comintern flirted with the national bourgeoisie for years. It proposed an alliance with the bourgeois League for Independence. It formed and assisted the hybrid caricature of Marxism, the "All-India Workers Party" to "lead" the Indian revolution, and kept it going until less than a year ago, when it died of theoretical and social mal-nutrition. It gave the clever bourgeois politicians at the head of the Indian Trade Union Congress innumerable opportunities to refresh their fading reputations at the apparently inexhaustible fountain of the so-called "League against Imperialism" in order to protect them with a "Bolshevik" coloration from the attacks of the masses. In short, every subterfuge has been tried to avoid the only possible road to revolution: the consolidation of a Communist Party which alone can lead the proletariat, and through the working class entrain the peasantry behind it and utilize the lower sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The absence of a Communist Party to this day is objectively the greatest obstacle in the road to a victorious advance of the Indian revolution.

But for that, there is a revival of the exploded theory—which also breaks with Bolshevism—that the trade unions or a section or wing of the unions will lead the revolution. This theory tentatively advanced in 1924 by Zinoviev, was applied to England. It is not certain, wrote Zinoviev, whether the revolutionary movement will come through MacManus (i.e., the British Communist Party) or through the General Council of the British Trade Unions. The British General Strike two years later removed even Zinoviev's doubts.

A variation of this theory is now being advanced in India. The Stalinist press speaks of the Left wing in the Indian Trade Union Congress as of the organizing and directing center of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The only thing that can come out of such a conception is incalculable harm. The proletarian political party can not take the place of the trade unions; but the trade unions—or any section of it—can certainly not take the place of the revolutionary party. The political party of the proletariat is its principal arm in the strug-

***"The Aftermath of Non-Cooperation" by Manabendra Nath Roy, Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, London, 1926. Page 37.

** Ibid., Page 47.

*** Ibid., Page 48.

**** Ibid., page 89.

Foster's Return and the «New Wind» in the Comintern

Centrism is a parasite in the revolutionary movement. Having no firm foundations in the working class, and no ideas of its own, it must perforce live alternately on the Right (reformist) wing and the Left (Bolshevik) wing, falling back in the end into the camp of reformism. The most "perfect" example of Centrism in the revolutionary movement is the Stalin faction in the Russian Communist Party and the International. That it has been conducting a pseudo-Left course for the past year or more only brings out into bolder relief the course towards Menshevism it pursued together with the Right wing (Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov) for the four or five years previous. But just as Centrism has never been capable of conducting a consistent line, so also has it been essentially incapable of holding to a course to the Left for an extended period. The Centrist helmsman may hold the rudder to the Left under the storm of a proletarian wind but he has a fatal yearning for the reposeful shores to starboard.

Stalinist Centrism is now preparing to make the turn to the Right which has been inherent in the whole situation since the most recent course was undertaken. The first indications are already at hand. The record of Centrism in the past enables us to illuminate the factors known, to connect them, and to draw the necessary conclusions. In this manner, we will be able to observe the similarities between the present trend of events and the developments in the International and the Russian party after the year 1923.

The fatal blunders of the leadership of the International and the German party in October of that year (Zinoviev, Stalin, Brandler, Thalheimer) ruined the revolutionary opportunities in Germany. The leaders of the Russian party, who bore the main responsibility, made first-rate scapegoats of Brandler and Thalheimer. Only later, through the work of the Opposition, was it revealed that the German leaders had merely carried out the timid, opportunist instructions of Stalin and Zinoviev who played no different role in the German revolution than did the latter and Kamenev in October 1917.

The «Leftism» of the 5th Congress

The Fifth Congress that followed inaugurated an epoch of sham Leftism in the International, remarkably similar to that instituted by the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum, and causing just as much havoc in the revolutionary movement. The similarity extends even to the question of the leadership foisted on the various sections of the International: the ultra-Leftist leadership of the period of the Fifth Congress (Ruth Fischer, Maslow, Treint, Suzanne Girault, Neurath) have their replica in the creatures of the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum (Thaelmann, Neumann, Monmousseau, Bonte, Gottwald, etc.) So far to the «Left» did the post-Fifth Congress regime in the International go that it chided the Bolshevik Opposition (Trot-

sky) with being to the Right (!)

gle for power. It absorbs, concentrates and crystallizes the experiences of past struggles. It illuminates the path to power with its theoretical clarity and precision. It is at once the vanguard and the directing staff of the workers. Without it, they are like a lance without a point. There is no substitute for the revolutionary party: that is one of the basic—if not the principal—distinctions between the Marxist and the syndicalist.

The failure of the Comintern under its present leadership to help establish a Communist Party—rather, the prevention of its establishment—has been one of the severest possible blows to the Indian revolution. This criminal defection must be overcome immediately. Without a Communist Party, without a revolutionary political instrument of the proletariat, the national revolutionary movement will have a «Chinese ending». Without it, it will be impossible for India to go through a «non-capitalist development», that is, to pass beyond the «democratic» revolution to the dictatorship of the Indian proletariat, which is already schooled in bitter battle. Without it, all talk of Soviets is a stupid mockery with possible reactionary consequences. Without it, the Indian revolution may have an Indian 1848—i. e., a vic- of the bourgeoisie and a set- for the working class because of its immaturity or organizational-political unpreparedness, but never an Indian 1917.

But the Left jag did not last very long. Before they had much of a chance to warm the seats of power, the Fischers and Maslows were turned out into the cold as ultra-Leftists. In their place were injected little cliques of characterless individuals—of whom Heinz Neumann is the perfected type—who are so little encumbered by spines that they can adjust themselves to a corkscrew if the ruling regime gives the necessary orders. The brief «Left» swing was followed by a deep and lasting swing to the Right which had such catastrophic results as the policies of the C. I. in the British miners and general strikes, in the Chinese revolution, and in Russian domestic affairs. It was the hey-day of the Bucharins, Peppers, Lovestones, Smerals, Roys, Martinovs, Tascas, etc.

In this period also, however, the Right-Centre bloc (Stalin-Bucharin) had to suffer the most biting lashes of criticism from the Bolshevik Opposition. Each compromise, each step away from the revolutionary road encountered the powerful obstacle of the detested «Trotskyists». Goaded on by the equally powerful Right wing, the Center collaborated with it in the Thermidorian act of cutting the Opposition from the Party. But with this act, the «equilibrium» was rudely upset, and the Center found itself confronted by even more outspoken demands of the Right on the one hand and growing pressure from the Russian workers on the other.

The Centrists calculated: Now that the Opposition is organizationally liquidated by expulsion, a swing to the Left will not only be in harmony with the mood of the proletarian masses, and bring no credit to the Opposition, but will unleash sufficient mass force to destroy the organizational power of the Right wing. Thus, the apparatus zig-zagged to the «Left», and instituted a period of spurious «Leftism» in the International which has lasted virtually since the Sixth Congress, and particularly since the Tenth Plenum.

But Stalin's «Leftism», induced by the pressure of the Opposition and its ideas that were permeating the workers, has no more essential resemblance to the platform of the Left Opposition than a delicate operation performed by a cobbler has to one executed by a master surgeon. Just as the latter tends to discredit the very institution of genuine surgery, Stalin's debacles only tend to discredit a genuine Bolshevik course. In other words, prostrated as the whole Comintern was by the pre-Sixth Congress regime, it has only been more severely struck by what followed. Loss of influence of the Communist Parties, loss of members, decline of the press—these are but some of the results of the «new line» in little more than a year, which cannot be concealed by all the screeching proclamations of Stalinism put together.

The Change in the Russian Situation

Moreover, there has been a change in the Russian party situation. The «struggle» against the Right wing (Bucharin-Rykov-Tomsky) has been appreciably moderated since their temporarily inevitable «capitulation». The Center, which undertook the largely bureaucratic, apparatus-like, behind-the-scenes fight against the Right wing belatedly and with considerable timidity, is greatly relieved. It can now turn its attention more and more to crushing the ever-present «remnants of Trotskyism». It is, in fact, compelled to make this new turn because the necessities of the struggle against the Right wing unleashed social forces which threaten not only the Right wing but the Center itself: the most advanced sections of the working class and the basic layers of the peasantry. Thus, there is an increasing resistance among the workers to the bureaucratic measures taken by Stalin to deprive the workers' councils and the party nuclei in the factory from a decisive voice in management and the transfer of the latter prerogative to the technical and managerial staff. There is a movement among the poor peasantry for the formation of poor peasants' leagues to combat the Kulak and «economically powerful» peasant effectively—a movement so strong that it was reflected high up in the apparatus in the demand for such organizations made months ago by Lominadze and Schatzkin, who borrowed the idea from the Opposition Platform of 1927.

All these «alarming» (for the Cen-

trist faction) symptom form the growing basis for a change in the present course in this direction. The principal, and most already enough indication to show that the dominant group is preparing to bear down in this direction, recent, is the speech of Manuisky, the representative of the Comintern, to the Plenum of the Young Communist International. (Communist International, Vol. VI, No. 28). For the first time in almost two years, we have what amounts to a programmatic speech in which all the polemics of the speaker are directed, not against the Right, but against the «Left danger». Using the reports of the Y. C. I. itself, Manuisky paints a picture of organizational and political decline in the International that is drearier than anything yet attempted by an Oppositionist.

«Comrade Furenberg», he says, «says that the decline is no less than 20 percent, and that these figures are a little out of date. Note that this decline is occurring in a situation of a rise in the revolutionary wave. Not in circumstances of a reaction, but in circumstances of a radicalization of the working youth. (Khitrov: The same applies in the Communist Parties.) Their turn is coming. We shall deal with the Comintern also.»

The attack is not only directed against the Y. C. I., but also against the sections (never the international leadership!) of the C. I. «On August 1st all our parties had big possibilities of showing their readiness to put this decision into force. In reality, with the exception of Greece and France, where was there any attempt to call a mass political strike on August 1st? In not one country did we see any serious attempts to carry out even a one-hour general strike.»

Manuisky Warns the Apparatus!

Further: «We have certain parties where the Central Committee has not taken a single step towards winning the masses, and it does not enter the head of any member of the party to demand of such a C. C. why the party directed by such a C. C. does not develop... Take the imperialist war which the bourgeoisie is organizing: when any general suffers a defeat, he is replaced; but we can lose half the membership of a party and the members of the C. C. remain in their posts.» (Foster, Bedacht and Co.—take heed of the warning!)

And the conclusions: «The Y. C. I. always struggled splendidly against the right-wing deviations, no one has any right to utter a word of reproach against you in that regard. But the struggle against the «left-wing» zig-zags was not so well carried out by you.»

To whom does Manuisky refer? To Scatzkin, who at one time leaned towards the Trotsky Opposition, and together with Lominadze put forward the idea of poor peasants' unions; to Nasanov, who was recalled from China by Stalin a few years ago for signing the famous «Letter of Three Comrades from Shanghai» which criticized the C. I.'s Menshevik policy in the revolution along the lines of the Opposition. But not even these comrades are meant primarily; they are only the whipping boys for others to come. Manuisky's (read: Stalin's) offensive against the so-called «Left deviation» in the Y. C. I. is the direct forerunner to an even stronger attack on the various sections of the C. I., which will initiate a swing from the present ultra-Left course all the way to the Right, just as definitely as the famous «Open Letter to the German Party», directed against Fischer-Maslow in 1924, was a step on the road to the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek and Purcell.

The slogan of the Y. C. I. Plenum, under the aegis of Stalin's spokesman, was not Fire to the Right, but Fire to the Left. Chitarov, the head of the Y. C. I. has already written a programmatic article in Pravda which declares that the «main fire in the Youth» must be directed «against the Left».

In Czecho-Slovakia, the Political Bureau has adopted a decision which for the first time in more than a year not only mentions the «Left danger» but is directed essentially against it: «It (the C. I.) has condemned all along the line the false standpoint, injurious to the party, of this group (Fried), and has set the party the task of carrying out the inner-party struggle on two fronts: against the Right danger, which remains the main danger on an international scale as well as with us, and against the Left, exaggerated and sectar-

ian tendencies, which are dangerous because they balk and frustrate the struggle against the main Right danger.» This resolution is another harbinger. There is every reason to believe that «Fried groups», that is, scapegoats for Stalin's past policy will be discovered and officially condemned in virtually every party in the C. I.

The Right Wing Approves

The central organ of the German Right wing, *Gegen den Strom*, devotes almost half of its entire issue to the «new change» and hails it as a justification of its whole line, criticizing it only because it is a «half-change» in the direction of the Brandler program. It writes: «We, the expelled «renegades», at all times adopted a standpoint in the questions touched on by Manuisky which the Executive now suddenly claims for itself.» And, fearful of the disintegrating effects the new change will have in its ranks, it ends with the appeal: «Strengthening of the Opposition! Change from below and not command from above! A complete—and not a half change!»

That the American party will not escape the consequences of the new wind in the C. I. is to state a commonplace. Foster has just returned from across with the «new line» in his inside pocket and God knows that he feels more at home with a course to the Right than he ever did or could while he gave obedient lip-service to the «Left» jag for which—constitutionally—he had no heart at all. The Party press may soon be expected to harp on a new string, to discover—by command—the danger from the Left, whose banner bearers may be found in either Joseph Zack, or Browder, or Amter, or any other convenient victim of the latest change.

New Attitude towards Right Wing

The Party membership, which has been turned in the direction of sharp antagonism to the Lovestone faction, will be turned the other way just as arbitrarily, just as unexplained, just as mechanically and bureaucratically as it was last year when Lovestone was thrown out over night. A line of rapprochement towards the Right wing elements (ostensibly for the winning over of the rank and file) will be instituted. The first signs of this are not lacking, particularly in the needle trades where the Right wing is strong: For the first time since the official anti-Lovestone fight, the party fraction in the millinery workers' union just a few days ago nominated an expelled Lovestoneite for a position in the local—an absolutely inconceivable action two months ago!

That the whole Comintern needs a change from its present ultra-Leftist adventurism (with which Stalin is paying off his opportunist debts) to a Bolshevik line goes without saying. But Centrism cannot conduct such a change without inevitably swinging over to the camp of the Right wing. This is a fact taught every Communist by the experiences of the last six years. Unless the party membership compels a discussion of the basic causes for the present situation and adopts the proper measures for unifying the party on a correct revolutionary line, it will continue to remain bewildered by the renewed zig-zags and befuddled by its apparatus leaders who act only on command from the Stalin faction. Otherwise the newest «new line» will only worsen the chaos and disintegration of the movement.

After this article was written and just before going to press, we have been informed of even more definite steps by the American Stalinists in the direction of «conciliation» with the Lovestone group. At the last meeting of the general party fraction in the needle trades, some comrades objected to the fact that the party fraction nominated a number of expelled Lovestoneites for positions on the Executive Committee of the shop delegates Council of the N. T. W. I. U. Replying to the critics, who took seriously the diatribes of the *Daily Worker* against the «counter-revolutionary Lovestoneites», Rose Wortis and Joseph Burochovitch, leaders of the fraction declared that after the slate for the Council had been made up, Foster, «who has just returned from Moscow» instructed the fraction to put a number of Lovestoneites on the slate, which, therefore, had to be changed at the last minute. Needless to say the new line was not extended to the «Trotskyists» and our comrade Ber- man received 18 votes—practically all the non-party delegates, but not a single vote from the party fraction.

Leadership in the Coming Struggles

By Arne Swabeck

That increasing working class struggles will grow out of the present advancing industrial depression is a foregone conclusion. As to their present extent and rapidity of development we might only cast a glance back at the historical tradition of struggles of the American workers, marked by their convulsive but determined expressions. This may be said to be the prospect made possibly so much more acute by the rapid violent development of industrialization, its increasing class distinctions and the sharpness of the class struggle, which today makes up a special part of the internal contradictions of American imperialism.

This was strikingly set forth in Comrade Trotsky's letter to the American Opposition:

"We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with its contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."

The Workers in the Basic Industries

The unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the basic industries compose the great majority of the working class and must naturally be the main basis of new union organization activities. Particularly during times of exceptional conditions, such as industrial crises, when many of the regulations of "normalcy" disappear, can these workers be expected to move readily into action. Their moves will not be hampered by special privileges. While today almost entirely unorganized, yet they are potentially the most revolutionary. But the American Federation of Labor and similar unions, even as now constituted, will not remain immune from changing economic conditions.

It is well to remember the widespread Left wing and progressive influence, particularly in its more elementary aspects, as represented by the movement for amalgamation, a labor party and recognition of the Soviet Union, growing out of the period of industrial depression and great strikes from 1919 to 1922. Many A. F. of L. local unions, and even higher bodies, were swept by that sentiment. The tactics pursued by the Left wing were correct. True, since then many expulsions have occurred. Yes, but is that not a certain form of proof attesting the correctness and effectiveness of the tactics of the Left at the time?

Our objects in endeavoring to arrive at a correct union building program today are mainly twofold: actually to organize the workers for the struggle and to extend Communist influence through the unions to the masses. Hence the conclusion that it is necessary to initiate organization of the unorganized, to give them fighting leadership as well as to build the Left wing movement within the existing unions in opposition to the capitalist policies of the reactionary leadership. These two tasks go hand in hand. This should be the essence of a correct Communist union building program. While this is today half-heartedly acknowledged by the Communist Party—on paper—it is entirely negated by its practice.

Just now can be noted the first effects of the pledges made to the Hoover industrial conferences. The big employers gave "promises" of extended activities and of no wage cuts. The A. F. of L. heads gave promise not to initiate any movements for wage increases, without even attempting to demand such elementary guarantees as: No further lay-offs, no further speedups and support for the unemployed. The employers naturally broke their so-called "pledges", never seriously made, and a few hours later the offensive against the workers began. It will become more intense as capitalism endeavors to overcome its economic difficulties by increased exploitation. As it proceeds, although contented swine can be moved only with a heavy stick, even the A. F. of L. "leaders" will have to answer to a rank and file becoming more critical.

Communist and Conservative Unions

The next important question then arises: Should Communists help to organize unorganized workers into the existing conservative unions? The answer must be, YES: wherever these unions can be made to move. The inevitable pressure from

below in that direction should be intensified and unorganized workers drawn into the unions on the basis of the program of the Left as an additional reservoir for the necessary struggle against the domination and ideology of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. With such activities must be combined the fight for the organizations to be transformed to an industrial basis (amalgamation), which is absolutely indispensable; the fight for ordinary trade union democracy, for divorcing them from the capitalist political parties; for militant methods, etc.

Foster argues in his book "Misleaders of Labor" (published 1927) for the organization of the unorganized into the existing unions, as well as in some cases independently of them. He states in part (page 319) as follows: "...Besides, it must not be overlooked that, with the close of the present era of industrial activity and the precipitation of the inevitable industrial crisis, the trade unions, under capitalist attacks, will despite the reactionary bureaucracy veer sharply to the left, slough off many of their present conservative aspects, and tend to become very much more proletarian fighting organizations. The arguments of Lenin, Losovsky and others in 1920-22 against dual unionism applies today. Under present conditions there is no room for a general dual union movement in the United States, reactionary and decrepit though the existing unions may be."

Here we have the matter stated, although with some exaggerations, fairly correctly. Yet the party leadership, headed by Foster, in its official policy and practice carries on the exact opposite. What has happened since to make this prediction, estimation and conclusion, in its main aspects, incorrect? Have the existing unions disappeared or become worse than stated above? That is impossible. These unions have even made, under pressure, the first slight moves toward organization of the unorganized. True, the working

class has shown unmistakable signs of radicalization; but that was implied in Foster's prediction from which the conclusion was drawn. Still it could not be claimed that in the United States, political, economic or working class developments have reached a point (or seriously approached it) where a mass basis can be secured for a (dual) independent "revolutionary union" movement. The major section of the workers have not even had actual experience in ordinary trade unionism; not to speak of being able to correctly estimate the strike-breaking role of the present trade union "leadership". What then has happened? Oh yes—we have entered the "Third Period" with its blatant drivel about social fascism.

With the Stalin leadership of the Comintern the case stands no better. The thesis of the 10th Plenum shows utter confusion particularly on this important point of conservative mass unions and "revolutionary unions". It is characterized by the complete absence of a definite line.

Problem of the United Front

The third question of importance to consider is that of the united front policy. Unity of organized and unorganized in times of struggle is always essential. Of similar importance is the need of unity of action between employed and unemployed. Carried out correctly the united front becomes an important medium in certain important stages of the class struggle. It can unquestionably become so in the organization of the unorganized and particularly where a situation exists of rival unions—new industrial unions and old conservative unions. The struggle of the textile workers in the South is about the best example. Violent assaults upon both unions as in Gastonia and Marion; the rank and file defending themselves and fighting back, in Gastonia under militant leadership, in Marion under reactionary leadership, from which a sell-out could be expected more readily than a forward move, for such was the record established.

Practical Strike Demands

A fourth question which, because of

recent experiences, requires consideration is the one of correct slogans for organization and demands in strikes, for there can be no doubt that organization of the unorganized will be closely connected with strikes. In the recent Illinois miners strike for instance, led by the N. M. U., most of the demands were entirely too general and even too abstract in character. There was little or no concentration on the simple demands most closely connected with the actual working conditions and corresponding with the most outstanding grievances. Slogans and demands must not overshoot their mark.

Perhaps the best example of such wrong direction can be found in the manifesto of the party at the time of the murder of Ella May Wiggins in Gastonia, calling upon the workers to "Prepare for a strike of protest and sympathy for the heroic fighters in Gastonia who are fighting your battles". The best test of this overshoot aim is the fact that there was no response anywhere. The workers, not even the new industrial unions, were by no means prepared for such a political strike. A far more correct way would be to stress particularly the issues of the workers in industry, the grievances at the job, to lay the proper basis for extension of strike action in order to, on that basis, impart more political content. From such experiences lessons should be learned.

Very closely connected with this also is the necessity of actually giving the new industrial unions a mass basis. Without that they will become impotent sects and will not serve the cause of the general advance of the revolutionary movement.

To conclude from the few points emphasized here that revolutionists may hold out hopes or possibilities that the existing trade unions can be captured, in so far as taking possession of the apparatus is concerned, is, of course, ridiculous. While this may or may not be accomplished in certain instances, it is not the issue. As stated at the outset, the real object is to actually organize the workers for the struggle and to extend Communist influence through the unions to the masses. And these points here emphasized, in harmony with the Communist Opposition platform, certainly go in the direction toward a correct solution of the problem.

The «Third Period» Mistakes of the Comintern - - By L. D. Trotsky

(Continued from Page 4)

must not be understood a strike during which the Communists carry on political agitation, but a strike in which the workers of all trades and enterprises conduct a struggle for definite political aims. Revolutionary agitation on the basis of strikes is a task of Communists under all circumstances; but the participation of workers in political, that is, revolutionary strikes, presents by itself one of the sharpest forms of struggle and occurs only under exceptional circumstances, which neither the party nor the trade unions can manufacture artificially according to their desires. To identify economic strikes with political strikes creates chaos which prevents the trade union leaders from correctly approaching economic strikes, from preparing them and working out an expedient program of workers' demands.

Matters stand still worse with the general economic orientation. The philosophy of the "third period" demands at all costs and immediately an economic crisis. Our wise trade unionists, therefore, close their eyes to the systematic improvement of the economic conjuncture in France for the past two years at a time when without a concrete estimation of the conjuncture it is impossible, in turn, to work out correct demands and to struggle for them with success. Claveri and Dorelle would do well if they would think the question through to the end. If the economic rise in France should last for another year (which is not out of the question) then primarily the development and deepening of the economic struggles would soon be on the order of the day. To be able to adapt themselves to such circumstances is a task not only of the trade unions but also of the party. It is insufficient to proclaim the abstract right of Communism to a leading role; it is necessary to conquer this by deeds, and at that not within the narrow frame of the trade union apparatus but on the whole field of the class struggle. To the anarchist and trade unionist formula of autonomy of the trade unions, the party must oppose serious theoretical and political aid to the trade unions, making it easier for them to orientate correctly in questions of economic and political developments, and con-

sequently, the elaboration of correct demands and methods of struggle.

The unavoidable change in the rise produced by a crisis will change the tasks, taking the ground from under the successful economic struggles. It has already been said above that the coming of a crisis would serve in all probability as an impetus to the political activity of the masses. The strength of this impetus depends directly on two factors: on the depth and duration of the previous rise, the sharpness of the crisis that has come. The sharper and deeper the change will turn out to be the sharper will be the action of the masses. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. By the power of inertia, strikes generally acquire the greatest impetus at the moment when the economic rise begins to pass into depression. It is as if in the heat of running, the workers encounter a solid wall. With economic strikes you can then accomplish very little. The capitalists, with the depression under way, easily utilize the lockout. It is natural if the class consciousness of the workers which has risen begins to seek other roads for itself. But which? This already depends not only upon conjunctural conditions but on the whole situation in the country.

To declare in advance that the next conjunctural crisis will create an immediate revolutionary situation in France, for that there is at present no basis. Under the juncture of a series of conditions overflowing the boundaries of conjunctural crisis, this is quite possible. On this count only theoretical suppositions are thus far possible. To put forward today the slogan of a general political strike as an actual one, on the basis that the coming crisis may push the masses on the road of revolutionary struggle, means to attempt to appease the hunger of today with the dinner of tomorrow. When Molotov stated at the Tenth Plenum that the general strike has already practically been put on the order of the day in France, then he only showed once too often that he does not know France nor the order nor the day. The anarchists and syndicalists do not a little to compromise the very idea of a general strike

in France. Official Communism apparently travels the same road, attempting to substitute goat-leaps of adventurism for systematic revolutionary work.

The tide of political activity of the masses, before it assumes a more decisive form, may, for a certain and for that matter a lengthy period, express itself in a greater attendance of meetings, in a wider distribution of Communist literature in the growth of electoral votes, increase in the number of Party members, etc. Can the leadership adopt in advance a purely a priori orientation on a stormy tempo of development at all events? No. It must have its hands united for one and for the other tempo. Only under this condition can the party, not deviating from the revolutionary direction, march in step with the class.

At the expense of the above-developed considerations I can already hear the caresing voice of the tin rattle accuse me of "economism" on the one hand and capitalist optimism on the other, and of course of social democratic deviations. For the Molotovs, everything they cannot grasp, that is, a great deal, is related to the domain of social democratic deviations, just as to barbarians, ninety-nine percent of the universe is related to the domain of the activity of bad spirits. Following Molotov, Semard and Monmousseau will teach us that the question is not exhausted with shakings in conjuncture, that there are many other factors, for example, rationalization and the approaching war. These people talk about "many" factors all the more readily when they are incapable to explain a single one of them. Doubtless, we will reply to them, the war would have overthrown the whole perspective and would have opened, so to speak, a new chronology. But in the first place, we do not yet know today when the war will come, nor what gates it will come through. Secondly, in order to enter a war with open eyes, we must carefully study all the curves in the road that leads to it. War does not fall from heaven. The question of war and its date is connected most closely with the question of the processes of the world market.

Prinkipo, December 27, 1929.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 7,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N.

Saturday, February 15, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Dressmakers Again Betrayed Imperialist Powers Quarrel at London

« Impartial Commission » Formed to Sell Out Workers

The New York dressmakers' strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Right wing union, is nearing an end. The end of the strike, called with the agreement of the manufacturers, brings as its major result and "accomplishment" the establishment of a so-called impartial machinery for the adjustment of disputes between the bosses in the cloak industry. Its actual function is to hamstring the workers, to destroy their militancy and reliance upon fighting means to gain better conditions in the industry. The "Impartial Commission" makes it simple for the union fakers and the bosses to betray the worker in any impending struggle by delaying or preventing any strike action, and makes easier the intervention of the governmental agencies on the side of the employers.

No Militancy Displayed

Little if any militancy has been displayed during the walkout except so far as Left wing and class-conscious workers have injected it and made efforts to energize the strike. The "mass picketing" and demonstrations of the Right wingers, looked upon quietly by the employers and nonchalantly by Whelan's police, were not even well staged. Where Left wingers mingled among the workers and tried to develop a fighting spirit among the apathetic workers, then the police did not hesitate to club and arrest the workers. In the course of one of these sham demonstrations, Right wing guerrillas and gangsters, expecting to attack Left wingers, were responsible for the death of a dress manufacturer mingling in the crowd.

Working Conditions Unchanged

The workers are about to return to their shops. The class collaboration agreement of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Manufacturers, in addition to the "impartial machinery" for the adjustment of disputes, calls for the formation of a commission to "study" the dress industry with a view toward "stabilizing" the trade; in other words, a commission to study long and plenty and to delay indefinitely any actual improvement of the dressmakers' conditions.

The reported agreement calls for a two year contract with no changes in the wage scale except overtime rates. With an increasing unemployment in the dressmakers and the needle trades generally, and at the same time with an increase in the cost of living, no actual wage increase means in reality a wage reduction. With workers unemployed and starving or eking out a miserable existence, the proposed agreement defers discussion for unemployment insurance for one year.

Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Hochman and Co., the manufacturer and the state government, represented by Lieutenant-Governor Lehman worked like a holy trinity in binding the dressmakers to miserable conditions.

Left Wing Failed to Propose United Front

The Left wing, represented by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, had an opportunity to do effective work among the rank and file workers who responded to the call of the Right wing union, but sectarian and isolation tactics rendered the efforts of the militants less effective. To keep Left wing union members at work in "controlled shops" behind locked doors was even worse. No efforts or proposals were made in the name of the Left wing to the I. L. G. W. U. and the rank and file strikers to effect a fighting front against the manufacturers, to abolish the sweat shop to gain the 40 hour week, to develop a militant spirit among the striking workers other than Left wingers. The N. T. W. I. U. lost a chance to show up effectively the Right wing officialdom through united front

proposals for a struggle for these and other specific demands. Denunciation of the officials is insufficient. Nor, likewise, is a demand upon the workers who went out under the Right wing call to go instead to the halls of the Left wing and strike under their banner. This call was simply not heeded by the workers. It is necessary, imperative to find and utilize every means to gain contact with all workers and to influence their thoughts and actions. The isolation policy of the Left wing has not gained forces for the N. T. W. I. U. It is time to end an ostrich policy and existence.

The struggle to build a mass union of the dressmakers, of needle trades workers, to smash company union, class-collaboration agreements, "impartial commissions", Schlesinger and the other I. L. G. W. U. reactionaries; to instill a new fighting spirit among the exploited needle trades workers; to rally them to industrial union; to the organization of the forces for a genuine struggle for the 40 hour week, increase in wages, shop committee control—this remains as before. It can be done, if proper tactics are adopted and pursued. In addition to the work of building the Left wing

N. T. W. I. U., it is necessary to begin seriously and with well-laid out plans to build a Left wing in the I. L. G. W. U. to undermine the Schlesinger machine, the bosses' agents.

By a policy of isolation and the abandonment of the united front tactic, the N. T. W. I. U. is in danger to lose its last base in the needle trades, this despite the fact that the Right wing union is again betraying and selling out the workers. But the sectarian policy and the mechanical Communist party control of the N. T. W. I. U. has been of such a character that many of the workers have lost confidence in it. This needs to be remedied at once if a successful fight against the Right wing union is to be waged. Not a reflex of the Party struggles, but toward a broad Left wing organization of the mass of workers, is what the N. T. W. I. U. must consciously direct its steps. Only with such methods and aims will the N. T. W. I. U. be able to fight and defeat the betrayers of the workers and the agents of the bosses—Schlesinger, Hochman Dubinsky and Company, and to build a union functioning in the interests of the mass of needle trades workers.

YES OR NO! HAS BLUMKIN BEEN ASSASSINATED?
More Facts on the Disappearance of the Fighter for the Russian Bolshevik Revolution

The Stalinist press is ominously silent! Has Blumkin been shot "in conformity with the orders of the G. P. U.", or not? The question has been put to it publicly, before the whole revolutionary working class. It refuses to reply to it. Why?

Why is Stalin himself silent? Why does the Russian Party press, directly controlled by him, fail to breath a word about Blumkin's fate? The assassination of Blumkin would be a new stage in the "ideological struggle" against the Russian Bolshevik Opposition. Will Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Co. find it difficult to explain to the Russian and international working class why the "exterminated Trotskyists" now have to be fought by being stood against the wall in secret and shot down? Is this difficulty the reason for the silence?

Blumkin was an irreproachable revolutionist. Early in the revolution, he transferred his allegiance from the Left Social Revolutionaries and joined the Communist Party. He was one of the heroes of the Red Army in the civil war and the struggle against imperialist intervention. Despite the fact that he avowed his support to the Russian Opposition from the very beginning, never concealing his views at any time, he was entrusted with the most important and confidential work of the revolution to the very end. Menzhinsky, the head of the G. P. U., and Trilisser, former head of the foreign section of the G. P. U., were both aware of Blumkin's views, but he continued to fulfill his important revolutionary function because Menzhinsky and Trilisser considered him irreplaceable, and that was correct.

Now he has been shot—the Militant is in a position to state this from unquestionably authentic sources. Why? On whose responsibility, on whose orders?

On hearing the news, thousands and tens of thousands of Russian workers and

Communists will whisper in horror at the deed. They know that such an act could never have been committed in Lenin's day. At that time, the Tcheka (now G. P. U.) carried out a rigorous task. But its activities remained subordinated to the control of the Bolshevik Party. At the head of the Tcheka stood Dzerzhinsky, a man of superior moral power. He remained subordinated to the Political Bureau of the Party, composed of members who had clear ideas on every question and knew how to defend them. All this was a guarantee that the Tcheka would rest an instrument of the revolutionary dictatorship.

Now the Party is stifled. At the head of the G. P. U. stands Menzhinsky, not a man, but the shadow of a man! The principal role in the G. P. U. is played by Iagoda a detestable careerist, who has bound his fate with Stalin's and carries out the latter's orders unquestionably. The Political Bureau does not exist—of that the recent revelations of Bucharin bear incontestable witness. Stalin holds the Political Bureau in his palms and uses the G. P. U. to collect such material against them as will insure their obedience. Under such conditions, the execution of Blumkin is a personal affair of Stalin.

Has Blumkin been assassinated? Why? William Z. Foster, the head of the American Communist Party, who has just returned from Moscow, should know. Does he assume joint responsibility with Stalin for this unheard of crime? Do Browder, and Bedacht, and Minor and the others in the Party leadership? Let them speak out publicly! Or do they want the Blumkin affair to become the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the Communist movement?

YES OR NO! HAS BLUMKIN BEEN ASSASSINATED? TELL US, FOSTER! AND TELL US WHY!

The undertone of dissatisfaction that has characterized the attitude of the British Japanese, French and Italian capitalist powers at the London conference on naval reduction with the arrogance and demands of the United States imperialist representatives, is now coming sharply into the open. The conference of pirates is showing dissent.

The rift has taken place with America's proposal that she be permitted to build a modification of the proposed capital ship new battleship of 35,000 tons. This is a better America's battleship standing with "holiday" until 1935, and would actually Great Britain, with whom the United States expresses disagreements on replacements. The London Daily Times, organ of the Conservatives and the Daily Herald, organ of the Labour Party and the MacDonald Government, together protest on behalf of British imperialist privileges. The Times protests that the American proposal really give an advantage to the United States; and the Daily Herald refers to naval parity as "Parity disease" and "If the American suggestion is accepted it will mean the conference will be a prelude to, not a cessation of battleship building.

Each has its special capitalists interests to preserve, and each demands its share of cruisers submarines, battleships or other naval armaments. All make plans for war equipment for years ahead.

The French paper, Figaro, complains, "The United States obstinately pursues her plans...All she cares about is to have the kind and size of navy she wants", and goes on to add that France's freedom of action is preferable to agreement. "The Americans started in after the war to build the largest fleet in the world but found it too expensive. Now they think they can achieve the same result by forcing others to reduce. Britain has agreed to impose limitations on other naval powers. They are to be equal but all others are to be inferior and they intend to fix the size of the French, Italian and Japanese navies. Moreover, in condemning submarines in theory, they are trying to force us to accept an unsatisfactory minimum."

America Spreads Her Wings

But America is insistent and feels that her strength and resources will prevail. Formal parity with Great Britain under the circumstances actually means that America supersedes Great Britain as mistress of the seas. Stimsons' proposals have the design to place the American delegation in a dominant role at London.

The Japanese are bitterly hostile, but know not where to turn for relief. Small concessions have been made to the Mikado government in the way of submarines.

So the pirates quarrel and fight for the spoils, and politely ask the other fellow pirate to walk the plank. The scared petty-bourgeois pacifist sees his hopes going up in smoke. First secretly, now openly the imperialist powers reveal that all their maneuvers are but paper talk and are actually laying the basis and strengthening themselves for the next imperialist war, first through diplomacy, and finally in the extension of diplomacy into the reality of scourging war. Reduction and disarmament are just talk. These capitalist representatives feel more comfortable that they hear nothing of an actual program for total disarmament in all fields, as proposed by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. But the road toward total disarmament and the abolition of war lies through the struggle for the abolition of capitalism...And so the London Conference will talk reduction and peace—and prepare for war.

Unemployment Stalks The Middle West

Charity organizations and welfare departments in middle western cities face a situation in February, 1930 which is without parallel except for the winter of 1921-2. Tens of thousands of unemployed men and women walk the streets looking for work, with rent overdue and food credit exhausted.

The Chicago "slave market" is thronged with men. All day long they crowd the sidewalks in West Madison St., spilling over into the side streets and alleys and gathering in mobs in front of any employment office that advertises for help. Most of the employment office windows have chalked up the sign "No Shipment Today".

Only 44% Work in Toledo

A census of employment taken in Toledo shows that for every hundred men working in February, 1929 there were 44 men working in February, 1930. Some of the more important plants are practically closed down and there is no chance for work outside of an occasional snow-shovelling job.

Estimates place the number of unemployed in Detroit somewhere between 100,000 and 125,000. Day after day they gather before employment offices in lines four deep that extend for blocks. An ad for one man will bring a thousand applicants.

Cleveland has faced hard times for the last three years. Unemployment there is as severe as it is in other neighboring cities, but since it is of longer duration many of the "out-of-works" have drifted to other places, looking for jobs.

The Charities of Louisville, Ky. are facing a late winter and spring in which relief demands from the unemployed, evicted and other distress cases are overtaking their budgets. Present demands indicate a need for the year 1930 of about double the amount of money available.

"Welfare" Dept. Jammed

The Detroit Welfare Department, a city institution, cared for about 7,000 families in November, about 9,000 in December and about 11,000 in January 1930. Toward the end of January the office of the department was daily jammed with applicants of whom about one in eight received assistance. In addition to the charity distributed by this public organization, the usual private agencies in Detroit found their hands more than full.

Hoover's prosperity conferences have received far more public notice than the lines of unemployed waiting outside the factory gates all through the industrial section of the United States. They do not provide jobs, however, as hundreds of thousands of desperate workers know to their cost. Many of the jobless are loyal supporters of the Republican machine. Most of the balance voted for Al Smith in 1928. Empty stomachs and eviction notices provide the basis for disillusionment.

Men versus Machines

HILL STATION, Pa.-(FP)—A veteran pick miner, experienced through over 20 years of coal mining in the Pittsburgh coal area, has figured out the operator's book-keeping in deciding whether to use cutting machines at the coal face or a miner with the old time pick. It's the question of leath versus replacement cost.

"We used to do all the mining by hand," he says, nursing a foot on which 150 pounds of slate had fallen in a mine entry. "Then the machines began to come in but they were expensive and not always efficient. We still had them on even terms. But the machine cutters constantly got better and faster. We began to lose out.

"Now the machine does almost all the

work in the pit where I work. We pick miners still get a small share but it does not cheer us much to know why. Anywhere that a machine can safely go we have no chance. But if it is dangerous for the machine, the boss sends us in.

"In some places a fall of rock might smash the machine and that would be a loss of \$4,000 to \$5,000. But if we get killed the maximum compensation under Pennsylvania is only \$3,000. So the company saves at least \$1,000 by taking a chance on a miner's life instead of on its expensive machinery.

35'000 Jobless in New Jersey Industrial Center

TRENTON, N. J.—Investigation of appalling unemployment in New Jersey is proposed in a bill introduced in the state legislature. Estimates of unemployment in this state run into the six figures, with 35,000-40,000 jobless in Newark and surrounding cities. The situation is most severe in Camden, Newark and Jersey City. In Caldwell, a Newark suburb, hundreds of colored workers are jobless and almost starving.

Both the Johnson & Johnson medical supplies plant at New Brunswick and the U. S. Metals & Refining Co. at Carteret are reported to have laid off hundreds.

Where to Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Belmont News Co., 101 East 5th St.; Western News Stand, Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 200 Tenth St. N. W.

PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.

CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; and on various newsstands.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We'ey St.

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St near Washington; Andelman's, 291 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

DETROIT, MICH.: Aldas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.

BUTTE, Mont.: International News, 121 So. Arizona.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and Branches of Communist League of America.

Taxi Maintenance Men Join Strikers

PITTSBURG—This city's embattled taxi drivers are standing firm in the fourth week of their strike for union and better wages. Maintenance crews in the scab Parmalee garages have joined the strikers.

Although cars that venture on the streets carry large signs that interference with their operation is a violation of a strikebreaking injunction, the order is cheerfully ignored. Deputies, privately paid at \$10 per day, accompany the cabs in their occasional sorties on downtown streets.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the character of these deputies by the arrest of one who relieved a friend of the change from a \$50 bill after he had paid for the guard's dinner. Strikebreakers imported from Philadelphia and New Orleans are involved in arrests for traffic law violations and figuring in smashups caused by their ignorance of Pittsburgh traffic.

CLEVELAND—Five hundred taxi drivers have signed up and affiliated with the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

REPORTS BODE ILL FOR AUTO SLAVES

DETROIT—Two reports, appearing here over the week-end, bode ill for employment prospects of Detroit auto workers. One from Chicago, states that "the Chicago Automobile Show drew a record attendance, but available data on sales indicate a sharp decline in comparison with last year".

The other, from the Oakland plant in Pontiac, states: "As a result of the recent installation of a new machine in the sheet metal plant of the Oakland Motor Car Co., production of hood rod clips has been speeded up to 220 a minute.

"Previous to the installation of the machine, hood clips were produced on four machines at the rate of 150 per hour. With the new installation only two hours work is required to turn out a months supply."

BIRMINGHAM WAGES MISERLY

By T. S. RAWLINGS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.-(FP)—In this steel city a worker is lucky to have any job at all in January, and doubly lucky if he is making enough to keep out of debt. Common labor, mostly colored, is getting as low as 20 cents an hour; carpenters, as low as 35 cents, bricklayers are being offered 50 cents and machinists 45 cents. Young men and women in offices are getting \$7 to \$10 a week. The cost of living though in Birmingham, is as high as anywhere else in the country.

Perhaps the Chamber of Commerce is no different than similar bodies elsewhere. At any rate they can tell you where John Smith moved when he left his previous address (for the benefit of the credit houses and loan sharks), where he works and how much the various open shop firms pay. But on constructive information concerning economic conditions in the district the Chamber is mum as an oyster.

No easy going organizing methods will catch on here. Real fire will be needed to fight back at the long unchallenged sway of the iron and steel, coal and textile barons who shaped this Alabama into a heaven for profiteers and a purgatory for labor.

WEAVERS WALK OUT IN CAROLINA MILL

WILMINGTON, N. C.—Forty weavers of the Delgado cotton mill in Wilmington have walked out in protest against the stretchout system.

The strikers refused to accept their pay checks after they had read a bulletin posted at the mill announcing the wage cut. They are unorganized.

If the number on your wrapper is

32

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Help Us to Sustain The Militant

A labor paper, particularly a revolutionary organ, does not receive the big advertisements and subsidies, without which a capitalist paper is unthinkable. The Militant is no exception to this rule. It must depend entirely upon readers and supporters for its existence and growth.

The Militant was founded because it fills a special and urgent need in the labor and revolutionary movements. It has been maintained by a group of devoted workers, who understand the value of adherence to the fundamental teachings of the great leaders of our movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These teachings are not strong if they are limited to small groups; they become a powerful weapon for labors liberation when they are made known to the whole working class—honestly and truthfully. This is the task set itself by the Militant.

This great work can be carried out effectively only if the existence of the Militant is secured. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish and strengthen a systematic SUSTAINING FUND. Such a fund will not only enable us to print a whole series of most valuable books and pamphlets. The Militant has on hand a number of manuscripts by L. D. Trotsky. They include: "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" The Struggle for the Chinese Revolution", "Europe and America", "The Great Organizers of Defeat: a Record of Five Years of the Comintern", and many others. If the SUSTAINING FUND of the Militant is assured, we can proceed to the immediate publication of these Bolshevik classics.

The sooner donations accumulate for the FUND, the more rapidly can we proceed with this important job. Every dollar counts doubly now. We are depending upon all our readers and friends to act with speed. The blank below is for your use. Fill it out now!

THE MILITANT

2525 Third Avenue

New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the Militant SUSTAINING FUND to help maintain the paper and publish the workes of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

CityState

★

DANCE

★

For the Benefit of the Weekly Militant

on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1930 at 8 p. m.

at the

HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street

Excellent Musical Program—Dancing—Entertainment

Admission: 50 cents in advance or 60 cents at door

AUSPICES: Communist League of New York (Opposition)

English and Hungarian Branches

The Socialist Party and Radicalization of the Masses

By James P. Cannon

The ten year period following the end of the war was marked by an integration and growth of the American Communist movement and a concurrent decline in the organization and influence of the Socialist Party. For the past year or so we have been witnessing a reversal of this process. The relation of forces between the two contending tendencies—of revolution and reform—has undergone a change. These are the important facts which merit consideration and analysis.

It profits the revolutionary wing of the labor movement nothing to evade or deny this state of affairs. On the contrary it will do harm, for the radical workers see what is going on before their eyes and are apt to draw false conclusions regarding the efficacy and future prospects of revolutionary ideas. Such indeed is the meaning of the recent noticeable shifting of allegiance of many workers, particularly in the needle trades, who had conscientiously supported the Left wing and the Communist Party for several years. The Communist workers are entitled to an appraisal of the situation.

I

The advance of Communism in the struggle against the Socialist Party, and to a large extent at its expense, over a ten-year period is undeniable. A few facts: The Left wing gained a majority in the party struggle of 1919 and the Hillquit-Berger machine was able to prevent its capture of the convention only by wholesale expulsions (aided, however, as has so often been the case, by stupidities of the Left wing leadership). Even after the split in 1919, which reduced the Socialist Party membership from 100,000 to less than 20,000, a new Left wing developed within it under the pressure of Communist sentiments in the ranks. This culminated in the second split—a weak one, it is true, with still weaker leadership—of the "Workers Council" group at the end of 1921. The Communists became organizationally stronger than the Socialists despite the terrific handicaps of the Palmer terror and the three-years' period of underground organization. The C. P. extended its operations throughout the country while the S. P. influence and strength were confined to isolated localities, notably New York and Milwaukee. The superior strength and fighting ability of the Communists were graphically demonstrated in the big movements which engaged the attention of the workers: The Labor Party campaign, the organization of the Left wing in the trade unions, the Passaic strike, the Sacco-Vanzetti movement, the needle trades struggles. The collapse of the New York Call, the daily paper of the S. P., just preceding the establishment of the *Daily Worker*, symbolized the waning power of one party and the upward swing of the other.

A Period of Communist Growth

Over that entire ten-year period our party continued to win recruits, individually and in groups, from its Socialist rival, with no shuffling in the other direction. The tides in those days swept out of the S. P. and into our ranks with such eminent pillars of present day Communism as Engdahl, Schneid, Olgin and almost the whole Freiheit staff, not to speak of Kruse, who has begun to drift back by way of the Lovestone detour. Scott Nearing left the S. P. in 1923 and joined the C. P. in 1926. Weisbord, who became justly renowned as the Communist organizer of the Passaic strike in 1926, had been the Secretary of the Young Peoples Socialist League and a campaigner for La Follette in 1924. All of these people, and many others who could be mentioned, were, in one sense of the word, weather-cocks indicating the way the wind was blowing.

Now, after ten years of stagnation and decay, the Socialist Party is showing manifest signs of a revival, partly at the expense of the C. P. The facts which demonstrate this trend are as incontestable as are the reasons which explain it. The greatly increased Socialist vote in the recent New York municipal election, while the Communist vote was reduced to insignificance is one of these signs. The re-establishment of the Right wing unions in the needle trades is another. The increased recruitment of new members is a third sign. (For example, the report of the secretary at the latest meeting of the National Executive Committee claimed more members enrolled in 1929 than in the whole five preceding years). Socialist influence in the C. P. and renewed activity in the

general trade union movement are a fourth sign. The reformist Socialist Party confronts the revolutionary Communists in 1930 as a stronger foe than at any time since the split in 1919.

II

Weather-cocks also reflect the new situation. The first of these was Schneid, president of a Chicago local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union, who came to us from the S. P. on the tide of Communist influence in the union in 1922. Last year the reaction carried him back to the S. P. A recent convert to reformism is Hendin, once a member of the C. E. C., who demanded "armed insurrection"—nothing less—at the first underground convention of our party in 1920. (He overestimated the "radicalization" at the time.) There are many others less prominent travelling the same path; one in particular named Streit, who led a squad of Stalinists to break up a meeting of the Communist Opposition in Philadelphia less than a year ago.

The Course of Lovestone's Faction

Besides those individuals who desert Communism and pass over directly into the reformist camp of the S. P.—and—more significant—are those who have started on an indirect route, by stages, to the same place. Speaking from the standpoint of political logic—which is decisive—and disregarding personal intentions—which are not—this is the destination of the Lovestone faction. We do not see any ground for the permanent existence of a political party half-way between Communism and reformism which is the sum and substance of Right wing wisdom. The example of the 2-1-2 International and all similar national groupings excludes such a prospect. That Lovestone and Wolfe understand this as well as anyone, cannot be doubted. The *Forward's* estimate of Lovestone's present "work" as the "most useful he has ever done for the working class" is, from their standpoint, a quite intelligent judgement.

It ought to be easily understood why Lovestone and Wolfe cannot proceed directly to their political destination. Conscientious worker-Communists, revolting against the stupidity and brutality of the Foster regime have been caught in Lovestone's trap. Deception and maneuver are necessary to keep these workers together on a graduated reactionary course. Lovestone and Wolfe need time, but they are known for speed and they are making headway. They have already succeeded in leading their followers to Brandler and his program of "National Communism" without a centralized international. They have already translated "Socialism in one country"—the slogan under which they expelled us from the party—into "Communism in one country". This is progress enough for six months. The rest will follow.

III

A number of factors contribute to the phenomena of a Socialist Party revival after ten years of retrogression. The most important is the beginning of a "radicalization" of the workers about which so much is being written these days. The fearfully accelerated exploitation involved in the development of industrial technique which goes by the name of "rationalization" plus wage-cuts, plus swelling unemployment and its attendant horrors, stimulates a labor discontentment which is beginning to grope for expression. It is of decisive importance to have a precise estimate of the character and degree of this discontent. In this field nothing is helpful but actual facts. In the light of such facts there is no ground whatever for the assumption that this "radicalization" of the American workers has anything approaching immediate revolutionary implications, or that the masses are ready for Communist leadership. So far it is possible to speak of tentative movements in the worker masses as "radicalization" in a strictly defined and limited sense. The traditional lack of class consciousness of the American workers, and their specific indifference to social questions as they record it on every occasion (the elections, for example) absolutely preclude the attempt to fit them into any European or world formula of "radicalization". This term can be used intelligently only on an American scale, in comparison with the recent years of "prosperity"; and then only with the reservation that this "radicalization" is shown in its

first stages, as symptoms of deeper movement to come.

The Strike Barometer

This is the only possible conclusion which ascertainable facts will allow. Take the record of recent strikes, always a good barometer of working class militancy. Exact figures of strike movements over a period of years are not at hand at the moment, but the general outline is well known. The textile workers' strike in the South, the sporadic strikes of auto workers and similar outbursts certainly show an awakening mood of the workers involved. But altogether they have so far involved only a few thousand workers, a number in no way comparable to the hundreds of thousands who took part in the great strike movements in coal and steel and on the railroads in 1919 and 1922. Moreover, the responsiveness of the workers generally all over the country, to these strikes was negligible. The elections, another yardstick of proletarian class development, show a Communist debacle, a Socialist gain and a reactionary victory. The various political demonstrations organized by the Communist Party have yet to show serious working class support. They are real "Communist" demonstrations in the sense that only Communists take an active part in them. It is self deception to represent curious spectators as participants in these actions. The unemployment movement shows promise but is, as yet, only in its initial stages.

The most pronounced expressions of the symptoms of radicalization of the workers has been through reformist channels. Such is the meaning of the increased socialist vote insofar as it came from the workers; of the general revival of S. P. influence among the workers; of the appearance of "progressive" movements in the trade unions under S. P. leadership. Such is the real explanation of the fact that thousands of workers in the needle trades are turning to the reorganized Right wing unions. The signs of Socialist Party revival appearing simultaneously with the beginning of working class radicalization is no contradiction. It appears so only to those who grossly exaggerate the extent of the radicalization process and attempt to substitute noisy and flamboyant proclamations for actual moods of the masses. They cannot reconcile these imaginary revolutionary moods with a growth of reformist influence and they try to dispose of the latter by ignoring or denying it. The refusal to see things as they are has always been a fool's dangerous game. Nobody, least of all revolutionaries, ever yet won a war against facts. But this is precisely the whole military strategy of the Foster generals.

IV

A second reason for the recent prosperity which has overtaken the long insolvent firm of Hillquit and Company, bound up with the symptoms of labor radicalism which the capitalists see as clearly as we do and which they fear as much as we welcome, is the patronage of the liberal wing of Capitalism. The more far-sighted elements of American capitalism, profiting by European post-war experience, fear a revolutionary influence on a radicalized working class and wish to prepare a buffer against it in advance. For this purpose they are not unwilling to "build up" the liberalized Socialist Party of which they have no fears whatever. The "good press" which the S. P. received in the New York municipal campaign, including the direct support of several papers, had far deeper implications than a mere gesture of protest against the crudities of Tammany Hall. The New York papers were helping to prepare a safety valve before the social boiler has begun to steam.

On its part, the gaining of this capitalist patronage has been facilitated by the deliberate movement of the Socialist Party to the Right. It has spared no effort to establish respectability and harmlessness to the existing social order. It is more and more becoming the haven of inoffensive liberals as well as the shield of labor reactionaries such as the Black Hundreds in the needle trades. Norman Thomas, as spokesman who makes no pretense of Marxism, is a perfect symbol of this metamorphosis of a Party which once proclaimed in words always, and some times in deed, the doctrine of the class struggle.

V

A third important factor which has aided the Socialists is the crisis in the

Communist Party and the incompetent leadership by appointment, which is made to order for Socialist progress at Communist expense.

The Party crisis which grows deeper from day to day has had a profound effect on the radical workers. Without understanding the principle issues, they see only the splits and get an impression of disintegration and decay. They see a once formally united party appearing as three separate factions, each publishing its own organ. In such circumstances the official assurances of "unity" sound to them like a scared boy whistling in the dark. The recruiting power of the movement is paralyzed and thousands of party members fall away in discouragement and despair. Some of them have become victims of reformist illusions—a fate for which they have been prepared by the reign of opportunism in the Party and in the Communist International.

The Fosterite Contribution to the S. P.

The incredible weakness of the appointed leadership, which piles blunder on top of blunder in a vicious system, robs the party of its opportunity to plunge forward on the basis of the new trend in the working class and thus facilitates the game of the reformists. The substitution of noise for thought and vituperation for argument—the political method of Foster and Company—hurts nobody but the workers' vanguard and is grist to the S. P. mill. Many of the new recruits of the S. P. are Foster's contribution to Hillquit.

It is quite the fashion these days for the Party overseers to remind the workers of the overwhelming importance of the "leadership" they are receiving, like a gift, as it were, from the skies. The idea appears in the Party press again and again in the most offensive and patronizing manner. Leadership undoubtedly has a great importance in the proletarian struggle. But it works both ways, and in stressing this question the bureaucrats of the day are only helping, unwittingly, to furnish an explanation of Communist defeats and Socialist victories. An ignorant and corrupt leadership, such as now afflicts the party, can deal the heaviest blows against the cause of the workers' vanguard, and is dealing them. Looking back over the ten years record of the Party, with its ups and downs, its often sad experiences with leaders who have come and gone, one can say with complete assurance that history—insofar as it takes note of the matter—will sustain the judgement, that the present leadership of the Party is the worst it ever had. We say this without forgetting any past experience at any stage of the Party's evolution. The Foster regime has all the stupidity of the Hourwich group without their principle, and the corruption of the Lovestone group without their intelligence.

The Communist workers, staggering under defeat after defeat in times when progress ought to be the rule, will do well to take the usurping bureaucrats at their word when they urge them to remember the decisive importance of leadership. The first conclusion they will come to after a serious consideration of this question will be the necessity of overthrowing the present leadership and organizers of defeat. They will find—since the American bureaucrats are simply the appointed agents of the Stalin E. C. C. I.—that the first steps in this direction will lead them toward participation in the great international struggle over the foundation principles of Communism which the Bolshevik-Leninists are defending against the new revisionists. The disintegration of the American Communist movement is bound up with an international situation and cannot be isolated from it. A real fight against this disintegration can be conducted only under the banner of the International Opposition, for that is the banner of Communism.

VI

The spectacle of Socialist Party advancement and Communist retrogression at a time when there are many signs of a new upward trend of working class activity are transient phenomena based on illusions of the workers, cleverly exploited by the reformists, and misleadership and internal crisis in the Communist movement. In the temporary fluctuation in the class struggle there is no cause for alarm, to say nothing of despair in the revolutionary ranks. The ultimate victory belongs to Communism, but there is no law that it will proceed to this victory on a straight ascending line.

(Continued on Page 8)

The Fundamental Principle Errors of Syndicalism

(To Serve in the Discussion with Monatte and the Pure Syndicalists in General)

By L. D. Trotsky

When I arrived in France in October 1914, I found the French socialist and trade union movement in a state of the most complete demoralization. In the search for revolutionists, with lantern in hand, I made the acquaintance of Monatte and Rosmer. They had not succumbed to chauvinism. It was thus that our friendship began. Monatte was an anarcho-syndicalist; despite that he was immeasurably closer to me than the French Guesdists who were playing a pitiful and shameful role. At that time, the Cachins were knocking at the servants' entrance to the ministries of the Third Republic and the Allied embassies. In 1915, Monatte left the Central Committee of the C. G. T., slamming the door behind him. His departure from the trade union centre was in essence nothing but a split. At that time, however, Monatte believed—and rightly so—that the fundamental historical tasks of the proletariat stood above unity with chauvinists and lackeys of imperialism. It was precisely in this that Monatte was loyal to the best traditions of revolutionary syndicalism.

Monatte, one of the first friends of the October Revolution, nevertheless, unlike Rosmer had held aloof for a long time. That was well in keeping with the character of Monatte, as I was later convinced, of standing aside, of waiting, of criticizing. At times this is absolutely unavoidable. But as a permanent line of conduct it becomes transformed into sectarianism which has a close affinity with Proudhonism, but nothing in common with Marxism.

Lenin and the Syndicalists

When the Socialist Party of France became the Communist Party, I frequently had occasion to discuss with Lenin the onerous heritage the International had received in the person of leaders like Cachin, Frossard, and other heroes of the League of the Rights of Man, of the Freemasons, of parliamentarians, careerists and babblers. Here is one of these conversations—which I have already published in the press, if I am not mistaken: "It would be good," Lenin said to me, "to drive out all these weathercocks, and to draw into the party the revolutionary syndicalists, the militant workers, people who are really devoted to the cause of the working class. And Monatte?" "Monatte would of course be ten times better than Cachin and those like him", I replied. "But Monatte not only continues to reject parliamentarism, but to this day he has not grasped the significance of the party". Lenin was astounded: "Impossible! Has not grasped the significance of the party after the October Revolution? That's a very dangerous symptom."

I carried on a correspondence with Monatte in which I insisted that he come to Moscow. He was evasive. True to his nature, he preferred, in this case too, to stand aside and wait. And besides the Communist Party did not suit him. In that he was right. But instead of helping to transform it, he waited. During the Fourth Congress we succeeded in taking the first steps towards cleansing the C. P. F. of Free-masons, pacifists and office seekers. Monatte entered the party. But it is not necessary to underline the fact that this did not mean to us that he had adopted a Marxian viewpoint; not at all. On March 13, 1923, I wrote in *Pravda*: "The entrance of our old friend, Monatte into the party was a great day for us; men of his stamp are necessary to the revolution. But it certainly would be wrong to pay the price of confusion and lack of clarity of ideas for this rapprochement." In this article I criticized the scholasticism of Louzon on the relations between the class, trade unions and the party. In particular, I explained that pre-war syndicalism had been an embryo of the Communist Party, that this embryo had since become a child, and that if this child was suffering from measles and rickets it was necessary to nurse it, but that it would be absurd to imagine that it could be made to return to its mother's womb. I may perhaps be permitted to say in this regard, that the arguments of my 1923 article, in caricature, serve to this day as the main weapons against Monatte in the hands of Monmousseau and the other anti-Trotskyist warriors.

Monatte joined the party; but he hardly had time to turn about and accustom himself to a house far vaster than his little shop on the quai de Jemmapes, when the new "Etat" in the International burst upon

him: Lenin was taken ill, the campaign against "Trotskyism" and the Zinovievist "Bolshevization" began. Monatte could not submit to the careerists who, by leaning upon the general staff of epigones at Moscow, and disposing of unlimited resources, carried on by means of intrigue and slander. Monatte was expelled from the party. This episode, important, but still only an episode, was of decisive moment in the political development of Monatte. He decided that his brief experience in the party had fully confirmed his anarcho-syndicalist prejudices against the party in general. Monatte then began insistently to retrace his steps towards abandoned positions. He began to seek again the Amiens Charter. For all that he had to turn his face to the past. The experience of the war, of the Russian Revolution, and of the world trade union movement were lost upon him, leaving hardly a trace. Once again Monatte stood aside and waited. What for? A new Amiens Congress. During these last few years I was unfortunately unable to follow the retrogressive evolution of Monatte: the Russian Opposition lived in a blockaded circle.

Monatte's Fetishisms

Out of the whole treasure of the theory and practice of the world struggle of the proletariat Monatte has extracted but two ideas: trade union autonomy and trade union unity. He has placed these two pure principles above sinful reality. It is on trade union unity that he has based his newspaper and the Syndicalist League. Unfortunately, these two ideas are empty and each one of them resembles the hole in a ring. Whether the ring be made of iron, silver or gold, Monatte does not care in the least. The ring, you know, always hampers the trade union's activity. Monatte is interested only in the hole of autonomy.

No less empty is the other sacred principle: unity. In its name Monatte even stood up against the rupture of the Anglo-Russian committee, even though the General Council of the British Trade Unions had betrayed the general strike. The fact that Stalin, Bucharin, Cachin, Monmousseau and others supported the bloc with the strike-breakers until the latter gave them a kick does not lessen in the least Monatte's mistake. After my arrival abroad I made an attempt to explain to the readers of the *Revolution Proletarienne* the criminal character of this bloc, the consequences of which are still being felt by the worker's movement. Monatte did not want to publish my article. And how could it have been otherwise, since I had made an assault upon the sacred trade union unity, which solves all questions and reconciles all contradictions?

When strikers run up against a group of strikebreakers in their path, they throw them from their midst without sparing blows. If the strike-breakers are union men they throw them out immediately, without worrying over the sacred principles of trade union unity. Monatte surely has no objections to this. But the matter is entirely different when it is a question of the trade union bureaucracy and its leaders. The General Council is not composed of starving and backward strikebreakers, no, these are quite experienced and well-known traitors; who found it necessary at a certain moment to stand at the head of the general strike in order to decapitate it all the more quickly and surely. They worked hand in hand with the government, the bosses and the princes of the church. It would seem that the leaders of the Russian trade unions, who were in a political bloc with the General Council, should have immediately, openly and relentlessly broken with it at that very moment, before the masses it deceived and betrayed. But Monatte rises up fiercely: It is forbidden to disturb trade union unity. In an astonishing manner, he forgets that he himself upset this unity in 1915 by leaving the chauvinist "General Council" of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor).

It must be said squarely: Between the Monatte of 1915 and the Monatte of 1929,

there is an abyss. To Monatte it must seem that he is remaining entirely faithful to himself. Formally, this is true, up to a certain point. Monatte repeats a few old formulae, but he ignores entirely the experience of the last fifteen years, richer in lessons than all the preceding history of humanity. In the attempt to return to his former positions, Monatte simply fails to notice that they have disappeared a long time ago. No matter what question is raised, Monatte looks backward. This may be seen most clearly in the question of the party and the state.

The Dangers of State-ism

Some time ago, Monatte accused me of underestimating "the dangers of state-ism" (*Revolution Proletarienne*, No. 79, May 1, 1929, page 2). This reproach is not a new one; it has its origin in the struggle of Bakunin against Marx and it shows a false, contradictory and essentially non-proletarian conception of the state.

With the exception of one country, state power throughout the world is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It is in this, and only in this, that lies the state danger from the point of view of the proletariat. Its historical task is to wrest this most powerful instrument of oppression from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Communists do not deny the difficulties, the dangers that are connected with the dictatorship of the proletariat. But can this lessen by one iota the necessity to seize power? If the whole proletariat were carried by an irresistible force to the conquest of power or if it had already conquered it, one could, strictly speaking, understand this or that warning of the syndicalists. Lenin, as is known, warned in his testament against abuse of revolutionary power. The struggle against the distortions of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been conducted by the Opposition since it existed, and without the need of borrowing from the arsenals of the anarchists.

But in the bourgeois countries, the misfortune lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the proletariat does not understand as it should the dangers of the bourgeois state. By the manner in which they treat the question, the syndicalists, naturally against their intention, contribute to the passive conciliation of the workers with the state of capital. When the syndicalists chant to the workers oppressed by the bourgeois power their admonitions against the dangers of the state for the proletariat, they play a purely reactionary role. The bourgeois will readily repeat to the workers: "Do not touch the state because it is a snare full of dangers for you." The Communist will say to the workers: "The difficulties and dangers with which the proletariat is confronted the day after the conquest of power—we will learn to overcome them on the basis of experience. But at the present time, the most menacing dangers lie in the fact that our class enemy holds the rein of power in its hands and directs it against us."

In contemporary society there are only two classes capable of holding power in their hands: the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. For the petty bourgeoisie has long ago lost the economic possibility of directing the destinies of modern society. Now and then, in fits of desperation it rises for the conquest of power, even with arms in hand, as has happened in Italy, in Poland and other countries. But the Fascist insurrections only end in this result: the new power becomes the instrument of finance capital under an even more naked and brutal form. That is why the most representative ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie are afraid of state power as such. The petty bourgeoisie fears power when it is in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, because the latter expresses and ruins it. It also fears it when it is in the hands of the proletariat, for the latter undermines all the conditions of its habitual existence. Finally, it fears power when it falls into its own hands because it must inevitably pass out of its powerless hands into those of finance capital or the proletariat. That is why the anarchists do not see the revolutionary problems of state

power, its historical role, that is why they see only the "dangers of state-ism". The anti-state anarchists are consequently the most logical, and for that reason, the most hopeless representatives of the petty bourgeoisie in its historical blind alley.

Yes, the "dangers of state-ism" exist under the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well, but the substance of these dangers consists precisely in the fact that power can actually return to the hands of the bourgeoisie. The best known and most obvious state danger is **bureaucratism**. But what is its character? If the enlightened workers' bureaucracy could lead society to socialism, that is, to the liquidation of the state, we would be reconciled with such bureaucracy. But it has an entirely opposite character: by separating itself from the proletariat, by raising itself above it, the bureaucracy falls under the influence of the petty bourgeois classes and can by that very fact facilitate the return of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In other words, the state dangers for the workers under the dictatorship of the proletariat are in the final analysis nothing but the danger of restoring the power to the bourgeoisie.

The question of the source of this bureaucratic danger is no less important. It would be radically wrong to think, to imagine that bureaucratism rises exclusively from the fact of the conquest of power by the proletariat. No, that is not the case. In the capitalist states, the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. It is enough to cast a glance at America, England and Germany. Amsterdam is the most powerful international organization of the trade union bureaucracy. It is thanks to it that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism. It is by means of this bureaucracy that the bourgeoisie exists, not only in the metropolis, but in India, in Egypt and in the other colonies. One would have to be completely blind to say to the English workers: "Be on guard against the conquest of power and always remember that your trade unions are the antidote to bureaucratic dangers." The Marxist will say to the English workers: "The trade union bureaucracy is the most powerful instrument for your oppression by the bourgeois state. Power must be wrested from the hands of the bourgeoisie and for that its principal agent, the trade union bureaucracy, must be overthrown." Parenthetically, it is especially for this reason that the bloc of Stalin with the strikebreakers was so criminal.

From the example of England, one sees very clearly how absurd it is to oppose as two different principles trade union organization and state organization. In England more than anywhere else, the state rests upon the back of the working class which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population of the country. The mechanism is such that the bureaucracy is based directly on the workers, and the state indirectly, by the intermediary of the trade union bureaucracy.

Up to now we have not mentioned the Labour Party which, in England, in this class country of trade union, is the simple transposition of the same trade union bureaucracy. The same leaders guide the trade unions, betray the general strike, lead the electoral campaign and later on sit in the ministries. The Labour Party, the trade unions—these are not two principles, they are only a technical division of labor. Together they are the fundamental support of the domination of the English bourgeoisie. This latter cannot be overthrown without overthrowing the Labourite bureaucracy. And that cannot be attained by opposing the trade union as such to the state as such, but by the active opposition of the Communist Party to the Labourite bureaucracy in all fields of social life: in the trade unions, in strikes, in the electoral campaign, in parliament and in power. The principal task of a real party of the proletariat consists in putting itself at the head of the working masses, organized in trade unions and unorganized, to wrest power from the bourgeoisie and striking a death blow to the "dangers of state-ism".

Throughout the World of Labor

The Crisis in the Spanish Labor Movement

The formula: "Seventy five percent of our activity for trade union unity" had a tremendous echo in Spain and, it can be said, was the only slogan of the Comintern accepted practically by the Spanish working masses in general. The Communist Party of Spain, always at the tail of events and the masses, devoted itself one hundred percent to the application of instructions, blindly, without a clear vision of the problem, driven by the Spanish proletariat which is so inclined to impetuous but momentary actions. A guide was lacking, which would have canalized this strong movement of sympathy for trade union unity, which attained its peak in the very midst of dictatorial repression, during the convocation of the Congress for unity which was to have been held at San Sebastian in May 1926.

The masses demanded trade union unity at all costs. The Spanish Communist Party with the exception of a small group of competent militants who were grouped to be dominated by events and to be over-around the comrades of San Sebastian, among whom was the director of the Party's central organ, comrade Jean Andrade, was unable to establish itself as the guide and vanguard of the proletariat. The leadership of the party did not understand and was incapable of canalizing organically the aspirations of the masses; it allowed itself to be dominated by events and to be overcome on the unity wave that passed over the Spanish labor movement. La Antorcha, the central organ of the Party, was taken away from the competent direction of comrade Andrade and given to the political adventurer, Oscar Perez Solis, and, at the same time, the campaign for trade union unity and the daily La Antorcha came to a complete halt.

Had the masses already become "radicalized"? According to the calculations of the leaders of the Communist International, the "radicalization" already commenced. The poor petty bureaucrats of the Spanish C. P. were ready to comply with all the orders of Stalin and Co. without worrying over the result that their stupid, selfish submission would have for the Spanish labor movement. Inevitably, the masses of the workers who sought and hoped to meet a guide, saw their hopes deceived, and, taking place under the full repression of the dictatorship against the labor movement, they retreated; their militant spirit declined appreciably. Now the labor movement is entering into a real stage of crisis which the leaders of the C. I. and the Spanish C. P. designate as "radicalization of the masses".

The Spanish labor movement, based on the principle of the class struggle, had close to a million and a half organized workers in 1919. The C. N. T. (National Federation of Labor), with an anarcho-sindicalist tendency, counted a good million members. The U. G. T. (General Union of Workers), with a social reformist tendency, had more than two hundred thousand members. There existed besides a few independent trade unions which awaited the fusion of the two central organizations in order to give their adherence to the united trade union organization of the Spanish proletariat.

The repeated betrayals of the reformist general staff, the disruption of the united front which the social reformists perpetrated, the organized sabotage of the C. N. T. made the fusion of the two organizations a distant possibility to a large extent. The false tactic and the methods of struggle employed by the anarcho-sindicalists of the C. N. T., together with the repression of the bourgeois authorities, of which this organization was the object, rapidly weakened this giant that appeared invincible. The U. G. T. stood by impassively, arms folded, while the government attacked the C. N. T. Even more, the organizations fought each other with violence and the blood of the proletariat was spilled in various parts of Spain, at Bilbao particularly, during encounters between partisans of the two camps.

The C. P. of Spain, always slow to get moving, never succeeded, despite its con-

tention into a single Communist Party, to adopt a correct and really Communist position. For its leaders, the whole problem was reduced to denouncing the heads of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T. without giving any concrete directives that might facilitate unity by putting the masses on the right track. Thus, the leadership of the C. P. S. fulfilled the role of a buffer between the leaders of the two organizations without knowing what to do with the masses who detested the false course of the leaders. And then the coup d'Etat of 1926 took place.

"The crisis in the dictatorship is sharpening", "Primo de Rivera is retiring", "a new constitutional era is approaching"—these are the themes developed by the leaders of the Spanish labor movement. All of them await the fall of Primo de Rivera as the triumph of their ideal, await it in order to begin the elaboration of a program for the "struggle for organization" and what is worse, to begin again the "war of the generals" and the aspiring generals in order to determine who was the most ardent, most clear-sighted and most discreet during the dictatorial period.

For us, the Communist Opposition, the problem and its solution does not lie in the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Primo de Rivera can, in one of his eccentricities, pass the baton of orchestra director to Martinez Anida or some other lackey of capitalism. And even if he formed a government of the type of those of the "old regime", the Spanish working class would always be confronted by a capitalism determined to oppress it and strangle it.

The reorganization of the Spanish working class, the reorganization of the Communist Party, the trade union unity of the Spanish proletariat based on the principles of the class struggle, the struggle against the dictatorship and against the Spanish capitalist regime, the struggle for the liberty of the small oppressed nationalities, the methodical organization of the peasant masses, in short, for the emancipation of the Spanish working class, must be undertaken immediately without waiting for Primo de Rivera to yield his place to another butcher of the proletariat, without hoping for so-called political transformations which can take place in the "last stage of capitalism" only as an insurrection of the proletariat. Whether Primo de Rivera falls or not, the battle against the Spanish bourgeoisie must begin. There can be no waiting until Primo opens the road for us, as some seem to hope.

The Spanish Communist Opposition warns the Spanish workers against the stark optimism of those who see in the "crisis of the dictatorship" the perspective or almost the triumph of our class aspirations. The workers must not await the fall of the dictatorship in order to organize, to undertake the struggle for their emancipation.

The Spanish Communist Party must be the guide of the working class of Spain, its vanguard. Its leaders paralyze its development, prevent its reconstitution. The Communist Opposition has a great task to realize and it will accomplish it along the ideas of Lenin. The perspectives are favorable.

Barcelona, January 1930

—HENRI LACROIX

Φ

The League against Imperialism

The All-Indian National Congress was presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru, with Gandhi, is the representative of the various vacillating and petty bourgeois masses; driven by the masses, the predominant element of their policy is fear of the masses, of the revolution against which they are fighting today with all ideological means; tomorrow, when the revolution raises its head in spite of Gandhism, the internal logic of their attitude and their policy will lead Gandhi and Nehru into the camp of the avowed enemies of the revolution.

The road that Nehru and Gandhi will take is already clearly indicated in the declaration of Gandhi appearing in Young India, the review of the nationalist Indian intellectuals. This is what it says: "For the introduction of passive resistance, the

choice of the moment and the methods have been left to the Committee of the All-Indian Congress. But I must declare that I do not see the atmosphere propitious for such a measure."

And Gandhi does not conceal the reason for which the atmosphere does not appear to him. It is that every measure of struggle, even if it is conceived pacifically, is exceeded by the masses and can provoke revolutionary struggles.

But Jawaharlal Nehru, charged with expounding this policy, is one of the most eminent celebrities of the "League against Imperialism."

To this League also belongs Madame Sun, the wife of Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuo Min Tang. Madame Sun belongs to the Left wing of the Kuo Min Tang, she is close to Wang Chin Wei. Every revolutionist is acquainted with the role played by the Left wing of the Kuo Min Tang at Hankow. If the Left Kuo Min Tang should succeed in conquering Canton in the Spring, the "Left" government of the South would soon prove that it is no less hostile to the working class than the Nanking government. Contrary to Nanking, it would thank Mme Sun by naming her an honorary member.

But in the meantime, Mme. Sun remains one of the luminaries of the "League against Imperialism."

The development of all these "heroes of a day" of the anti-imperialist struggle is obviously not due to chance. The Fengs and the Chiang Kai-Sheks became counter-revolutionaries the moment the worker and peasant masses entered spontaneously on the field of history and formulated their class demands. The same will happen with all the heroes of the Anti-Imperialist League.

It would be ridiculous to demand the exclusion of the already compromised "leaders" of the "League Against Imperialism." Not only must the Sandinos, the Nehrus and Company be removed from the revolutionary community of the world proletariat, but what must also be destroyed is the monstrous illusion, cruelly belied by history, according to which such a "League" can play leading, progressive role in the national revolution of the colonial peoples.

The "League against Imperialism," as a political center comprising Communist and bourgeois organizations, is a constant danger to the Communist International, to which it represents a competitor.

Things are similar if not worse in the Peasants International, which a European Peasants Congress is planned to draw out of its lethargy. For several weeks, the "revolutionary awakening" of the peasantry has been on the order of the day; in Germany, in Austria, etc., there are "revolutionary peasants demonstrations" for the election of delegates to the European peasants Congress. It therefore appears that we have arrived at a new edition of the "peasant policy" of the first "Leftist" period (1924-5); all the more necessary is it to recall to the revolutionary workers what Trotsky says in his criticism of the draft program of the Comintern:

"The peasantry will play a decisive role in the revolutions of the East. But this role will be neither leading nor independent. The poor peasants of Hupeh, Kwantung or Bengal can play a role not only on a national but on an international scale, but only on the condition that it supports the working class of Shanghai, Hankow or Calcutta. That is the only way out for the revolutionary peasant on an international road. The attempt to unite the peasant of Hupeh with the peasant of Galicia or the Dobrudja, the Egyptian fellah with the American farmer, has no chance to succeed."

What International Communism needs is not the creation of independent organizations of peasants and the unification of the bourgeois colonial parties into a "League against Imperialism," but a return to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the "outlived" teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of its party. "The village inevitably follows the city. The question is only to know which of the 'city classes' will be able to lead the village behind it." That is Lenin's formulation.

KURT LANDAU.

The British Daily Worker

The Communist Party now has its daily paper. It is a present given it by Moscow. It must be said that it was received without enthusiasm. At the Leeds Party Congress, T. A. Jackson, who is himself a capable journalist, declared: "The question is not to launch the paper—that's very easy—but to maintain it."

The first number contained a message from the Communist International, which has caused some stir, for the Conservative press immediately used it to sharpen its campaign against the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. It underlined the passage which said that the paper will be a "new and powerful organ in the hands of the working class in its struggle against capitalism, against rationalization and against the social-fascist Labor government."

That it is a "powerful weapon", only the leaders of the Communist International can believe. The Daily Worker is actually deplorable to the point where the bourgeois papers make fun of it and scoff at "Moscow's parsimony." The embarrassed Communists lay the blame to the press monopoly and the too high wages paid to the printing plant workers. One actually reads in the Communist Review: "It is a characteristic of this monopoly that the trade unions share in it. In the London daily press, there prevails the system of exceptionally high wages not only for the prostitutes of journalism but also—relative to the wages of other sections—for the typos, the pressmen, etc. In this way, the special interest of the unions is assured for cooperation with the capitalist trusts against the independent press and particularly against the workers' press." The leaders of the Party must be pretty ill at ease to resort to such arguments. Moreover, they have short memories: they forget that in 1926, on the eve of the outbreak of the general strike the linotype operators of the Daily Mail, in spite of the so-called exceptional wages, refused to set up a lying article directed against the workers, which still remains a pretty rare gesture.

The Clyde "rebels" have just suffered a serious defeat at the conference of the Scotch section of the Independent Labour Party, meeting in Glasgow on January 12, Maxton and his friends who voted against the government in an important debate—modification of the insurance law against unemployment—asked the approval of the conference. This approval was refused them by 103 votes against 94. If one considers that it is in Scotland that the Laborite Left has its strongest positions, the importance of this defeat will be understood.

Maxton's defense was very weak. He complained of having been cast off in the course of the discussion, by most of those who had signed his declaration: "I was thrown against the cannons," he exclaimed, "and when I looked about nobody was there any longer." That is the language of the "leader" of the I. L. P. He and his friends are full of excellent intentions; they have a faint desire to do something against the policy of abdication of the labor government, but they always halt before decisive deeds. That is why MacDonald always wins so easily over them.

—S B

London, January 21, 1930.

Chicago

HARD TIMES PARTY
& REBEL DANCE

Given by Communist League (Opposition)

Saturday Evening, February 22

STISKA'S HALL, 4021 N. Drake Ave.
(3335 West)

Doors Open 8 p. m.

Dance Music Refreshments

Special Entertainment Number

Admission 35 Cents

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

The Art of Orientation

The art of revolutionary leadership is primarily the art of correct political orientation. Under all conditions, Communism prepares the political vanguard, and through it the working class as a whole, for the revolutionary seizure of power. But it does it differently in different fields of the labor movement and in different periods.

One of the most important elements in orientation is the determination of the moods of the masses, their activity and readiness for struggle. The mood of the masses however does not fall from the skies. It changes under the influence of certain laws of mass psychology, which are set into motion by objective social conditions. The political condition of the classes is subject, within certain limits, to a quantitative determination (press circulation, attendance at meetings, demonstrations, strikes, elections, etc., etc.) In order to understand the dynamics of the process, it is necessary to determine in what direction and under the influence of what reasons the mood of the working class changes. Combining the subjective data with the objective, it is possible to get to a certain degree the perspective of the movement, i. e., the scientifically based prediction without which a serious revolutionary struggle is in general inconceivable. But prediction in politics has the character, not of a rigid schema, but of a working hypothesis. Directing the struggle to one or the other direction, it is necessary attentively to follow the changes in the objective and subjective elements of the movement, in order to introduce opportunely into the tactics corresponding corrections. Even though the actual development of the struggle never fully corresponds with the prognosis, that does not absolve us from having recourse to political prediction. One must not however, get intoxicated with finished schemas but continually check up the course of the historic process and conform oneself with its indications.

Centrism, which now rules the Comintern, as an intermediary tendency living on the ideas of others, by its very nature is incapable of historical prognosis. In the Soviet Republic, Centrism attained its domination under the conditions of reaction against October, at the descent of the revolution, when empiricism and eclecticism constituted the warrant that permitted it to swim with the stream. And since it had previously been proclaimed that the course of development automatically leads towards socialism in one country, this in itself was enough to liberate Centrism from the need of a world orientation.

But the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, which still have to struggle for power or to prepare for such a struggle, cannot live without prediction. A correct, every-day orientation is a question of life or death for them. But they do not learn this most important art because they are compelled to leap and skip interminably at the command of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Bureaucratic Centrism which is able to live for a time off the interest on the capital of already captured proletarian power, is entirely incapable of preparing the young Parties for the conquest of power. In this lies the principal and most formidable contradiction of the present Comintern.

The history of the Centrist leadership is the history of fatal mistakes in orientation. After the epigones missed the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 which profoundly changed the whole situation in Europe, the Comintern went through three stages of fatal mistakes.

The years 1924-25 were the period of ultra-Left mistakes: the leadership saw an immediate revolutionary situation ahead of them at a time when it was behind them. In that period they called us Marxist-Leninists "Rights" and "Liquidators"

The years 1925-27 were the period of open opportunism, which coincided with a stormy rise of the labor movement in England and the revolution in China. In this period they called us nothing else than "ultra-Leftists".

Finally, in 1928, the "Third Period" is proclaimed, which repeats the Zinoviev mistakes of 1924-25 on a higher historical plane. "The Third Period", has not yet come to a close: on the contrary it continues to rage, laying organizations and minds to waste.

All the three periods are characterized,

not accidentally, by a systematic decline in the level of the leadership. In the first period: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin. In the second period: Stalin, Bucharin. In the third period: Stalin and ... Molotov. There is a regularity to be seen in this.

Let us look closer at the leadership and theory of the "third period".

Molotov «Enters With Both Feet»

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which met a year after the Sixth Congress (July 1929) could not simply repeat what the Sixth Congress had already said but had to take a higher note. Already on the eve of the Plenum, the theoretical organ of the C. P. S. U. wrote:

"In the whole capitalist world the strike wave is rising. This wave is occurring in the highly developed imperialist countries as well as in the backward colonies at times and in places which interlink with elements of a stubborn revolutionary struggle and civil war. Into the struggle are drawn and actively participate the masses of the unorganized... The growth of dissatisfaction and the Leftward swing of the masses also embraces the millions of the agricultural workers and oppressed peasantry". (Bolshevik, June, 1929, No. 12, page 9).

The picture leaves no room for doubts. If the strike wave is actually traversing the whole world, drawing even "the millions of agricultural workers and oppressed peasantry", and interlinking with "revolutionary struggle and civil war", then it is clear: the revolutionary situation is at hand and the task of an outright struggle is on the order of the day. Whether to call such conditions the "third period" or to leave them unnumbered on this count we would agree not to quarrel.

The tuning fork at the Tenth Plenum appeared, as is known, in the hands of the maestro Molotov. In his programmatic speech before the leaders of the Comintern, Molotov said: "One must be a dull opportunist (!), one must be a sorry liberal (!), in view of the facts of the world labor movement, not to see that we have entered with both feet into the realm of most tremendous revolutionary events of international significance." (Pravda, No. 177). "With both feet"—what power of argumentation!

Harmonizing with Molotov's tuning fork, Bolshevik, the theoretical organ of the Russian Communist Party wrote in August 1929:

"On the basis of the analysis of the working class struggle in the principal capitalist countries, the Tenth Plenum established the development and deepening of the processes of the Leftward turn and revolutionization of the masses, which grows, already at the present time into a beginning of the revolutionary rise, (at least in such countries as Germany, France, Poland)". (No. 15, page 4).

There can be no doubt: if not with his head, then with his feet, Molotov has decisively established the revolutionary character of the period we are living through. Since nobody wants to be called a "dull opportunist" or a "sorry liberal", then Molotov's argumentation appears to be immediately insured against the criticism of the Plenum. Not burdening himself with economic nor political analysis, for reasons which it must be admitted are very valid, Molotov limited himself to a short catalog of the strikes in the different countries (Ruhr, Lodz, Northern France, Bombay, etc.) as the sole proof of the fact that "we have entered into the realm of most tremendous revolutionary events". This is how historic periods are created!

There only remained for the Central Committee and the papers of the national sections to see to it that their own feet, getting ahead if possible of their heads, should be immersed as quickly as possible into "most tremendous revolutionary events". But is it not a suspicious circumstance that the revolutionary situation appears simultaneously in the whole world, in the metropolises and the colonies, completely ignoring in this period "the law of uneven development", that is, that single historic law which, at least in name, is known to Stalin? In reality, there can be no talk of such simultaneousness. The analysis of world conditions is substituted for, as we have just seen, by the summing up of isolated conflicts occurring in different

countries and for different conditions. Of the European countries, Austria alone, perhaps, has gone through a crisis in the past year which, with the presence of an influential Communist Party, might have assumed an immediately revolutionary development. But it is precisely Austria that is not even mentioned. What are mentioned are France, Germany and Poland as "those countries which —(according to Molotov)— find themselves at present in the front ranks of the revolutionary rise". In a series of articles we examined the strike wave in France, in order to determine its actual place in the development of the proletariat and the country. We hope to analyze in the same detail, in the nearest future, the basic indicators which characterize the struggle of the German working class. But the conclusions we arrived at with the French example, which is included by the Tenth Plenum among the least of the three most revolutionary countries of Europe, already show that Molotov's analysis is a combination of three elements: theoretical ignorance, political irresponsibility and bureaucratic adventurism. However it is not "the third period" that these elements characterize, but the Centrist bureaucracy —in all periods.

Are Economic Strikes Called Forth By Crises or Rises?

"Wherein lies the basis of this revolutionary rise?" Molotov makes the attempt to reflect, and right here presents the fruits of his deliberations: "At the basis of the rise can only lie the growth of the general crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of the basic contradictions of the capitalist system."

Whoever does not agree, is a "sorry liberal." But where is it written that at the basis of economic strikes "can only lie" a crisis? Instead of analyzing the actual economic conditions and finding on the basis of them a correct place for the present strike movement, Molotov proceeds in reverse order, enumerating a half a dozen strikes, comes to the conclusion about "the growth" of the capitalist crisis and—lands in the clouds.

The rise of the strike movement in a series of countries was caused, as we already know, by the improvement of economic conjuncture in the course of the past two years. This refers primarily to France. True, industrial revival which is far from general for the whole of Europe remained until now very retarded even in France and the tomorrow is far from secure at that. But in the life of the proletariat, even a small turn of conjuncture in one direction or the other does not take place without leaving its mark. If they continue daily to lay off workers in the factories, then those at work will not have the same spirit which is bred with them by the hiring of new workers, even though in limited numbers. The conjuncture has no less an influence on the ruling classes. In the period of an industrial revival which always breeds hopes for a still greater revival in the future, the capitalists are inclined to a softening of the international contradictions precisely in order to secure the development of a favorable conjuncture. And this is the "spirit of Locarno and Geneva".

In the not distant past, we had a great illustration of the correlation of conjunctural and basic factors.

The years of 1896-1913 were with few interruptions years of a powerful industrial rise. In 1913, this changed to depression, which for all informed, clearly opened the long and drawn out crisis. The threatening break of conjuncture, after the period of an unprecedented boom, created an extremely nervous mood in the ruling classes and served as a direct impetus to the war. Of course, the imperialist war grew out of basic contradictions of capitalism. This generalization is known even to Molotov. But on the road to war, there were a whole series of stages when the contradictions either sharpened or softened. The same applies also to the class struggle of the workers.

In the pre-war period, the basic as well as the conjunctural processes developed much more regularly than in the present period of brusks turns and steep breaks, when comparatively steep breaks, when the comparatively less important vacillations in economy breed tremendous leaps in politics. But from this it does not at all

flow that it is possible to close one's eyes to the actual development and to repeat three incantations: "Contradictions sharpen", "the working masses are turning to the Left", "the war is imminent"—every day, every day, every day... If our strategic line is determined in the last analysis by the inevitability of the growth of contradictions and the revolutionary radicalization of the masses, then our tactics, which serve this strategy, proceed from the realistic evaluation of each period, each stage, each moment, which may be characterized by a temporary softening of contradictions, a Rightward turn of the masses, a change in the correlation of forces in favor of the bourgeois, etc. If the masses were to turn Leftward uninterruptedly, then any fool could lead them. Fortunately or unfortunately, matters are more complicated, particularly under the present inconstant, vacillating "capricious" conditions.

The so-called general line is a phrase, unless we correlate it with each alternating change in national and international conditions. How does the leadership of the Comintern act? Instead of evaluating conditions in all their concreteness, it smashes its head at every new stage and then satisfies the masses for its subsequent defeat with a change and even expulsion of those on guard duty in the Central Committees of the national sections. We firmly advise Cachin, Monmousseau, Thaelmann and all the Renmeles (and Foster!—Ed.) to prepare themselves in advance for the role of the victims for the theory and practice of the Third Period. This will happen when Stalin has to correct Molotov—naturally after the fact.

The Rise of the U. S. S. R. as a Factor in the «Third Period»

As the first reason for the "revolutionary rise" in the last two years, Molotov sees the economic crisis which, by the way, he discovered deductively. The second reason he sees in the economic successes of the U. S. S. R. and he even accuses the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. of not having sufficiently appreciated the revolutionizing effect of the Five Year Plan. That the economic successes of the Soviet Republic have a gigantic importance for the world labor movement does not require any proof. But from this it does not at all follow that the Five Year Plan is capable, in an a priori manner, of causing the revolutionary rise in Europe and the whole world. The broad working masses do not live by the prospective figures of the Five Year Plan. But even if we leave aside the Five Year Plan, and take the figures of factual successes of industrialization, we still cannot see in them the reason for the strike of the dock workers in France or the textile workers in India. Millions of workers are led in their actions by conditions which immediately surround them, not to speak of the fact that the greatest majority of the workers learn of the successes or failures of Soviet economy from the lying articles of the bourgeois and social democratic press. Finally, and this is more important than all the rest, what would immediately impress the broad circles of foreign workers is not the abstract figures of statistics but the actual and substantial improvement in the conditions of the workers in the U. S. S. R. It is clear that the conditions of severe food difficulties in Moscow and Leningrad cannot inspire tens of millions of workers in the capitalist world with revolutionary enthusiasm. It is a fact, unfortunately, that only about 100 workers came to hear the triumphant report of the last French delegation to return from the U. S. S. R. A hundred workers—for the whole of Paris! This is a menacing warning; but the noisy and boastful bureaucrats do not consider it necessary to reflect upon it.

The Slogan of the General Strike

Entering so heartily into the "most tremendous revolutionary events" Molotov five minutes later returns to the same strikes and unexpectedly declares, "However, these manifestations against capital and reformism that serves it, still bear an isolated and fragmentary character".

It would seem that isolated and fragmentary strikes occur in different countries for quite different reasons, but in general, arising as they do out of a conjunctural

Continued on Page 7

For an International Conference of the Left

The Need For Organizing the World Opposition

There is need now to begin preparations to convene an International Conference of the forces of the Left Opposition. Many factors make such a conference both necessary and possible. It is not even a "forced march"; the world situation, the status and policy of the Communist International throughout the world. Economic and political struggles, arising out of the depressed and receding strength of international capitalism, are taking place on an increasing scale. In these the Opposition plays its part, but it must consider in what manner its role can be more decisive, both directly and through pressure by correct policy and tactics upon the Communist International and its sections in each country.

A steady and growing number of defeats have been inflicted on the proletariat and the Communist Parties in every country (alleviated only by incidental victories of a not very marked character here and there), in the past six years under the influence and direction of the Stalin-Bucharin regime. These range from the catastrophe in the Chinese Revolution (1925-1927); Anglo-Russian Committee debacle; the pro-Kulak policy, until recently in the Soviet Union; up to the May 1st, 1929 adventures in Germany and the washed-out August 1st international demonstrations against war—to mention a few of the outstanding events. For these defeats, Stalin and Stalinism, leaning strongly in these years upon the Right wing, bear the main responsibility. Trade union policy and activity, as embodied in the resolutions and theses and decisions of the Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, when under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, have become a caricature coupled with either the abandonment or grotesque modification of tested united front tactics, have brought isolation of the militants from the mass unions, and sectarianism into practice on a world scale. There is need for a conference of the Leninist-Bolsheviks, of the Left wing, under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky, to examine thoroughly the situation before the world's working class and in the Comintern, and to elaborate a program of action that will more quickly defeat Stalinism and turn the Communist movement again on a correct path. That the bureaucrats are subject to proletarian pressure, even though yielding more comfortably and easily to the opportunists and revisionists of the Right wing, is a fact of experience. But the Left wing must turn the screws still tighter.

Opposition Problems Need Elaboration

A conference is needed to elaborate the position of the Left Opposition toward the Comintern, the U. S. S. R., and Stalinism. That there is wanted more clarity is evidenced by the differences that arose in some sections of the Opposition (German Leninbund, Belgium) on the Sino-Russian conflict; the attitude toward the recent capitulators to Stalinism (Radek, et al); Thermidorism; etc.

At the same time the Left Opposition has reached the point and possibility where it is necessary and able to establish an international political platform as a guide for the Oppositions in the various countries. Some of the Oppositions, among them the Leninbund (Germany), Bordiga group in Italy, Communist League (United States and Canada), China have drawn up platforms and given their estimate of the international situation and the tasks of the Communists. The basic conceptions of the Left Opposition on the theory of socialism in one country; the Chinese Revolution; role of the Party; party democracy, etc. are incorporated soundly in the Opposition forces. What is needed is to clarify as much as possible such differences as may and do exist; to draft the general platform for all the Opposition; to assist one another in the specific tasks of each country; to lay the basis for the unification and centralization of the organization and activities of the Left Opposition on an international scale.

In little more than a year of the past, the Platform of the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the activities of the Left Opposition in other countries have made a definite and good

impression on the rank and file workers in the Communist Parties. This too, on an increasing scale among the proletarian forces in the C. P. S. U., among the Russian proletariat generally, and particularly among the party members and workers in the large factories in Leningrad, Moscow and other large cities. Opposition determination, the needs of the workers there, are more and more breaking through the Stalinist suppression and terror. The voice of the Leninist-Bolshevik is being heard and his message read. A major task of the International Opposition is to assist the Russian Leninist-Bolsheviks in their tasks with propaganda, material aid, etc.

Opposition Growing

The correctness of the views of the Left Opposition are accepted by larger numbers in the Communist Parties and the proletariat each day, by open declaration or silent acquiescence, or a waiting policy. The zig-zag Stalinist line fools less and less. Even now, the sudden dizzy "Left" zig-zag of the Stalinists in the Soviet Union and internationally, a course undertaken without conviction or understanding by the chinovniks, apparatus-men, shows signs of weakening and again gradually yielding (later a collapse?) to the Right wing opportunists (the removal of the so-called ultra-left, Fried, in Czecho-Slovakia, the speech of Manuilsky against the Left are the first straws). Only the active intervention of the genuine Left Opposition everywhere can serve to try to push the apparatus of the Stalinist Centrists and the Right wing onto a proletarian course. To do this more effectively, coordinated international activity and policy of the Opposition is required.

The Stalinist apparatus-men and the Right wing alike proclaim our "death" and have many times chanted our swan song. They may bow to ikons if they want to. The Opposition has its life in historic need and revolutionary activity. The more that Stalin and Bucharin maintain their revisionism of Marx and Lenin by the theory of socialism in one country as against an international revolutionary movement, the broader grows the international ring of the Left Opposition, encircling and isolating this social-democratic theory and Stalin in the narrow confines of national reformism. Stalin, through terror and suppression, makes his way yet in the Soviet Union. But the growing International Left, the increase of its press in the past year, the formation of new Left Opposition movements throughout the world indicate its growing strength and influence.

There is need to cite only the organization and development of the Left Opposition in the United States and Canada, Argentine, Mexico, China and other countries, not to mention the older European Oppositions. The capitulators find little comfort in the increasing proletarian cohorts of the Opposition. These found their way to the Opposition through understanding, and the pressure of the Stalinist chinovniks will not avail against them. It is this very growth of the Oppositions, with their own special problems, the need to define the particular roles of each Opposition (the United States and Belgium as contrasted, for instance, with Germany and France); the problem of the illegality of the Opposition (C. P. S. U.); the acute difficulties of work of the Opposition in China (illegality under Chiang Kai-Shek together with Stalinist suppression) that make advisable an international conference to work out our problems. The extreme conditions under which the Opposition operate make sectarian practice and an incorrect attitude toward the Comintern and the Communist Parties an easy swamp into which to fall. A conference which will discuss how we can increase our influence and activity among the masses and energize our movement in the Communist Parties will help greatly.

The open discussion of such issues as have arisen in the Left Opposition in some countries have helped to clarify our tasks. There is no need to wall about that. However sharp these discussions have been, they will aid the development of unity on a commonly accepted platform. An International Conference should make it possible for ALL groups and tendencies in the Left Opposition to be present and fully heard as an aid toward unity. Secondary issues,

which tend to obscure main lines, can then be brushed aside.

An International Opposition Organ

An exchange of views in the press of the Opposition is required. At the same time, we must discuss ways and means to transform into reality an International Opposition organ, published in three languages at least, if at all possible, and to develop plans for a wide circulation. Such an organ will go a long way toward the theoretical education of the Left Opposition and the Communists generally.

At this conference should be elected an Executive Committee of the International Opposition to centralize the work of the Opposition. If possible representatives of a few of the European countries and also one from America and China should remain

The Third Period of the Comintern's Mistakes

(Continued from Page 6)

rise in the world market, are not yet in any way—precisely because they are isolated and fragmentary—"tremendous revolutionary events". But Molotov wants to combine the isolated strikes. A praiseworthy task. But in the meantime, only a task, and not an accomplished step. To unite isolated strikes—Molotov teaches—is possible by means of mass political strikes. Yes, having at hand the necessary conditions, the working class may be united by revolutionary mass strikes. The problem of the mass strike is then, according to Molotov, "that new, that basic and most characteristic problem which stands in the center of the tactical tasks of the Communist Parties at the given moment". "And this means"—continues our strategist—"that we have approached (this time only "approached"—L. T.) new and higher forms of class struggle". And in order definitely to affirm the Tenth Plenum religion of the Third Period, Molotov adds: "We could not have advanced the slogan of a mass political strike, if we had not found ourselves in a period of ascent." This trend of thought is truly unexampled! At first both strategic feet entered the most tremendous revolutionary events, later on it appeared that before the theoretical head stands only the task of the general strike—not the general strike itself, but only its slogan. And from here alone, by the inverse method, the conclusion is made that we "have approached the highest forms of class struggles". Because, don't you see, had we not approached them, then how could Molotov advance the slogan of the general strike? The whole construction is based on the word of honor of the newly made strategist. And the powerful representatives of the parties respectfully listened to the self-confident blockhead and upon roll call reply: "Right you are!"

At any rate, we find out that all countries, from Great Britain to China—with France, Germany and Poland at the head have now attained the slogan of the general strike. We are finally convinced that not a trace is left of the unhappy law of uneven development. We might manage to be reconciled to this, if they would only tell us in the name of what political aims the slogan of the general strike is advanced in every country. It should at least not be forgotten that the workers are by no means inclined towards general strikes just for the sake of general strikes. Anarcho-syndicalism broke its head on the failure to understand this. The general strike may sometime have the character of a protest demonstration. Such a strike is realizable, generally speaking, in cases when some clear, sometimes unexpected, event stirs the imagination of the masses and produces the necessity for unanimous resistance. But a strike demonstration is not yet, in the true sense, a revolutionary political strike, it is only one of the preparatory rehearsals for it. As far as the revolutionary political strike is concerned, in the real sense of the word, it constitutes, so to speak, the final act in the struggle of the proletariat for power. Paralyzing the normal functions of the capitalist state, the general strike, brings forward the question: Who is master in the house? This question is decided in no other way than by armed force. That is why a revolutionary strike which

in the city of the headquarters of the Executive of the Left Opposition.

The International Opposition Conference has to lay out a campaign for an even more thorough expose among the Communist Parties and the mass of workers of Stalin and Stalinism, their methods of suppression and terror against the Leninist-Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union; the blow against the Russian Revolution in the deportation of the outstanding living leader of Bolshevism, Leon Trotsky; and to broaden the activities for the reinstatement of the Left Opposition throughout the world into the ranks of the Communist International and the return of Trotsky and the Opposition to their rightful position and role in the U. S. S. R.

The European comrades, particularly in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Austria should take the initiative to form a Committee of Action to lay the basis for such an International Conference. When agreement has been reached as to time, place and character of the Conference, the needed steps to bring the delegations from the various countries together can then be taken.

—MARTIN ABERN

does not lead to an armed uprising ends finally with the defeat of the proletariat. If, therefore, Molotov's words regarding revolutionary political strikes and "highest forms of struggle" have any sense at all, it is this: simultaneously, or almost simultaneously, throughout the world, the revolutionary situation has reached such maturity that it puts the Communist Parties of the West and East, North and South before the general strike as the immediate prologue to armed uprising.

It is sufficient to formulate correctly Molotov's strategy of the "Third Period" for its absurdity to be revealed.

«The Conquest of the Street»

Along with the general strike is set the task of "the conquest of the street". The question here—at any rate in words—is not that of the defense of one of the "democratic" rights, trampled upon by the bourgeoisie and social democracy, but of the determination of the "right" of the proletariat—to barricades. That is precisely how "the conquest of the streets" has been interpreted in the numerous articles of the official Communist press immediately after the July Plenum. It is not for us to deny the right of the proletariat to the "conquest of the streets" by means of barricades. But it is necessary to clearly understand what this means. Before all one must make clear to himself that the proletariat does not go on the barricades for the sake of the barricades, just as he does not participate in strikes for the sake of strikes. There are required immediate political purposes, welding together millions and giving firm support to the vanguard. That is how revolutionists pose the question. The opportunists gone mad approach the question quite differently.

For the revolutionary "conquest of the street"—art for art's sake—they set aside special days. The last invention of this sort appeared, as is known, the First of August. Ordinary mortals wondered: why the First of August, the failure of which was pre-determined by the failure of the First of May? What do you mean, why?—the officials strategists answered excitedly: for the conquest of the streets! Precisely what is to be understood by that: the conquest of the sidewalk or the pavement! Heretofore we thought, that the task of the revolutionary party is the conquest of the masses, and that the policy which can mobilize the masses to the greatest number and most actively inevitably opens up the street, no matter how the police block and lock it. The struggle for the street cannot be an independent task separated from the political struggle of the masses and subordinated to the office schedule of Molotov.

And what is more important, you cannot fool history. The task is not to appear stronger, but to get stronger. A noisy masquerade will not help. When there is no "Third Period" it is possible to invent it. It is possible to manufacture dozens of resolutions. But to make the Third Period on the streets according to the calendar—is impossible. On this road the Communist Parties will find only defeat, in some cases tragic ones, but more often simply stupid and humiliating ones.

(To Be Continued)

Low Wages for Unorganized Miners in W. Va.

COOPERSBURG, Pa.—So far as the mining situation in West Virginia is concerned, there is little to be said but that the United Mine Workers is smashed. The new union, however, has never got its roots into W. Va. soil.

Wages are being slashed with a knife that cuts two ways. First, they cut wages with reductions, and then they cut wages by refusing to pay for dead work. Not only that, but the men have to take the place of mules. Coal is mined in Moundsville at 51 cents per ton. The stone that comes down with the blasting of coal is not paid for. Other impurities have to be thrown out without compensation. All track timbering and the like have to be done for nothing. The cars are delivered to the mouth of the place and from there the miner has to push the car to the face, whereas under union conditions, cars were delivered and taken from place of work.

Men have to walk in a crouching position for 45 minutes or more. Under union conditions, the miners had a man trip to take them to and from work.

A good two weeks' work will average a man \$3.00 a day. Out of this comes smithing, lamp, doctor, and powder. The miner is lucky if he makes \$2.00 net.

In Moundsville, they have a system of turning over one's earnings to the company store. After the store deducts whatever bills the workers runs up he gets the rest of the pay, if there is anything "coming" to him.

An acquaintance would always be "in the hole" when pay would come around. One pay he owed \$3.64, another pay, \$2.37, two weeks later, \$.99 and he thought he was lucky to owe only 99 cents.

The morale of the miners is at its lowest ebb. They have little respect for the old U. M. W. A., due to its control by the bureaucrats. Of course, one argues that militant organization of the miners into a solid body that would strike terror into the operators is the solution, but they tell you that that's only talk. They will have to be shown. That's how sceptical the miners are now. There is a big job ahead for the Left wing.

—AUGUST VALENTINE

ANTHRACITE TAKES HEAVY TOLL IN ACCIDENTS

WILKES BARRE, Pa.—(FP)—One day's toll in one section of the anthracite is revealed by these mine casualties:

Thomas Walsh, 44, Hughestown, died in an ambulance from injuries sustained when he was caught in a rock fall from the roof of his working place in the Pittston Coal Co.'s mine.

Frank Shumak, 23, Plymouth, was critically injured following a gas explosion in the Dorrance mine of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. He is in the Wilkes Barre general hospital suffering from burns on the face, neck, chest and arms. A fellow-worker was seriously injured in the same blast.

Peter Kocor, 47, Alden, was burned about the face, neck, and hands when caught in a gas explosion in the Alden Coal Co.'s mine.

Henry Dustrecrem, 47, Wilkes-Barre, suffered serious injuries to his hand while at work in the Glen Alden Coal Co. Mine 7.

MOUNDSVILLE, W. Va.—Wage cuts have brought out 300 miners of the Franklin and Alexander mines, controlled by the Paisley interests of Cleveland. Wages were cut from 51 cents to 45 cents an hour for shovel loaders and 44 cents to 40 cents for machine loaders.

MINNEAPOLIS!

jolly and **dance**

On Saturday, February 22, 1930 at 8 P.M.

at MOOSE HALL, 48 South 4th St.

Dancing

Entertainment

Excellent Program

A Workers dramatic troupe will put on a play never before staged anywhere.

Admission 25c —: All Invited

Benefit of the Weekly MILITANT

The Strike of the Toronto Cloakmakers

TORONTO, Canada.—The long-awaited cloakmakers' strike began last week. The wonderful turnout and the fighting spirit of the strikers can hardly be attributed to the organizational efforts of the local I. L. G. W. U. job holders.

The industry has degenerated to such a point that the majority of the workers find it increasingly impossible to make a living. Long hours, speed-up, low wages, unsanitary conditions and short seasons have become the order of the day. In desperation to save their economic existence, the workers are again willing to follow the same leadership that betrayed them so shamelessly in 1924. Even the so-called union-proof elements responded to the call of the general strike, showing how rampant and widespread is the dissatisfaction of the masses.

Right Wing Leaders Sabotage

But in spite of the wonderful response and solidarity of the workers the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union refuse to fight. The slogans under which they called the strike, firstly, the 44-hour week but not the abolition of piece work is meaningless. Also the slogan of \$1.00 an hour as a fair union wage without specifying the big shops or the small. In the big shops, with the longer season and cheaper work, \$1.00 per hour represents an increase. In the small shops however, with the considerably shorter season and better line of work, \$1.00 per hour might mean an actual reduction.

In speaking to the workers and in the press reports, the bureaucrats apologize for having called the strike. "The whole fault lies with the bosses who don't want to be fair". But, they go on to assure the workers, "the strike will be over in a few days, since we can't bear to see your families suffer".

Is the strike a fake, as the Stalinists claim? It is not difficult to see that the International does not want to fight and will not fight. They promise the bosses to close the doors to any possible organization of the industry by the Left wing in exchange for Right wing recognition in the shops. That they won't make any real demands, except possibly a few scraps to shut the mouths of the workers and make it look like a real "contract", is true. But the Left wing union is unable to play any decisive role in the strike because of its negative membership and isolation. As a

matter of fact, nobody knows that they are playing any role at all. The leaflets distributed by the N. T. W. I. U. previous to the strike denouncing it as a "fake stoppage" and exposing the Right wing, only had a tendency on the whole to make the workers apathetic. Certainly, it brought no new members into the Left wing union. It never occurred to the Left wing leaders to enter into the struggle and by the course of it win the workers away from the Right wing.

—M. QUARTER

Pittsburg Cab Drivers on Strike

PITTSBURG, Pa.—In this city, which is considered one of the most industrial cities in the United States, the working conditions are no better than in other cities. The workers are harassed by an unbearable hunger, despair and starvation.

It is 18 days since the taxi drivers went out on strike. The Yellow, Green and Checker companies are using every means at their disposal to break it. Strike-breakers, company thugs, ministers, judges, police and society women—all of them are in their service. Mr. Walter S. Laird, the president of the Yellow company, utilized all the usual means in order to paralyze the courage of the strikers. He brought the professional strikebreaker from Chicago Charles Burger, who is also an organizer for the A. F. of L. He was one who in the strike of the milk drivers last summer used all his tricks to surrender them to the mercy of the Liberty Company.

Now, again, as representative of the A. F. of L., in a speech delivered to a meeting of the strikers, although he was violently hissed by the audience, he dared to tell them that he would take their union charter away if they do not want to compromise with the companies. That is how he tried to terrorize the strikers and show the bosses that he is faithfully performing his duties as a betrayer of the working class. But the strikers to a man and with splendid courage, not only confront these disgraceful and base tricks of Mr. Walter Laird, but also jails and beatings by the police, injunctions and whatever other means the miserable capitalist system is able to put at the disposal of the companies. The strikers are determined to continue the struggle until they win their demands.

—JAMES SIFAKIS

Minneapolis Stalinists Disrupt the Ladies Auxiliary

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

It is necessary to acquaint the left wing with the recent events in the Minneapolis Ladies Auxiliary of the Independent Workmen's Circle which the Stalinists have "captured". The Auxiliary consists of various classes of women, mostly of left wing opinions—and has always done constructive work in the labor movement generally. With this program the organization has very seldom been a scene of factional squabbles.

Now however, like a dream, all this has vanished. The Stalinist plague has descended upon us and, as in other workers' organizations, our Auxiliary has not escaped. Here is a sample of their work:

First they began to poison the minds of the members against the class conscious women who would not permit themselves to be misled. Stalin's famous bugle call, "counter-revolutionary" and "renegade" began to be circulated first secretly, then openly in our meetings.

They come with finished decisions made in closed rooms. There is no discussion permitted. Even the chairman is made to order. The Ladies Auxiliary has never yet suffered such dictatorship and such brazen arrogance. The more class conscious women gradually began to react with feelings of injustice, and finally we began to take action on these questions. The healthy criticism of honest working women in regard to the Stalinist tactics began to be heard more and more. But in spite of this the activity of the Auxiliary began to weaken. The old spirit died.

In election periods the Stalinists began to show their wonderful tactics in labor organizations. You see, it was necessary to save the Stalinist officers. There was no lack of automobiles to bring dead timber to the meeting for this purpose.

And the Stalinists were victorious.

What a victory! Loyal proletarian women, some of them founders of the organization were craftily eliminated, while petit-bourgeois women were boosted into office. Whose hands are these raised against class conscious workers? No understanding is necessary. The really vital questions in the life of our movement are thrust aside. After all, why discuss them, they may be "counter-revolutionary." Ideology? What is that—a women's disease, perhaps?

A hand for Stalin, and all your past sins against the working class are forgiven. The capitalist class has long ago realized that workers hands and not their minds should be used. The Party leadership is dragging our organization downhill to destruction.

Working women! Don't permit your thoughts to be trampled upon. Historical facts bring us closer to the reality of the new life in the class struggle. Down with the bureaucrats! Down with the disrupters and splitters of the working class! Carry forward the ideas of Lenin. Stand by the working class. Tomorrow it will be with us.

CLARA KAUFMAN

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS SCHOOL

The Workers School of Minneapolis wishes to announce the completion of the first half of its courses as planned last Fall. An "examination" in the elements of Communism demonstrated a definite improvement in ideology and a grasp of practical problems of the movement from a Marxian viewpoint. Continued progress will warrant the extension of these courses and possibly the establishment of new ones on an even broader scale. The classes are held every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at 401 Washington Ave. South. There is no charge and all workers are urged to enroll for the second half of the season.

The Socialist Party and the Radicalization of the Masses

(Continued from Page 2)

In reality there is nothing strange or inexplicable in the present developments. Reformism is a blind alley which diverts the workers from a class advancement and even from any real struggle for their immediate needs. But how are the American workers, not yet through the primer school of class education to know that? The majority of the workers of Germany, trained for generations in the class struggle, many of whom have seen revolutionary battles, do not know it yet. If they will learn from day to day, on the basis of their own experience, as Lenin said, how will the American workers learn it overnight?

American Labor and Reformism

It must be remembered that the American workers have never seen Social Democratic betrayal on a big scale for the simple reason that these agents of capitalism have not yet had such an opportunity. The American Socialists have never held any power except in such isolated and relatively unimportant sectors as the needle trades. The American worker, bound all his life to capitalist ideology, is apt to consider a vote for the Socialist Party a radical step forward. He is not fated to stop there. He is not a "fascist" when he takes that step, but a deceived worker who wants to improve the position of his class. Such a worker is, and should be regarded as a potential Communist.

The Communist struggle for the support of the masses in American has many different aspects from than the same struggle in the capitalistically developed countries in Europe. There, the great majority of the workers are already politically organized in the Socialist and Communist camps and the recruiting of workers to the banner of Communism requires the breaking down of long-established traditions and habits and organization bonds. The struggle here, in the main, is to win workers away from direct allegiance to the capitalist parties. In this the Socialist and Communist Parties are and will be rivals. Despite the primary stage of the class struggle in American and the consequent lack of class consciousness of the workers, the prospects of the revolutionary party, even for the proximate future, are good. There is plenty of ground for the assumption that developments in America, on the basis of its inextricable involvement in world economy once fairly started will be swift. In such a setting Communism, given a correct policy can bound forward and become the banner of the workers' struggles as well as of their aspirations for freedom from the capitalist yoke.

This presupposes a correct approach to the workers—the politically unorganized as well as the victims of reformist deception. The Communist International in the fundamental documents of its first four Congresses, has given a clear guide in this task. It is necessary to restore our movement to this basis and cast overboard all revisions and "improvements" which have been smuggled into the International since Lenin's death. Among other things this means to revive the united front tactics and apply them in place of the counterfeited dogma of "social fascism". It means to strengthen and support the Opposition which fights for Communist fundamentals on an International scale.

The sooner and the more aggressively the Communist workers turn to these basic tasks, the sooner will the present advance of reformism be transformed into a temporary incident and the better will the awakening workers be prepared for future victories.

QUAKER CITY KNITTERS REVOLT ON WAGE CUTS

PHILADELPHIA—Revolt is spreading through the Quaker City's scab hosiery mills on the heels of wage cuts. Three hundred workers, nearly the entire force of the Rodgers mill, have walked out to join the ranks of the 1,400 Aberle strikers. Discharge of union workers caused the Rodgers strike.

Discontent is running high in other non-union mills and further strikes are expected. Smaller plants have caught the contagion and knitters in scab shops out of town are also ready to "pull the rods".

The Rodgers plant not only paid under the scale but worked shifts of 10 and 12 hours. The strikers want the straight union scale and two shifts of eight hours.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 8,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, February 22, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Unite in Struggle for the Jobless!

THE PARTY "ANSWERS" ON BLUMKIN

But It Fails to Make a Straightforward Reply to the Questions We Have Raised

The Daily Worker has finally been compelled to "answer" our pointed questions on the assassination of comrade Blumkin. But how contemptibly, how like miserable philistines who bask in the shadow of the distant power that pays so well for literary funkeys, how like the irresponsible bureaucrats who disdain to give an accounting of themselves and their actions.

We asked Foster, Browder, Bedacht, Minor and Co.: Has Blumkin been assassinated and why was this hideous deed committed. They have not answered.

We asked these loyal servitors of the Stalin domain: Do you take upon yourselves joint responsibility with your employer for this unheard of crime? They have not had the courage to do this either.

On the contrary, in the official editorial published in the Daily Worker on February 15, 1930, the whole issue is cravenly avoided. If Blumkin has not been murdered, a simple official denial would suffice and our retraction would follow. If Blumkin has been shot secretly by the G. P. U. on the personal orders of Stalin, then he "must have been" a dangerous enemy of the revolution. In that case, his death should not only be confirmed by the party press, but the action

should be openly defended and the reasons for it made clear to the class conscious workers.

But the handmaidens of the Stalinist bureaucracy dare not take either course: They cannot make a denial because they know Blumkin has been killed. They dare not defend it publicly and boldly, because every honest worker will recoil from them in horror.

We continue to demand of them to explain, not by gratuitous slander and cowardly subterfuge, but in simple straightforward language:

In 1918, when the revolution was surrounded by the wolves of imperialism and torn by bourgeois reaction at home, comrade Blumkin was one of the leaders of the armed anti-Soviet insurrection organized by the Left Social Revolutionaries. He was arrested, tried, and released. He joined the Bolshevik party, became one of the most devoted militants, was a hero in the civil war, and carried on work of the most responsible and rigorous nature for the party and the government up until the time of his death. He was a supporter of the Opposition from the first and never con-

Continued on Page 7

Naval Conference at a Standstill

The fall of the Tardieu government in France, which will delay the "progress" of the London naval conference for at least a week will only result in the postponement of what has now become as plain as day: Despite all the protestations of the imperialist statesmen, the London Farce has not and will not accomplish anything at all in the direction of "insuring peace" by the deceptive route of so-called naval reductions or agreements. The only favorable point on the balance sheet of the conference is the further discrediting of all pacifist nonsense and the naive belief that capitalism can disarm or take any other step towards peace.

N. Y. Times Is Cynical

The hypocritical character of the whole affair has become so obvious that not even capitalist observers are doing much drum-beating for it. The well-informed correspondent of the New York Times, Edwin L. James, cables his paper from the conference (2-16-30): "Its (the conference's) highest hopes were three: First, reduction second, abolition of submarines and third, elimination of battleships. They all have been disposed of. As the conference approaches its second month, it has been settled that battleships are not going to be done away with. It is settled that submarines will still submerge when the meeting is over, and reduction has got so far into the limbo that the statesmen have now realized that the chief results of the London conference will be some of the finest naval construction programs the world has yet seen."

The cynical comment of a capitalist reporter is indicative of how much stock the imperialist spokesmen themselves put in all

their pious assurances and claims. This refers as much to Tardieu as to Mussolini, and as much to Ramsay MacDonald as to Herbert Hoover. The conference performance of the alleged "labor" premier of England, the prince of pacifism, the darling of the liberal Nation and the less liberal New Leader, is far more disgraceful than that of any of his co-confererees. The others at least make no particular pretence to speak in the name of labor and a new social order. They know what they want, and they go after it without more than a fromal sprinkling of piety. But MacDonald, who is a "spokesman" for labor and a new day, is working with no less zeal for the maintenance of the glorious old Empire, for the retention of its present and future markets, for its domination and violent suppression of hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, than his predecessors of the Tory and Liberal stripe. This austere statesman of "the new order" is anxious to show king and country that the labor party can protect the blood-sated empire as energetically as Baldwin or Lloyd George.

Thomas Apologizes for MacDonald

His American colleague, Norman Thomas, writes apologetically in the New Leader (2-15-30) that "in the handling of this naval conference Ramsay MacDonald can say with truth that he is doing the best he can as the head of a minority government and in face of the traditional British love of the navy." If Mr. Thomas means that MacDonald is doing the best he can to safeguard the piratical interests of British imperialism, he is absolutely right; in fact, he is understating the case. MacDonald and his party are the best props that the declining empire possesses.

Unite Forces on March 6th Demonstrations!

The army of American unemployed workers has risen until it runs into millions of men marching the street in a vain search for a job. The most acute suffering has been felt by the workers in every part of the country. Hundreds of thousands who, during the years of "prosperity", had been lulled into a false feeling of security, are now experiencing the bitterest difficulties. Even among the better-paid workers, the savings put away are being rapidly consumed, the homes purchased with mortgages are being put on the block. The prospect for any immediate improvement in industry that would absorb any substantial amount of the unemployed is extremely dim.

U. S. Capitalism Offers No Relief

The millions of unemployed are monumental testimony to the anarchy of the capitalist system. In the United States, where the greatest riches of the world are contained, where industry and agriculture have been developed to a high point, where efficiency schemes have become the rule—the most elementary requirements of human existence cannot be satisfied by capitalism. In the United States, where the records show the greatest number of multi-millionaires, where the payments of dividends and other profits mount into fabulous sums—there is "not enough" to keep five or more million workers and their families at the lowest subsistence levels.

The workers have worked too hard. They have strained their muscles and brain to the last degree. They have produced more than can be absorbed. Then they are thrown out on the streets. The workers starve because there is too much food. They freeze because too much clothing has been produced. They have no work because they have worked too hard.

The capitalist class fears the unemployed mass. It knows that the worker thrown out of a job begins to think, and that ideas become powerful when they penetrate millions. The bosses therefore try to prevent the workers from thinking and acting by dishing out a cup of coffee, and a crummy doughnut, and an occasional flop to the unemployed most severely hit. All the contemptible societies of charity work overtime to give the unemployed five cents worth of grubby "food" to keep them from five minutes of thought.

The workers want no charity, which degrades and shames them and puts them at the mercy of upper-class sob-sisters and sky pilots. The workers want work or maintenance by the state and industry which have used them as long as they were profitable and then thrown them on the heap. The workers have a right to the job, and to the machines and industries and products for which they alone are responsible. But what the unemployed need immediately to relieve their intensely difficult conditions, is work, work at union wages, work without the speed-up system, work without overtime. If the capitalist system cannot provide work, then it must be made to provide maintenance for the unemployed and their families.

To obtain this, the unemployed must fight. The working class never won anything by begging, crawling on its knees, or waiting passively. That holds true today more than ever. United action by the millions of workless, combined with the support of the workers who have jobs, will compel the capitalist class and its government to act. The latter cannot abolish unemployment, which is a natural outcome of the system but it can be made to relieve

some of the suffering if the workers will act militantly and in unison.

Councils of Unemployed

Every city must form its unemployment council, consisting of representatives of the jobless and of every possible labor organization, unions, etc., that is ready to fight in the common battle. A well laid organizational foundation for the movement will insure its strength. The workers must demonstrate their power and make their demands in masses in every city. Isolated disconnected demonstrations, or those organized on ten minutes notice without preparations, or those organized on a narrow basis which makes it impossible to reach the masses, are worse than worthless because they dissipate energy and discredit the movement.

The Communist International has set the date of March 6th for an international day for demonstrations against unemployment. There is much to criticize in the manner in which these demonstrations are being planned and organized by the Stalinists. The date has been set arbitrarily, at brief notice, without preliminary preparations that would insure its effectiveness. It has not taken into consideration the differing pace of development in the various countries. It has not taken into consideration the varying character of the labor movement in the different countries. The American unemployed worker is in a different economic position than the unemployed worker in England or Germany. In the United States, the development of the

Continued on page 2

Illinois Jobs Declined

CHICAGO—Though Pres. Hoover and the other loudspeakers have been shouting prosperity and industrial recovery the past two months, Illinois statistics are just as dead against these false federal claims as are those of New York state. The official Labor Bulletin says:

"The decrease in industrial activity which has been apparent throughout all sections of the state since last September was rendered still more pronounced by a 2.6% decline in employment in December. The manufacturing industries during the last three months have reduced their forces 6.1%, thereby losing all the advances made earlier in the year and bringing the index of employment down to 99.3, or about the same as the figure for December, 1928.

"The payroll totals for factory work declined 4.9% from November to December and for the first time during the year the payroll index went below that for the corresponding month of 1928."

The state department of labor reports the average wage for male factory workers as \$20.66 a week and for females \$17.30 a week. Not counting Chicago, the average was \$27.10 a week for males and \$13.23 a week for females.

Φ

BUILDING TRADES HIT IN D. C.

WASHINGTON—Harry Wardma, biggest building trades employer in the District of Columbia, announces that he is now paying only \$3,000 a week on construction payroll, as compared with \$20,000 a week one year ago. He says he will build no more apartments for a year, and that other contractors are in like situation.

Local building trades union officers agree that unemployment has been severe for the past four months

The Anti-Soviet Crusaders

The whole world of pious opium peddlers is agog with indignation over the latest decree on religious associations issued by the Soviet government. His Most Devout and Respected Holiness, Pope Pius XI, who holds communion with the son of god himself, has declared that "the horrible iniquities which have been committed grow worse every day". His Inspired Excellency, the Archbishop of Canterbury, seconded by his brother in Christ, the Archbishop of York, has bewailed the fact that "no one can question the truth of the long and shocking tale of imprisonment, exile and deliberate putting to death of prelates and parish priests, of monks and nuns and of the humblest folk". His Terrifying Eminence, Bishop William T. Manning, has urged that "the ministers of all faiths all over our land will speak in support of the protests which have been made and in condemnation of these wicked, cruel and inhuman deeds".

The Crime of the Soviets

What is this unspeakable, this new crime of which the Soviet Republic is guilty? The priests and parsons and rabbis of world capitalism are outraged at the "autocratic and brutal delimitation of religious liberties", this "trodding under foot of all moral values". What they are really concerned about is the fact that the Soviets are drastically cutting into the heritage of special privileges enjoyed by the religious parasites in Russia, privileges exercised at the price of the physical and mental welfare of 150,000,000 people that the Soviets are making it more and more difficult for the forces of capitalist restoration to utilize the churches and the priesthood for a basis against the Workers' Republic. So far as freedom of religious belief is concerned, there is no prohibition of that in the Soviet Republic, something which few if any other countries can maintain. Groups of one faith are permitted to associate together, under strict political limita-

tions which are calculated to prevent them from becoming instruments of reaction. What is prohibited is the ownership of special church property except that required for the exercise of their religious rites and worship; the transformation of religious institutions into financial or industrial establishments which would give the priesthood an economic stranglehold on its flocks; the enrollment of anyone under the age of 18, which would permit the "men of god" to poison the minds of the youth with superstitious and religious venom; functioning without registration at the local Soviet organ; etc., etc.

That atheist and materialist societies and groups conduct, in the meantime, an energetic campaign among the population any duty as well. Those who go among the people and help dispel the fog of darkness, reaction, ignorance and bigotry on which the various religious sects are founded are giving a mighty shove to the wheel of progress. That the Soviets not only tolerate, but encourage these materialist activities, is to their everlasting credit. What the priesthood fears more than anything else is an open discussion of religion and the church vs. materialism, for it knows that in such a contest the proletariat, armed with all modern science, must necessarily issue forth the victor. The fact that the Soviets and the Communist Party are the patrons of this campaign of enlightenment and progress raises them to a greater height than that attained by any progressive or revolutionary regime or party that history has known.

But let us assume for a moment—something which is far from the truth—that some of the black-robed leeches of religion have been damaged a little in the Soviet campaign to break the hold of superstition on the masses. Who are the ones that have a right or reason to condemn the Bolsheviks? Are they the prelates of the Catholic

Church, the institution that is built on the human skulls of millions, the masters of the Spanish Inquisition, the heroes of St. Bartholomew's eve massacre in France, the Church of corruption and speculation for centuries, the master prop of reaction at all times? Are they the shepherds of the innumerable protestant churches, the traducers of colonial peoples in the interest of imperialist piracy, the gentry that argued for the sacred foundations of Negro slavery in the United States, the pastors whose ancestors burned "witches" at the stake? Are they the representatives of Greek Catholicism, the right arm of czarism, the oppressor of Russia's "dark millions" for centuries, the haven of shamelessness and ignorance, of the "holy" Rasputin? Are they the priests of Jewry, the staunchest defenders of tolerance when they are the underdog and the most ruthless emissaries of a bloodthirsty Jehovah when they hold the whiphand?

Where were all these cardinals, bishops, rabbis, metropolitans, pastors, preachers, priests and beadles with a condemnation of the "wicked, cruel and inhuman deeds" of imperialism in cutting down a whole generation in its prime on the battlefields of France and Belgium? They were behind the lines, inciting their countrymen to slaughter each other in the name of Christ and Jahweh. Where were they all when czarism sucked the bloods of Russia's millions, when workers were massacred on the streets and their leaders sent to a living

death in Siberia? They were sanctifying the "little father". Where were they when the wolves of reaction encircled young Red Russia and sought to rend it to bits? They were eulogizing the "princes of peace": Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau. Where are they in every bitter struggle of the workers, in every strike, in every critical situation where the masses seek to liberate themselves from the murderous yoke of capitalism? They are on the side of the bosses, the capitalists, trying their best to disarm and weaken the militant proletariat by directing its eyes to a non-existent paradise that awaits them...when they are dead.

Let Bishop Manning, and the Archbishop of York, and the Pope of Rome, and Rabbi Glazer, and the rest of the gentlemen of god, turn their attention to the millions of unemployed who are on the verge of starvation, to the horrors of capitalist marauding, and all the other monstrosities of the present social system. They will not and cannot do it because they are an inseparable part of the system of rapine and class rule. Their task is not to help the workers free themselves, but to tie tighter the chains of wage slavery. That is why the Soviet Republic, which has struck the chains of slavery from the body of the Russian workingclass, will be considered by religion the principal blasphemy of the century, the unforgivable sin besides which adultery, patricide, hatred of one's neighbor, and any other violation of the commandments are easily and lightly condoned.

Unemployed Must Demand Work or Wages

Continued from Page 1

movement will necessarily be at a slower pace—unless it is to become a sectarian adventure. Up to now, no serious effort has been made to develop a united front movement. No effort has been made to mobilize the support of the organized and employed workers, who have a most direct interest in the position of the unemployed, in preventing them from becoming strike-breaking instruments, etc. In the U. S. particularly, the official Communist party has narrowed down the "preliminary demonstrations" to a handful of party members and a few jobless workers. Such a course dooms the movement to defeat in advance.

The movement must be organized and developed on the broadest basis that will make it capable of setting large masses in motion against the capitalist system and its institutions. Up to now, the "demonstrations" of the party have been bombastically heralded, held for a couple of hours and forgotten the next day. No serious movement has been created. Unless the helm is turned, there will be a repetition of this futility in the movement of the unemployed.

All Out on March 6th

Every worker, employed or unemployed, should join the demonstrations on March 6. An impressive display of working class determination must be presented everywhere on that day. The demands for "Work or Maintenance" must be put in the forefront. The banner of struggle against the infamous speed-up system must be raised. The demands of the unemployed must be few, direct, simple and capable of drawing the workers to the movement. The party, as usual, has drowned the important issues in a mass of subsidiary ones and issued a list of demands long enough to satisfy Moscow and cool the interest of the average worker.

The demonstrations can be made suc-

If the number on your wrapper is

33

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

cessful; they can become the point of departure for a serious and powerful movement. Every worker and labor organization must join the movement and prevent it from becoming a passing sensation or spectacle by helping to steer it on the right course.

The curse and misery of unemployment can be fought only by the active, unified power of the working class!

Detroit Prosperity

DETROIT—A report just issued by the Union Trust Co. of Detroit should make excellent reading for Sec. of Labor Davis and others who share his "prosperity" psychosis.

The report, pointing out that automobile production in 1929 exceeded that of all previous years, draws attention to the fact that this increase of 19.8% was accomplished with "an increase of only 3% in employment". "While this a result to which automobile manufacturers may very well point with pride" it is "one which is accompanied by an increasingly serious consequence—unemployment". They emphasize the latter with the announcement that "two of the largest automobile companies have recently given notice that casual laborers will not be employed".

Unemployment paralyzes a large section of the workers and low wages ravage the rest, but "retail food prices in Detroit were 4% higher Dec. 15, 1929 than a year previous. Cost of living...increased 2% in the period of Dec. 15, 1928 to Dec. 15, 1929."

The extensive unemployment among building trades workers is shown by the decrease of \$29,000,000 in volume of the building during 1929. "The value of building permits decreased 21.5% as compared with 1928". A chart published with the report shows a decline of nearly 50% in the value of building permits from "normal".

The report concludes with the not too hopeful statement that "optimism over 1930 operations in the industry is tinged with conservatism, and leaders are watching the buying trend closely...In spite of the substantial reductions being made in various groups of commodities the volume of business is not large."

Help Us to Sustain The Militant

A labor paper, particularly a revolutionary organ, does not receive the big advertisements and subsidies, without which a capitalist paper is unthinkable. The Militant is no exception to this rule. It must depend entirely upon readers and supporters for its existence and growth.

The Militant was founded because it fills a special and urgent need in the labor and revolutionary movements. It has been maintained by a group of devoted workers, who understand the value of adherence to the fundamental teachings of the great leaders of our movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These teachings are not strong if they are limited to small groups; they become a powerful weapon for labor liberation when they are made known to the whole working class—honestly and truthfully. This is the task set itself by the Militant.

This great work can be carried out effectively only if the existence of the Militant is secured. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish and strengthen a systematic SUSTAINING FUND. Such a fund will not only enable us to print a whole series of most valuable books and pamphlets. The Militant has on hand a number of manuscripts by L. D. Trotsky. They include: "What is the Permanent Revolution?" "The Struggle for the Chinese Revolution", "Europe and America", "The Great Organizers of Defeat: a Record of Five Years of the Comintern", and many others. If the SUSTAINING FUND of the Militant is assured, we can proceed to the immediate publication of these Bolshevik classics.

The sooner donations accumulate for the FUND, the more rapidly can we proceed with this important job. Every dollar counts doubly now. We are depending upon all our readers and friends to act with speed. The blank below is for your use. Fill it out now!

THE MILITANT
2525 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the Militant SUSTAINING FUND to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

City State

Passaic Strike Anniversary

Some Lessons in Militant Labor Leadership for the Future

By James P. Cannon

Experience is the capital of the labor movement no less than of other human enterprises. The generalization by which we steer toward Communism are not drawn out of thin air but are the concentrated experience of the international working class. Marxism established its place as the only valid theory of the proletariat because it alone stood this test. Experience is the laboratory of the science of revolution. Those who discovered and invent tactics without the aid of this laboratory and in defiance of it substitute guesswork for science and thereby confuse and weaken the workers' movement.

This is the present day practice. It accounts for the orgy of experimentation in all fields of activity which is running through the Party like a virulent influenza. The results of this guessing-game are very harmful for our experience, though limited is fresh and rich and much can be learned from it to the advantage of the workers' movement. Moreover there is no better nor easier way to teach the workers than by examples near at hand. American experience has a tenfold value for the education of the American workers, including the Communists. What we have we should treasure—and study.

The anniversary of the great Passaic strike which has just passed by the Party unnoticed is a case in point. That was the first large-scale experience of the Party in the direct organization of the workers for economic struggle; it was the biggest job was carried through in the most workmanlike and responsible manner. Would not the manifold experience of this strike be an excellent source of study for the industrial work of the Party today especially in regard to the organization of the unorganized.

Our leaders evidently do not think so. The Passaic strike occurred before the "Third Period". Therefore it doesn't count. Therefore, forget it; or, if it is mentioned at all, refer to it, as Browder did in an article some time ago, as a "shameful page in our history". Such a remark serves only to establish the measure of Browder. It does not in any way effect the validity of the methods employed in the Passaic strike. They stand out with conspicuous import and merit against the dubious tinkering which is being passed off by the Browders as trade union tactics.

The management of the Passaic strike was a brilliant illustration of the effectiveness of united front tactics which were, are and will be the heart and core of the Communist struggle for the masses. The united front, the guiding line in all phases of the direction of the Passaic strike was vindicated in all of them on a scale which looms colossal in contrast to the sad results which have followed its rejection.

A few of the outstanding features can be mentioned:

The strike was a genuine movement of the workers. The great majority of the workers employed in the mills were drawn into the struggle and held solidly together for months. It was a strike which paralyzed the mills and never had the character of a putch or flare-up. The masses were in it and behind it. The Communists held the unquestioned leadership although there was but a handful of Communists in the mills when the strike began. By their services and skill the Communists led the workers with a moral authority that needed no mechanical manipulation; moral authority which, in the final analysis, is the rock on which real leadership is based. Under such conditions every step, every turn in tactics required by changes in the situation, could be and were executed with the knowledge and consent of the masses of the strikers. Compare this demonstration of real leadership with some of the recent exploits and "forced marches" of the Party under the "new line", such as, for example, the disgraceful exhibition in the Illinois coal field. Cannot something be learned from this comparison?

The reactionaries were isolated and non-party forces effectively utilized in the Passaic strike. The reactionaries were busy with efforts to disrupt the Passaic strike no less than in others. But here the Communists by their tactic, cut the ground from under their feet and robbed them of all influence. The most important weapon in

this fight was the slogan of unity. This slogan has more power to move the masses than any other and in Passaic the Communists kept it always in their hands; and with it kept the leadership, despite all the machinations of the reactionaries. The Communists appeared before the strikers, as they were in fact, the champion of a united struggle, and thereby held their allegiance.

Side by side with this isolation of sabotaging representatives of the A. F. of L. there was a skillful and successful utilization of non-party elements in the leading bodies, both from the ranks of the strikers and from the outside. Notable among the latter was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. This practice contributed not a little to the broadening of the base of the leadership and the strengthening of its support from below. It is a prerequisite for success in mass organizations at the present stage of development in America. The problem presents itself in every struggle that breaks out of the narrow circle of immediate Party influence. The present leadership do not understand this. They cannot even find room for dissenting factions of the Communist movement in the unions they control. They knew no way to deal with the independent opinions of such an honest and influential militant as John Watt except to frame him up and throw him out. They do not know how to disarm and isolate reactionary disrupters with the slogan of unity. These are some of the reasons why they stage putches instead of real mass struggles like the Passaic strike.

The Passaic strike mobilized non-party mass support on a national scale. This was before the three million organized workers of America were given up as "social-fascists". The conservative trade unions were deeply penetrated with the issue of Passaic. The Left wing gained access to more unions on this occasion than on any other in its history with the exception of the Sacco Vanzetti campaign. Conferences on a scale for which the present day caricatures offer no standard of measurement were organized throughout the country. In many cases even the most conservative officials were forced into line by the sweeping appeal of the issue. Funds to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the support of the strike, which came through these conferences, were an indication of their mass support. All this work was most effectively stimulated by a vast propaganda conceived in terms of a mass movement. A weekly bulletin scattered broadcast, an illustrated pamphlet—even motion pictures—were employed to dramatize the struggle before the workers.

All this work and its results did much to popularize the Communists as serious workers in the labor movement. The Passaic strike, which was made known to everybody was a crushing answer in itself to the accusation that the "reds" are impractical theorists, who are incapable of constructive organization work. Communist ideas found a readier acceptance from workers who saw the Communists competently promoting and organizing such a big movement.

It will be worth while for the Communist and Left wing workers to compare this mobilization with the almost total lack of it in recent struggles led by the Party and to ask the reason for the difference. The answer lies primarily in the difference in the methods and conceptions. The results of the new tactics cannot bear comparison with the results of Passaic. But are not results the best criterion by which to measure tactics?

The Passaic strike movement was conducted without any advice from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This is mentioned not as a virtue, but as a state of affairs which the crusade against "Trotskyism" had brought about in the leading organ of the World Party. This was the biggest task our inexperienced Party had ever undertaken in the domain of mass work, and for this there was no international advice. The Comintern building was swarming with functionaries who had nothing else in the world to do but give advice and instructions, but in this case they had none. The Party had to go on its own resources. The E. C. C. I. about that time was burning up the cables with ambiguous decisions on such questions as the removal of Party headquarters from

Chicago to New York, but the Passaic strike was overlooked. Of course the Party was not entirely without help. It had the basic Lenin teaching on the united front which was not yet prohibited and this was sufficient. Lately the E. C. C. I. has remedied the neglect of Passaic and has been giving the Party much instruction on the trade union struggle. Unfortunately, it has all been bad.

Was the affiliation of the Passaic Union to the United Textile Workers a mistake in principle? This opinion is the contribution of Losovsky—after the event—and all the Party leaders, who were hot-foot for the action at the time, are wearing it like a second-hand halo. It is a not unimportant question, and one which, in the mutations of the struggle, may rise again. Therefore an answer is in order; and, for our part, in spite of Losovsky, or Zack, or even Browder, we say, no, it was not a mistake in principle. It was not even a mistake in tactics although, in the desire to keep alive the struggle which was at the point of exhaustion unnecessary concessions were made. To say that the affiliation amounted to a "betrayal" of the workers is childish nonsense that ignores all the facts. The strike was virtually at an end at the time. It had been prolonged for eight or ten months and the workers were simply worn out. If the affiliation to the U. T. W. had any effect at all it was to keep the remnants of the strike together during the negotiations until some of the mills made a sort of settlement with the organization.

The continuous proposals of the strike committee to affiliate with the U. T. W. were the weapon which isolated Hilfers (the A. F. of L. agent of disruption), enabled the strike appeal to wedge its way into the conservative unions and even compelled Green to withdraw his denunciation. Without a doubt it had a strong influence in holding the strikers' ranks solid month after month and in securing the funds to sustain them.

The withdrawal of Weisbord, the strike organizer, as a condition of affiliation, was a big concession, and a dangerous precedent to establish; but in the circumstances it had little effect. The Passaic union retained its local autonomy, the local leadership remained and the influence of the Party on the subsequent decisions was the same as before. The greatest error was the opportunistic manner in which the affiliation was carried out. This was particularly noticeable in the publicity of the strike committee which began to be tainted with defeatist apologies to the labor fakers. We had occasion to make several motions in the Political Committee to correct this line but these motions were all defeated with the help of those who now, characteristically enough, bawl loudest about "betrayal" of the strike. But the errors were incidental. It will be a disaster for the Left wing if it condemns the affiliation of a Left wing union to the A. F. of L. as a mistake in principle. Lenin's teaching and international experience refute such a contention.

* * *

The Foster leaders, appeal to the Communist workers to bury themselves in "mass work" and let controversy alone. Not a few comrades, eager for activity in the class struggle, have been caught on the hook of this false formula and their effectiveness as militants is thereby negated. Mass work is not simply an exercise to be gone through, like acrobatics, for its own sake. Bolshevik mass work is an art. Communists must study its underlying principles and make these principles their own.

There can be no better preparation for effective mass work than the evaluation and study of Party experiences in the light of Lenin's basic teachings. The high light of our experience in the industrial struggle was the Passaic strike. The Party will again enormously by a study of it and by a popularization of its lessons. The most important of these is the necessity of a return to the tactics of the united front as Lenin taught them. A serious investigation of the question will convince the American Communist workers of this. Then their mass work, their sacrifices and their courage will begin to bear fruit for Communism.

Φ

\$200,000,000 Profits and—Unemployment

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—Since last October the mills in Youngstown have run two to three days a week and some are now closed down. Now we are told that the bosses of the U. S. Steel Corporation are not satisfied with the two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) for the workers for 1929, and expect to make more by throwing workers into the streets.

The «Right to Think»

The monstrous hypocrisy and duplicity of the Lovestone Right wingers seems to have no bounds. Its latest manifestation is expressed in an article by Will Herberg entitled "Have Communists the Right to Think?" (Revolutionary Age, Feb. 1, 1930). Herberg is very much pained because "the present intolerable regime in the Communist International... meets every sign of initiative or ideological self-reliance with immediate threats of suppression or expulsion." He is also very much worried because the bourgeois intellectual world takes advantage of this unfortunate situation to attack Communism.

It's really too bad. But, my dear Herberg, who helped to erect this "intolerable regime"? Who laid the foundation for it in the American party? How long ago is it that you were participating in this "intolerable regime" and expelling comrades for "ideological self-reliance"?

Perhaps it would not be inopportune to quote a few of your directives which you wrote in an "Outline for Speakers on Trotskyism" in March 1929. Listen to this: "Trotskyism is incompatible with membership in a Communist Party". How differently you write today! "Moreover, though membership in a Communist Party implies agreement with certain broad fundamentals it does not follow that a comrade must agree with every implication or proposition of the Marxian world-view—or out he goes!" New times, new principles!

"Why we break up Trotskyist meetings—they are demonstrations against the Soviet Union of the same type as Monarchist, socialist demonstrations." Who knows? Perhaps here we have discovered the seed of the theory of social-fascism!

No Discussion, Say Lovestone-Foster

"The struggle against Trotskyism must be a struggle against all the 'immediate issues' that the Trotskyites raise: 'no discussion', 'freedom of discussion, of opinion', 'democracy' etc. We must completely expose all these artifices." Was it for this purpose, Herberg, that you wrote your article on whether Communists have a right to think? There must be no fraternization with the Trotskyites who must be treated as counter-revolutionaries." How heavy the past weighs down on us!

Hypocrisy, always an integral element of Lovestoneism, finds its highest expression in you, my dear Herberg. How much consideration for the right of Communists to think did you have when you executed that infamous dual maneuver—the N. E. C. acceptance of the Y. C. I. letter and the Polcom's statement against it? (Innocent Herberg—he was completely ignorant of the intrigues of Zam, chameleon Kaplan and Pepper.) How much regard for the right of Communists to think did you have when you concocted all the hocus-pocus about the Y. C. I. being a section of the Comintern like any other section, and therefore there was the right of one section (the American Party) to appeal against another section (the Y. C. I.)?

What contempt for the ability of Communists to think is contained in this abominable trickery to deceive the membership of the League. Yes, my dear Herberg, your duplicity was really ingenious—in accordance with the needs of the situation. Today you pursue this same line of duplicity. Only the situation has changed; therefore your line of duplicity has changed. The Communists will detect the false notes in your new crooning songs.

We have always advocated a free and open discussion of the points of view of the three tendencies in the Communist International; the Right (Bucharin-Lovestone-Brandler); the Center (Stalin-Foster, et al); and the Left (Trotsky, etc.). We proposed that this discussion be conducted within the Party in accordance with the procedure of inner-party democracy and in the spirit and practice of Lenin. You and Foster, disciples of Bucharin and Stalin, said no, and expelled us. Now the discussion of the views of the three political groups is nevertheless being conducted—but outside the bounds of the Party. This is not the best way. But the class struggle will not wait or stop at bureaucratic boundary lines, no matter who draws them. The discussion is here! Worker-Communists are exercising the right to think. With confidence, therefore, the Communist League, the Leninist-Bolsheviks, greet and prepare the future.

GEORGE RAY

Can Monopoly Capitalism Be Organized?

By Arne Swabeck

Herbert C. Hoover, the "engineer in politics" has again assured the "public" that economic conditions are "essentially sound". He sees a new upward trend. Undoubtedly this is not very assuring to the growing numbers of the millions already tramping the streets in vain search for a job.

There could perhaps be no better proof that the selection of the president of the United States is made entirely in accord with the interests and policies of the dominant imperialists. Prior to Nov. 1928, the coming lean period could be foreseen. A mediocre Coolidge would not do to carry the scepter. An engineer was required who could step forward and boldly carry out these policies, which, as the coming period will witness, have intimate relation with world shaking events.

Immediately the "Hoover prosperity" was made proverbial. At the beginning of this present crisis he set out on his first task—to restore "public faith". His economic conferences were heralded as the unfailing stabilizer. Did he set out to materialize the program of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, headed by himself, which summarized the problems of American capitalism as follows?

"To maintain the dynamic equilibrium of recent years is indeed a problem of leadership which more and more demands deliberate public attention and control. Research and study, the orderly classification of knowledge, joined to increasing skill, well may make complete control of the economic system a possibility."

If so, the answer can already be given categorically: Not until the capitalist system of production with all its cancers and conflicts is abolished will complete control of the economic system be a possibility. And then no more in the interest of the capitalist exploiters, but in the interest of the proletarian producers.

Opposition Platform Forecasts Present Crisis

The phenomenal rapid expansion of American imperialism during the last decade; the extreme rationalization of its industry; the gigantic development of productive forces, outstripping the expansion of the market; the immensely increased exploitation by speedup of the workers bringing in its wake an immense standing unemployed army; the reduction of skill and sharpened economic contradictions;—these have brought the first inevitable result in this present cyclic crisis.

We described this in our Communist (Opposition) platform, of April 1929, as a "growing disproportion between the rate of expansion of productive capacity and the rate of growth of production and consumption". We cited the index figures of production in big industry as having risen from 146 in 1919 to 171 in 1927 (1914 equals 100). The index figures for workers employed in big industry fell from 129 in 1919 to 114 in 1927 (1914 equals 100) although population growth for the same years was from 106 to 120 respectively (this includes the period of so-called prosperity). In addition there has been an influx into the ranks of the unemployed of declassed farmers. It has also been estimated by most economic authorities that during the last decade the improvement of machinery has increased the productivity of labor by 45%.

Hoover's Program

Hoover in stepping forward with his program for maintaining "economic balance" did not call upon Congress; but openly proclaimed where the real power lies by calling upon financiers and executives of the big corporations and banks. Compare for one moment this present arrogant dominance of American imperialism with the United States of pre-war days. President Roosevelt, also the "choice" of the Republican party, became the best possible public front to express and simultaneously to allay the large middle class suspicion and antagonism toward trust combination. Only under the shield of his "trust busting" program could the basis be laid well for the further rapid capitalist monopoly developments. The Sherman anti-trust law proved no real obstacle whatever.

Gigantic mergers have been on the order of the day ever since, yet representing only a fraction of such developments to come. The Interstate Commerce Commission proposal for merger of the existing railroads into 19 systems is but a begin-

ning. Monopoly capitalism has had its development par excellence in the United States. The great resources have been sufficient to keep the biggest enterprises solidly in the hands of private owners, without much need of the government taking over such functions, save such examples as the U. S. Shipping Board. The government could serve capitalism better by appearing to stand separate and to maintain the illusion of "democratic regulation of relations of production". Now the first actual tendencies are indicated toward the higher stage of development—toward state capitalism. Not, of course, in the same forms, ramifications and methods of developing state capitalism of the fascist state in Italy, nor even the forms of the actual tendencies toward state capitalism in Germany; but rather as one capitalist economic writer "hopefully" puts it in the *Forbes Magazine*: "An experiment of social control of business... as a substitute for the utter anarchy which in the past characterized the government of industry... with a new code of rationalized co-ordination and stabilization in the interest of the larger economic group".

Capitalism Can Only Intensify Anarchic Production

The first steps in the direction of this "experiment", the most important aspect of the Hoover economic conferences, gives to the building program the role mainly of the public front. The projected economic council, now being formed, is to become the experimental instrument. It can be expected to have far reaching powers; but the mere shouting of "fascist council" without full understanding of the process becomes empty chatter, despite the fact that fascist methods will be employed against the workers in an increasing degree.

An Opposition Group in Mexico Formed

The International Communist Opposition lives and grows! All the lies, slander, concealment and terror of the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot prevent its extension. A little while ago, we announced the formation of the first Opposition group in Latin America, organized by members of the Argentine Communist Party. Today we are able to announce the second: the Opposition group in Mexico, directed by comrade Rosalio Negrete of Mexico City, member of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League who has recently been expelled for his Opposition viewpoint. Comrade Negrete was in New York City some time ago on Party work, and came to speak with the comrades of the Communist League (Opposition) here. Plans were laid for the carrying on of work for the principles of the International Opposition in Mexico. At the first sign of this activity, the hopelessly Menshevik leadership of the Mexican party, the subservient ally of the Calles regime for years, expelled Negrete and other leading and active comrades. The Mexican party has been virtually wiped out, betrayed by its leaders (Galvan, etc.) and unable to mobilize support to fight the governmental repression. The Opposition is attempting to mobilize the dispersed Communist elements and help strengthen a proletarian revolutionary movement in Mexico, instead of the confused "workers and peasants" party that has been masquerading as Communist in Mexico for years.

The fury of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the U. S. and Mexico has exceeded all bounds at this new development. The *Daily Worker* has been surpassing itself in falsehood by trying to identify the Communist Opposition with the Right wing which has organized the "governmental (!) Communist Party" (Bach, Monzon and other Mexican friends of Lovestone and Company). A recent statement in the *Worker* by Hernan Laborde, secretary of the Mexican party repeats the calumnious lie that comrade Negrete collected money to be sent to Lovestone here! Needless to say, our Mexican comrades have no connection with Lovestone or any other Right wing group.

It is interesting to note that comrade Diego Rivera, one of the most notable leaders of the Communist movement in Latin America for years, has issued a statement supporting the International Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, denoun-

ing degree.

What are the prospects of this experiment, this attempt to institute "social control for the utter anarchy in the government of industry"? The present crisis and its consequences are the answer to developments to date. Moreover, the whole history of development of productive forces under capitalism points to the inevitable conclusion that precisely this which is aimed for "social control of business", based as it is upon further expansion of productive capacity, instead of becoming a substitute for, becomes the lever to further increase anarchy in production as a whole. Instead of decreasing or doing away with present contradictions, "social control of business", which in the capitalist system could only mean strengthening of the control of one class—the capitalist class—will increase and sharpen the contradictions both within the country and in the international sphere. The question, however, just how this "experiment" will appear in the United States and the possible manifestations of its effects, both in general and upon further working class developments are of particular interest to Communists. Lenin and Trotsky combat Bucharin's and Stalin's Economic Theories

Between the Center and the Right (the Stalinists and the Bucharin, Brandler-Thalheimer, Lovestone, etc. group) of the Communist movement a battle of quotations is now taking place on this problem of effects of capitalist developments in the post war period—monopoly capitalism with its tendencies toward state capitalism. Both sides quote Marx and Lenin profusely for their own ends. The Center quite easily proves the similarity of the reformist position of the Right wing to that of the socialist imperialists of the Second International. The basic proof

wing and maintaining his complete disassociation from the latter. The tiny group of atio from the latter. The tiny group of Stalinist leaders are of course still trying the farcical game—learned from Earl Browder—of insisting that Bach, Negrete, Monzon and Rivera are in one and the same camp. Naturally, there is neither an ounce of truth or sense in this declaration. The comrades of the Mexican Opposition are moving forward to Communism—not to social democracy and class collaboration. Bach, Monzon and Co. are in the camp of Calles-Gil-Rubio. Our comrades are in the ranks of the International Revolution.

GASTONIA STOOLPIGEON GOT HIS

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Claim has been filed with the state industrial commission for compensation for the death of Marvin Johnson, detective, employed by Gaston county to act as stoolpigeon on Lory mill strikers held in jail following the Aderholt shooting.

Jailers who threw tear gas bombs into the strikers' cells to stop them from singing, forgot Johnson was among them. He contracted a pulmonary disease, it is claimed, from which he died.

AMERICAN PLAN MEANS 55 CENTS FOR MACHINISTS

DETROIT—American plan, so-called, blooms to perfection in the Smiley Machine Co. plant in Detroit. Skilled machinists are getting 55c an hour and working 51 1-2 hours a week. One mechanic, a belt repair man and millwright, has worked with the firm nine years, but still gets 55 cents. The foreman employed there for 15 years, gets 85 cents.

MINERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE PART OF STEEL TRUST GOLD THEY PRODUCED

HIBBING, Minn.—Net profits of almost \$200,000,000 taken last year by U. S. Steel are not reflected in the mining industry on the Messaba range where most of the steel trust's ore is mined. Wages in the mines are only \$4.20 a day.

NEW YORK—French navy men were thrown on the Ile de France, crack French liner, when seamen struck in the port of seamanship the French line decided to Le Havre. After a taste of the navy men's grant concessions to the strikers.

we have ever done in this field; and it advanced by Bucharin in his book, "Economic Theories of the Transition Period", published in 1920. This whole opportunist theory of Bucharin, which did not then in the least prevent his leadership of the Leftists supported by Pepper who also then posed as a Left, was criticized by Lenin at the time. Trotsky has never been sparing in his criticism of Bucharin's opportunism; but from the Stalin regime nothing was heard. Nay, more, this opportunist theory was the basically accepted theory of the Right-Center bloc, one of its expressions being "socialism in one country" with the kulaks gradually developing into socialism, already nine-tenths attained! The Leninist opposition to this theory was expelled and exiled. The international character of the revolution was forgotten. Its international development and organization became subjected to opportunist combinations on top with the betrayers of the British general strike, the Purcells and Hicks in the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee; with the hangers-on of the Chinese proletariat, the Chiang Kai-Sheks in the "four class government".

The position of social democracy on the development of monopoly capitalism and tendencies toward state capitalism, given its classical expression by Hilferding, can be summarized into: A new era of transition from competitive capitalism into organized capitalism overcomes the anarchy inherent in the former; then the further transformation into an economy directed by the democratic state. From organized capitalism to socialism (!!) The Socialist Party in the United States, although it can still afford to pose in some respects as a Left wing within the Second International, being yet far away from governmental responsibilities, takes essentially the same position in greeting the Hoover economic conferences as something the socialists have always advocated. Lovestone and Bucharin Approach Social Democracy's Views

The sharp gravitation of the Bucharin-Lovestone Right wing toward the Hilferding position is, of course, clear. It is swinging from the view of recognizing external contradictions on a world scale by development of monopoly capitalism, but eliminating internal contradictions, to the view of overcoming anarchy in production by organized capitalism.

Says Lovestone in *Revolutionary Age* (No. 2).

"The plethora, the superabundance of capital in the country—the basic cause of the panic (stock crash)—brought on a condition of the most serious dislocation between the security stock and the fundamental conditions of the capitalist productive economy..." (!)

A mere dislocation from the "sound" economy—and further:

"The panic in Wall Street did not come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy. It came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy (!) magnifying and sharpening the contradictions of world capitalism" (emphasis in original).

Bucharin says in his book "Economics of the Transition Period", published in 1920:

"Finance capital has destroyed the anarchy of production within the countries of large scale capitalism. Monopolistic associations of enterprises, the combined enterprises and the penetration of finance capital into industry created along the unorganized capitalist system a new type of production relations, turn of goods exchange into a financial-capitalistic organization."

The Centrist Phrases and the Results

Yet today the Centrists, all their declarations notwithstanding, continue to repeat parrot-like supposedly revolutionary phrases devoid of the content which will secure a mass basis. They proceed with their false concept of "revolutionary unions" rejecting possible labor party developments isolating the Communists from the basic section of the working class; they thus negate the correct analysis of growing gigantic contradictions with its opportunities for growing mass contact and for laying the foundation for a class movement of the American workers. The "Left" policy of the leadership still represents the strategic conjectures from which sprang the opportunist tactics of yesterday.

The growing capitalist contradictions of the imperialist stage will be taken up in another article in the next issue of the Militant.

Throughout the World of Labor

The Stalinization of the Mexican Party

The Communist Party of Mexico is no exception to the general crisis in the Comintern. For many years it was but a very small organization with little ideological foundation and an extremely weak organization. Due to the general development of the petty bourgeois and agrarian revolution, the party from the time of its foundation was permeated with more of a peasant's than worker's ideology, and its press always had a greater circulation among the peasantry than in the industrial centers. It was common in those times to hear members of the party Central Committee state that the Mexican Revolution and the Russian Revolution were almost the same thing. The party comrades were always the first to applaud the liberal petty bourgeois measures of the "Leftists" in the government, giving to these elements an almost unconditional support. Almost all of the party's work among the masses was done under some disguise or another, and party candidates never took part in elections although numerous party members occupied government posts as "agrarians", "laborites", "anti-clericals", etc.

At the time of the Sixth World Congress, the third period was discovered, and immediately the party right-about turned and loped off at the double quick. All of the reforms instituted by the government of the petty-bourgeoisie, which had until then been considered revolutionary gains, were now denounced as counter-revolutionary. The sell-out of the government to American imperialism, meant that the bourgeoisie had "betrayed" the revolution, and it became a crime over-night for any party member to even sustain personal relations with anyone at all in the government, with which the party had so recently collaborated. It became then the chief earthly desire of every member, to see how often he could be arrested. Even the Mexican section of the I. L. D. converted itself into a simple instrument for attacking the government, driving itself into illegality before the party.

The party press, taking advantage of the objective revolutionary situation created by the bourgeoisie's capitulation to imperialism and the struggle between the government and reaction, announced that the proletarian revolution was at hand. The masses were called upon to seize the factories and the land; all power was demanded for the soviets (there were no soviets, and the party did not give instructions as to their organization—but these are only "details"). Many of us, intoxicated by the excitement of the moment, impressed by the unrest among the peasantry, and over-estimating the strength of the party, did not take into account the fact that there was not a single local of the party or Y.C.L. that was not in disorganization at the time. Fortunately for the Mexican workers and peasants, the C. C. talked and shouted until what was considered the moment for action had passed by. The government of the bourgeoisie, aided by Wall Street, managed to hold its seat and since then has dedicated its attention to the consolidation of its power.

The Communist Party, which due to its romanticism had already slackened up its fundamental work among the masses in order to dream of insurrections, now found itself deserted by the masses that formerly had looked to it for leadership.

Then the expulsions began. First came the agrarian leaders of the National Peasants League who are mostly elements that never should have been admitted into a Communist Party, because of the petty-bourgeois class interests that they represent. Shortly after, with the arrival of two "Third Period experts" in the form of the C. I. and Y. C. I. representatives, the true Stalinization of the organization began. Tendencies and deviations were discovered in the most unlooked for places, and where they were not discovered they were invented. Two ex-Right wingers that came as reps had to make themselves shine in Moscow. The political guillotine commenced to function with extraordinary regularity and precision cutting both to the right and to the left. Almost a dozen C. C. members of the party and many of its rank and file have been expelled since last Sep-

tember. The last victim was Jose Gallardo, General Secretary of the Y. C. L. who was sacrificed last week because his report given in Moscow, where he attended the plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I., concerning the organizational strength of the Mexican party did not agree with the report rendered by the C. I. representative in Mexico.

Together with the "cleaning of the ranks" on the part of the C. C. has come an intensified repression on the part of the government. At a moment when the party's influence among the industrial workers is zero, and its influence over the peasantry has dropped more than sixty percent, the Y. C. I. representative together with S., the party C. C. Representative in the C.C.Y.C.L. "discovered" that anti-militarist work was not being carried on in Mexico. Half a dozen circulars were sent out demanding an eight hour day for the soldiers and calling on them to form regimental committees, and to send their officers to Hell. This was done in an abstract manner and without any relationship to movements among the proletarian masses. The concrete result was a general repression on the part of the government against the Y.C.L. organizations of the eight largest centers, including the imprisonment of most of the C. E. C. of the Y. C. L.; disorganization of all national youth work and also all youth work in the capital. Ten foreign comrades were expelled from the country and five natives have been interned in the penal colony of the Islas Marias. During these recent repressions, the "bolshhevized" party has not been able to carry out a single real mass protest. It is also of interest to note that the valiant M., the Y. C. I. Representative, found that this was the best time to leave the country, which he did without even notifying the C.E.C.s of the Party or the League. For six weeks now the Mexican Y. C. L., which a short while ago was stronger than the party, has been unable to budge. Even its funds have been confiscated by the C. E. C. of the party. Money is scarce and the bureaucrats must eat.

This is, briefly, the situation existing today in the Mexican Communist movement. Since the beginning of the "third period", with the "radicalization of the masses," the Mexican party has lost eighty percent of its membership, most of its mass influence and contacts, and its weekly organ "El Machete". It is now almost completely "bolshhevized". With a few score more members that get disgusted or are thrown out, it will be completely so.

The task of the Communist Opposition, of recent formation and still in its infancy organizationally and politically, consists in saving what is left of the party and Y. C. L. organization, regenerating the movement along true Bolshevik-Leninist lines. The saner elements of the party and youth realize this, and by one means or another we shall manage to build up in Mexico a real Communist Party, capable of leading the proletariat in its struggles.

Mexico City, February 8, 1930

ROSALIO NEGRETE

Mondism and Unemployment Grow in England

While MacDonald pursues his "world policy of disarmament and peace", like a great spectacle and with loud accompaniment, the trade union leaders are more discreetly pursuing their policy of class collaboration, the effects of which will be unfortunately more tangible and lasting: they are plunging more and more deeply into "Mondism".

Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) is of course no negligible power by himself: he runs the imperial trust of chemical products whose domain increases without end. Still, his influence covers one industry. The big employers' organizations, which embrace most of the other industries invited by him to participate in the negotiations, begun upon his initiative, with the trade union leaders, have replied negatively. Not that they have not understood their interest in assuring conditions of a permanent social peace by the treason of the trade union leaders. They want to deal directly with them and disdain the good offices of Sir Alfred Mond. And that is what they are just about to do.

Preparatory meetings have been held in which there participated delegates of the national confederation of the employers' or-

ganizations, the Federation of British Industries, and delegates from the General Council of the Trade Unions. Towards the end of last December, a plan of consultation and cooperation was unanimously adopted, which established permanent and cordial relations between the representatives of the employers and the workers. "This in itself is something new", observed the Times. And it saw a striking proof of the change of mind that has taken place on the side of the workers in the fact that the resolution was proposed and defended by A. J. Cook himself, seconded by a representative of the confederation and a representative of the employers' Federation.

The organ of The City is entirely correct. But this new state of mind prevails primarily in the upper circles. The workers offer no resistance. They have not yet been able to overcome the demoralization engendered by the great defeats of 1926 and there is nobody and no organization to help them recover, for the Communist Party has been unable to gain their confidence; it has been unable to gain their confidence; it has not even been able to keep the thousands of workers who have flowed into its ranks.

In the meantime, the conditions of life of the workers remain difficult; they have not been improved under the Labour government; they have grown worse. Various corporations have imposed reductions in wages and unemployment has continued to grow. Here are the figures, from 1924 to 1929, on the date of December 16, for each of the years:

19241,158,000
19251,102,400
19261,309,700
19271,100,000
19281,271,000
19291,303,600

The bourgeoisie has no recognition for the men who betray their class in order to serve it. With the bankruptcy of the Labour government in this field before it, it overwhelmed with sarcasm the man who, in the ministry, is in charge of unemployment, J.H. Thomas forgetting the services that he has rendered it in the past. It is known that Thomas at first undertook an unsuccessful voyage to Canada to dispose there of the unemployed and coal at the same time. Today, he looks for the remedy in England itself. In the speech he has just made at Manchester, he denounced the chaos that still prevails in the principal British industries and declared that the rationalization of these industries must be undertaken methodically. He promised the industrialists the financial aid of the City. Towards this end, the Bank of England has created a private company called "Industrial Securities Management, Ltd.", the province of which is the establishment and examination of projects for rationalization and the contribution of financial aid to realize them.

This may yield results, for in the realm of rationalization, England is still very backward, even though fusions of concerns are frequently announced. It is hoped that in this way England will be in a position to fight under better conditions on the market and will be able to regain its lost outlets. That is possible. But on the other hand, rationalization has everywhere the effect of appreciably reducing the workers employed so that in the final analysis, there is no sign that these measures, assuming that they are seriously applied, can produce the remedy sought for unemployment.

On the other hand, the "financial aid of The City" signifies that the reorganization of industry will take place under the direction of the Bank of England, outside of all "meddling" from the State. It actually means full power ceded to the Bank in a field of capital importance. Thomas has spoken of a "new epoch", in which order is being substituted for chaos. But in the New Leader, Brailford observes that "the most singular feature of this 'new epoch' lies in the fact that it is a Labour ministry—which it opponents call socialist—that is opening it." He remarks that the initiative did not proceed from Thomas himself, but from the financial powers whose instrument he is, and he recalls that the Liberal project for reorganizing industry did not abdicate quite so completely to the Bank, for it confided the direction of this substantial enterprise to a "council of national development" and thus approached the project elaborated by the Labour party before the formation of a Labour cabinet. London, January 28 1930 —S. D.

After the French Socialist Congress

The socialist party in being disturbed a bit about the problem of participation (in a bourgeois cabinet—Ed.). Formally, it is a question of knowing if the socialist party can participate from now on in a cartel ministry. In other words: can the socialist party exercise capitalist power under such conditions that it will not even be able to realize its minimum program?

This problem is not peculiar to the French section of the Socialist International alone; it is raised for the whole international social democracy. Furthermore, the reply given to this question has already been given in the attitude of the principal parties of the Second International which are exercising capitalist power. The German social democracy is ruling for the German bourgeoisie. English Labourism rules for the king and the English bourgeoisie. Both display all their duplicity in order to enable capitalism to pass through a difficult stage, and by trying to bind the working class to bourgeois interests, to show the workers that their interests lie in class collaboration and the "re-establishment" of capitalism. It is certain that the French socialists are destined to play the same role. But their relative weakness, their insufficient roots in the working masses, have prevented them up to now from playing this role in the government, as they already play it in all countries, in economic conflicts, in municipalities, in the Chambers, etc.... The problem of participation has already been partially resolved in practise.

The real fear of workers' discontent and of the Communist Party also exists for many, in the attempt at a legal "opposition" that the socialist Left is making in the North and Center.

At the Sunday Congress, the socialists discussed it in a very academic manner which reflected their numerous internal and external contradictions. The Right wing, led by Boncour and Renaudel, wanted the party to admit immediately the necessity and direct possibility of sharing power with the other parties of the "democracy", that is, with the Radical party. The "Centrists", like Leon Blum and Auriol, as well as the "Left" of Paul Faure and Zyromski, acknowledge the same possibility. But they want to choose the moment when to translate it into facts, and for that the present legislature does not seem to them so favorable. In 1932 we will see. The latter carried by a strong majority. But the contradiction will not continue to exist any the less between the quite radical petty bourgeois wing of the party and the workers' sections which the "Left" still retains.

This Left thinks that at the next elections, the socialist party will show such progress that it alone will be able to direct the "democracy" and that it will be able to assume power with an authority that it has not yet today. The Temps is of the same opinion. It calls this congress ironically: a revolutionary congress. That is to indicate that if it really wants to become a governing party, even in coalition, the socialist party must extend its clientele and also lose its "revolutionary" character, that is, quite simply to abandon its "Marxist" label which no longer corresponds to anything and can only embarrass it.

The victory of the socialist Left at the Congress in the Jean-Jaures Gymnase shows that the majority of the party still believes in its labels and its program of social revolution, and that it hopes to follow the open road of the Austrian social democracy: increase its members and its influence up to the time when it will represent the majority of the nation.

The crisis in the Communist Party, the decline of the confidence that the workers put in it, does not permit one to reckon that this situation will be exploited to the full in favor of the proletariat. However, a situation favorable to the gathering of the working masses on a revolutionary basis may assume form. At the present moment, the Communist movement needs sincere, courageous and devoted cadres without which a new favorable situation will escape Paris, January 31, 1930.

—JA VERITE

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

«No Agreements with the Reformists»

But there is another important tactical deduction from the "Third Period", which Molotov expresses in these words: "Now more than at any other time the tactic of coalition between the revolutionary organizations and the organizations of the reformists is inadmissible and harmful", (*Pravda* No. 177, August 4, 1929).

Agreements with the reformists are inadmissible now "more than at any other time". Does it mean that they were inadmissible before too? How then shall we explain the whole policy of the years 1926-1928? And precisely why have agreements with the reformists, inadmissible in general, become particularly inadmissible now? Because, they explain to us, we have entered a period of revolutionary ascent. Yet we cannot but recollect that the conclusion of a bloc with the General Council of the British trade unions was motivated at the time precisely by the fact that England had entered a period of revolutionary ascent, and that the radicalization of the British working masses pushed the reformists to the Left. By what incident is yesterday's tactical super-wisdom of Stalinism stood on its head? We would look in vain for a solution to the riddle. It is quite simple: the empiricists of Centrism burned their hands on the experiment of the Anglo-Russian Committee and with a strong oath they want to guard against scandals in the future. But an oath will not help, for our strategists have not yet understood the lessons of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

The mistake was not in making the episodic agreement with the General Council, which was actually going "Left" in that period (1926) under the pressure of the masses. The first mistake was in the fact that the bloc was concluded not on concrete practical tasks clear to the working class but on general pacifist phrases and falsely diplomatic formulas. The chief mistake, however which grew into a gigantic historical crime, lay in the fact that our strategists could not immediately and openly break with the General Council when it turned its weapons against the general strike, that is, when it turned from an unreliable semi-ally into an open enemy.

The influence of the radicalization of the masses on the reformists is quite similar to the influence that the development of a bourgeois revolution has on the liberals. In the first stages of the movement of the masses the reformists move Leftward, hoping in this way to retain the leadership in their hands. But when the movement overflows the limits of reform and demands from the leaders an outright break with the bourgeoisie, the majority of the reformists sharply change their tone. From cowardly fellow-travellers of the masses, they turn into strike-breakers, enemies, open betrayers. At the same time, however, part of them, consisting not entirely of their better elements, jump over into the camp of the revolution. An episodic agreement with the reformists, at the moment when under the influence of conditions, they happen to be compelled to make a step or a half-step forward, may be unavoidable. But it must be understood, beforehand that the Communists are ready to break mercilessly with the reformists the moment they take a jump backward. The reformists are betrayers not because they carry out, at every given moment and in every one of their acts, the direct instructions of the bourgeoisie. If that is how the matter stood, the reformists would have no influence on the workers, and consequently would not be needed by the bourgeoisie. Precisely in order to have the necessary authority for the betrayal of the workers at the decisive moment, the opportunists are compelled at the preparatory period to assume the leadership of the workers' struggles, particularly at the beginning of the process of the radicalization of the masses. From here follows the necessity of the united front tactic, in connection with which we are compelled for the sake of a broader unification of the masses to enter into practical agreements with their reformist leaders.

It is necessary to understand the historic function of the social-democracy as a whole in order to force them step by step out of all their positions. The present leadership has not even a trace of such an understanding. It knows only two methods: either, in the spirit of the Brandlerites, to drag at the tail of the social democracy

(1926-1928), or by identifying social-democracy with Fascism, to substitute helpless abuse for revolutionary policy. As a result of the zig-zags of the past six years, we have the strengthening of the social democracy and the weakening of Communism. The mechanical directives of the Tenth Plenum can only serve to worsen the already sufficiently damaged situation.

Only a hopeless ignoramus can imagine that due to the miraculous power of the "Third Period", the working class as a whole will turn away from the social democracy driving the whole reformist bureaucracy into the camp of Fascism. No, the process will develop by more complicated and contradictory roads. A growing dissatisfaction with the Social Democratic government in Germany, with the Laborites in England, the transformation of partial and isolated strikes into mass movements, etc., (when all these developments actually do take place,) will have as their unavoidable consequence—we propose to all the Molotovs to carve it on their noses!—a **Leftward turn** of very wide circles of the reformist camp, just as the inner process in the U. S. S. R. necessitated the Leftward swing of the Centrist camp—to which Molotov himself belongs.

The social democrats and those of the Amsterdam International with the exception of the more conscious Right wing elements (types like Thomas, Herman Mueller, Renaudel, etc) will be compelled, under corresponding conditions, to assume the leadership of the advance of the masses—it is understood, only in order to confine these advances within narrow limits, or in order to attack the workers from the rear when they will overstep these limits. Although we know that in advance, and openly warn the vanguard about it, nevertheless, in the future there will still be tens, hundreds and thousands of cases when the Communists will not only be unable to refuse practical agreements with the reformists, but will have to take the initiative in such agreements in order, without letting the leadership out of their hands, to break with the reformists the moment they turn away from shaky allies into open betrayers. This policy will be unavoidable primarily in regard to the Left Social Democracy, which during an actual radicalization of the masses, will be compelled to oppose the Right wing more decisively, even to the point of a split. This perspective in no way contradicts the fact that the head of the Left Social Democracy most often consists of the most degraded and dangerous allies of the bourgeoisie.

How is it possible to refuse practical agreements with the reformists in those cases where, for instance, they are leading strikes? If there are very few of such cases now, it is because the strike movement itself is very weak as yet and the reformists can ignore and sabotage it. But with the drawing into the struggle of great masses, agreements will become unavoidable for both sides. It is just as impossible to block the way for practical agreements with the reformists—not only with the Social Democratic mass, but in many instances also with their leaders or what is more likely with part of the leaders—in the struggle against Fascism. This perspective may turn out to be not very far off, not only in Austria but also in Germany. The directives of the Tenth Plenum are simply a result of the psychology of opportunists scared to death.

The Stalins, Molotovs, and the other allies of yesterday of Chiang Kai Shek, Wang Chin Wei, Purcell, Cock, Fimmen, LaPolette and Raditch, will undoubtedly raise the cry that the Left Opposition stands for a bloc with the Second International. These cries, as soon as the real Leftward swing of the working class takes the bureaucrats unawares, will not prevent the pronouncement of a fourth period, or a second stage of the third, and all the Molotovs will enter at least with "both feet" into an epoch of opportunist experiments like the Anglo-Russian Committee and the workers and peasants Kuo Min Tang.

Do Not Forget Your Own Yesterday

Let the present leaders of the French Communist Party, just as, by the way, all the other Parties in the International recall their own still fresh history. All of them, with the exception of the Youth, came from the ranks of the reformists un-

By L. D. Trotsky

der the influence of the Leftward swing of the workers. That did not prevent us Bolsheviks from entering into agreements with the Leftward moving reformists, putting very precise conditions to them. One of these innumerable agreements was, for instance, Zimmerwald. Whence, this self-satisfied confidence of the social-patriots of yesterday, that the masses, when they actually approach the "advanced positions of the revolutionary rise," will not bring forward a new shift of Cachins, Monmousseaus, Thaelmanns, and others, (the second edition, let us hope, will be better than the first)—and that we shall not be men by the ears into revolutionary position compelled once more to pull these gentlemen, entering with them into episodic agreements, putting before them, in later stages, 21 and perhaps 42 conditions, or on the contrary, throwing them overboard with their heads into the mud of opportunism, when they start to draw back?

The official theoreticians quite falsely explain the present strengthening of the Right wing in Communism by the fact, that the "inner" reformists got scared of the radicalization of the masses. Here is a complete misunderstanding of political psychology! Opportunism presupposes a very great elasticity and ability for adaptation. If a mass pressure were felt, the Brandlers, Jileks and Lovetones would have moved to the Left and not to the Right, particularly such worn-out careerists as Sellier, Garchery, and others who are concerned primarily with the retention of their legislative mandates. It is true, the capacity of opportunists for moving Leftward is not unlimited. When the Rubicon—the decision, the uprising—is reached, the majority of them jumps back to the Right wing. This was proved by the experience of even so tempered a Party as the Bolshevik (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Kalinin, Tomsky, Lunacharsky and others). After the victory, the opportunists once more moved "Left", or more correctly to the side of power (Léonovsky, Martinov, Kussinen and others, and following them, such heroes as Pepper, Cachin and Frossard). But in France matters are far from having reached a decision. And if the French opportunists do not go Leftward at present, but jump to the Right, then this in itself is a true sign that the revolutionary pressure of the masses is not felt, that the Party is growing weak, and the municipal and other careerists hope to retain their mandates by coming out against Communism.* The desertions of such rotten elements is in itself a gain for the party. But the misfortune lies in the fact that the at one and the same time false, irresponsible, adventurist self-praising and cowardly policy of the official leadership creates a very favorable cover, for the deserters and pushes towards them proletarian elements whose place should be in the Communist ranks.

Once More on War Danger

In order to worsen this tangle the recognition of an immediate revolutionary situation is multiplied by the announcement of just as immediate a war danger. In defense of this thesis, Molotov unexpectedly directed the full power of his knowledge against Varga, the well-known theoretician courtier, the Shakespearean Polonius who is inclined to say something agreeable to every "prince," Right or Left, depending upon the state of weather. This time however, Polonius did not hit the mark. His very acquaintance with the foreign press, with facts and figures, prevented his timely replacement of the meridian of the Comintern at the place where Molotov stepped with his left leg. Varga brought into the resolution the following political correction:

"The sharpening of imperialist contradictions which not one of the major imperialist countries considers at present sensible to decide by way of war, compels them to attempt temporary conciliation of these contradictions in the sphere of the reparations question."

It would seem that this ultra-careful phrase is absolutely irrefutable. But as it nevertheless, demanded some additional strain of thought, Molotov was completely exasperated. How can one think,—he yelled—that not one of the main imperialist powers does not consider it sensible at present to decide the imperialist contradictions by way of war? "It is known to everyone (!)"

listen, listen: Molotov is talking!—"It is known to everyone that the danger of a new imperialist war is growing every day." Nevertheless, Varga "sees the contrary". Isn't it monstrous?—How does Varga dare "deny that precisely as a result of the execution of the Young reparations plan, the sharpening of contradictions are unavoidable". . .

All this is so absurd, so primitively stupid, that it even disarms irony. "It is known to everybody, that the danger of new imperialist war grows daily." What power of thought! Known to everybody? Unfortunately, this is known only to a small percent of humanity, just as the newly-appeared leader of the Comintern does not know at all how the growth of the war danger proceeds in reality. It is absurd that it increases "daily" just as it is absurd that the masses go further to the Left daily. We have before us a dialectical process with temporary weakening of imperialist friction and their new growth. Molotov may have heard that even the development of the productive forces of capitalism, the most basic of all its processes, does not quite take place "daily" but through crises and rises, through periods of the drop of the productive forces, and even their mass destruction (during war). Along these lines develop also the political processes, but with still sharper convulsions.

In 1923 the reparation problem led to the occupation of the Ruhr. This was an outright staging of war on a small scale. But this scale appeared sufficient to create a revolutionary situation in Germany. The Comintern, directed by Zinoviev and Stalin, and the German Communist Party, led by Brandler, wrecked this exceptional opportunity. The year 1924, which brought the Dawes Plan, was a year of **weakening** of the revolutionary struggle in Germany and started the softening of contradictions between France and Germany. This is how the political prerequisites for economic stabilization were created. When we stated this aloud, or more correctly, when we predicted this development at the end of 1923, Molotov and the other wise ones, accusing us of liquidationism, immediately entered confidently into a period of revolutionary ascent.

The years of stabilization brought forth new contradictions and sharpened a series of old ones. The question of the revision of the Dawes plan rose in all its sharpness. Had France or Germany refuse to accept the Young Plan, Europe would have been confronted today with a repetition of the Ruhr occupation, but on a far wider scale, with the consequences following from it. But precisely this is lacking. All the participants in the game considered it wiser at the present moment to come to an agreement, and instead of a second Ruhr occupation, we see a cleaning up of the Ruhr district. Ignorance is characterized by the mixing up of things, knowledge though begins with their differentiation. Marxism has never indulged in ignorance.

But must there not, exclaims our strategist, "as a result of the execution of the Young reparation plan," necessarily come a further sharpening of contradictions? Necessarily come! But—as a result. It is necessary to understand the succession of events and the dialectics of their alternation. As a result of high capitalist conjuncture there inevitably comes a depression and sometimes a crisis. But from this it does not follow that a high conjuncture is as strong as a low one, and that a crisis "grows daily". "As a result" of his life a human being follows his ancestors, but from this it does not flow that a man does not go through the periods of infancy, growth, illness, maturity and old age, before he reaches the gates of death. Ignorance is characterized by the mixing up of things. The apple of wisdom teaches to distinguish them. But Molotov never had a bite of that fruit.

The sorry schematism of the present leaders is not altogether innocent; on the contrary, it practically strikes the revolution at every step. The Soviet-Chinese conflict created an urgent necessity for the mobilization of the masses against the war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that on this road the Communist parties, even under the present conditions, could have attained considerable successes. For this it was necessary that in the propaganda the tremendous fact should speak for itself. But as if out of

Continued on Page 8

LETTER FROM
MOSCOW

: How Stalin Murdered Blumkin :

RADEK'S JUDAS
ROLE

Beyond doubt it is known that comrade Blumkin has been shot and that this was done at the personal instigation of Stalin. This vile act of vengeance is already arousing large sections in the Party. But this goes on in secret. One of the sources of these rumors is Radek. His nervous prattling is well known. Now he is completely demoralized, a characteristic of all capitulators. With I. N. Smirnov this takes the form of utter dejection; Radek, on the other hand, seeks to avoid this by spreading rumors and gossip, whose purpose is to prove the profound sincerity of his "repentance". Yaroslavsky beyond doubt makes use of this trait of Radek to set into circulation any necessary stories. It is of value to point out all this in order to make clear the following.

This version, attributed to Radek, is being circulated: When Blumkin arrived in Moscow, his first act was to hunt up Radek, with whom he had more contact during the past few years than with the other comrades, and whom he looked upon as a leader of the Opposition. Blumkin wished to be informed and to see clearly and in particular to understand the reasons for Radek's capitulation. He could not yet bring himself to the realization that in Radek the Opposition already had an implacable foe, who, having lost the last vestige of moral balance, did not stop at any abomination. One must take into consideration, on the one hand, as a characteristic trait of Blumkin the tendency of moral idealization of individuals, and on the other hand, the intimate nature of his former relations with Radek.

Blumkin told Radek of the thoughts and plans of L. D. (Trotsky) concerning the necessity for a secret struggle for their ideas. In reply, Radek, according to his own words, demanded of Blumkin that he immediately appear before the G. P. U. and tell everything. Several comrades say that Radek threatened Blumkin with immediate denunciation if he did not do this. This is quite likely, considering the actual statements of this hysterical mass of putty.

We do not doubt that this actually occurred. Following this, according to the official version, Blumkin "repented", presented himself to the G. P. U. and turned over the letter of comrade Trotsky which he had upon his person. Not only that, he even demanded his own shooting (literally). Following this, Stalin had to take his demand into consideration and ordered Menzinsky and Iagoda to shoot Blumkin. Evidently Stalin had previously had this decision confirmed by the Political Bureau in order that the Right capitulators be linked up with the affair. It is needless to say that the latter were completely in accord with Stalin.

How is this official version to be taken? Its lying character strikes one. We are not in possession of authentic information since Blumkin, as far as we know at present had not time to inform those outside (the prison) as to the actual state of affairs. But the actual course of events unfolds with sufficient clarity throughout this situation—at least in its general aspects. After his conversation with Radek, Blumkin found himself betrayed. Nothing was left for him except to present himself to the G. P. U., especially since the letter of L. D., from the nature of its contents could not but be an absolute refutation of all the slanders which are being propagated in order to justify the expulsion. Were there any addresses of individuals in the letter?

*The letter contained no addresses and could harm no one. Its text was but a short review of the situation in the foreign Opposition and an expression of solidarity with the Russian comrades who were demanding a complete break with Urbahns. The letter at the same time stressed the necessity for energetic measures for the widespread distribution of the Bulletin of the Opposition in Russia. Under the circumstances described by our correspondent, this letter, in the hands of Blumkin, could not but prove that it contained no element of "military conspiracy." This fact explains clearly Blumkin's decision to turn over the letter—after he found it unavoidable anyhow, because of Radek—to the G. P. U. (Note of the Bulletin.)

**According to positive information which we possess no comrade to whom Blumkin should have turned over the letter has been annoyed (Note of the Bulletin).

We believe not, since no comrades whom Blumkin could have made use of in establishing contacts have been "annoyed".*

Did Blumkin capitulate? If he had indeed capitulated, that is, adopted Radek's stand, he could not but have divulged the names of the comrades for whom Trotsky's letter had been destined. I myself would not have been spared.** And yet I repeat: no one was arrested. Besides, if comrade Blumkin had capitulated, the G. P. U. would not have been forced to satisfy his "demand" that he be shot, but would have used him for other purposes, this being indeed an exceptional opportunity. Beyond doubt the G. P. U. actually attempted this, but ran into the stone wall of Blumkin's obdurance. Then Stalin ordered him to be shot. And when alarming mutterings began to reverberate in the Party, Yaroslavsky, through Radek, set into motion the version which we have reproduced above. It is in this light that we picture this affair to ourselves.

Stalin could not fail to understand that the murder of Blumkin would not pass unnoticed within the Party, and that this would definitely result in great injury to "the brutal and disloyal" (Lenin's characterization of Stalin—Ed.) usurper. But his thirst for vengeance carried him away. On this point, a story has long been in circulation in the Party that in 1923, on a

summer evening, at Zoubalova (in the suburbs of Moscow), Stalin confided to Dzerzhinsky and Kamenef: "To choose a sacrifice to carefully prepare the blow to pitilessly avenge one's self—and then to go to bed, what could be sweeter in life?" Bucharin has referred to this conversation (the Stalinist philosophy on sweet vengeance) in his discourse concerning the struggle with the Stalinists, this having appeared last year. The books of L. D. (Trotsky) his articles, his autobiography are appearing abroad. This must be avenged. Stalin arrested, without cause, the daughter of L. D., but since she was seriously ill (having need of a pneumothorax), the Political Bureau did not dare, (despite Stalin's insistence, it is said) to keep her in prison, especially since Trotsky's second daughter died of tuberculosis a year and a half ago under similar circumstances. He confined himself to exiling Trotsky's son-in-law, Platon Volkov, two months ago. M. Nevelson, the husband of Trotsky's dead daughter, has long been in prison. But this vengeance is too ordinary and consequently inadequate. The need for pitiless vengeance—aided by Radek—fell upon Blumkin. Stalin ordered him to be shot and after...he went to bed.

Yours,
N.

Moscow, December 25, 1929

The Russian Opposition Knows Its Path!

NOTE BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF
THE BULLETIN OF THE
RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Although the above letter from Moscow does not yet give a complete picture of the arrest and murder of Blumkin, it nevertheless sufficiently clarifies the most important point of this tragedy. The immediate cause for the loss of this revolutionary, so unusual in his devotion and his courage, evidently lies in two facts: in his own idealistic confidence towards men and in the complete decline of the man to whom he turned. It is also possible that Radek himself has not sufficiently appreciated the consequences of his own actions because in his turn he idealized...Stalin.

The personal fate of Radek reveals with a final clearness the pitiful fate of the capitulators. Their first stage: "Centrism is not quite so bad as we thought." The second stage: "We must come closer to the Centrists so as to help them in their struggle against the Right wing." The third stage: "The Centrists must be paid to struggle against the Right by recognizing the correctness of Centrism." And finally the last stages: The capitulators turn the Oppositionist Bolshevik over into the hands of the G. P. U. dooming him to extermination.

And I. N. Smirnov? And Preobrazhensky? Their personal role in the tragedy of Blumkin is not known to us. But is it possible that Radek did not confer with them on the attitude to take in this delicate affair? In the final analysis, it is not important. Before the party and the international proletariat, they have assumed responsibility for all the ignominies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Consequently, they cannot disavow them in this case.

NO. 7

THE BULLETIN
of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitulators. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

ALL ARTICLES IN RUSSIAN

25c each

18c in bundles

Order From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue,

New York, N. Y.

Now, on the other aspect of the question: the murder of Blumkin took place following appreciable time after the sending of the Declaration by Rakovsky, Okudjava and Kossior. The bourgeois and social democratic press has tried, as is known, to present this declaration as a capitulation, that is, as our refusal to defend our ideas in order to gain the good wishes of the apparatus. The contemptible sheet of the Russian Mensheviks naturally also wrote in this spirit. An insignificant employee of the same camp, a certain Rosenfeld, announced through *Populaire* the French petty bourgeoisie that the former Red ambassador Rakovsky renounced his ideas in order to win back some important post. All this human vermin judges revolutionaries by its own standards.

But it is really shameful to recall that in the ranks of the Opposition there were elements, or at least such as counted themselves with us, who found nothing better to do than to estimate the Declaration of the Russian Opposition in the same spirit, that is, as a step towards political capitulation. Naturally Urbahns, who does not let a single occasion pass by without compromising the Leninism, raised the first accusing voice against the real revolutionaries, after he had for months reprinted without comment the shameful articles of the capitulators (Radek, Smilga, Preobrazhensky).

So that there shall be nothing missing from this picture, there comes forward an old wound-bedecked warrior—Maurice Paz—in the role of a Cato of the revolution. There exists a species of Communist dilettantes who prowl around the pyre of the revolution, but who are primarily preoccupied in not burning their fingers there. A part of the "Communists" of this species adhered in its time to the Opposition in the hope that that liberated them from party discipline, that it would bring them high renown without imposing any sacrifices upon them. And such parlor "revolutionaries" would give lessons in firmness to Rakovsky, Sosnovsky, Muralov, Kate Zinzadze, Okudjava, V. Kasparova, B. Mdivani and many others who have behind them decades of revolutionary struggles, prison, underground work, deportation, and who are showing their fidelity to the proletariat, today also, in the Altai mountains, in the prisons of Cheliabinsk and Tobolsk, and not in the halls of the Paris court house.

Blumkin was killed because he was bound to the cause of the Russian Opposition, of those who signed the declaration of Rakovsky. And these austere denouncers—it must also be said loudly—have not even raised a finger to help the Russian Oppositionists who are imprisoned or deported. On the contrary, in the person of Urbahns they have done everything to render this aid impossible.

The revolutionary detachment of the Bolshevik-Leninists has no needs of false friends, and still less of traitors. There are still many difficulties and tests before us.

"Rather less, but better." From a tiny group we have already twice in the past (1905 and 1917) became the decisive historical force. We are not tired. We know our path. Forward!

—The Bulletin of the Russian Opposition

Daily Worker and
Blumkin

Continued from page 1

sealed the fact. He has been shot by Stalin now—in the dark of the moon and far from the eyes of the working class—simply for belonging to the Opposition. Under Lenin an honest revolutionary foe, taken with arms in hands in an insurrection against the Soviet power, was released. Under Stalin, a devoted Bolshevik who opposed him is secretly assassinated for retaining his views.

Messrs. Foster and Co., answer: Why has Stalin done this?

The Daily Worker has not yet replied. It has sought to drown our demand in a flood of vituperation and calumny. It has declared we are in one counter-revolutionary camp with the pope, with Norman Thomas, with the French reaction, with Ortiz Rubio and the rest. It says that we have raised the old war-cry of the reaction against the Soviets. "The only change it has undergone since the days of 1917," writes the Daily Worker, "is that 'Lenin the murderer' has now been changed to 'Stalin the murderer'."

Not at all, gentlemen. Lenin took a few hundred depraved and corrupted aristocrats and bourgeois who had lived on the flesh and blood of the Russian workers and peasants and were seeking to drown the revolution in a sanguinary sea, and stood them against the wall to be shot. The proletarian revolution is not a plaything. But Stalin has taken a revolutionist, a Bolshevik, a man whose loyalty and devotion Stalin will never see reflected in his mirror, and murdered him in the darkness. Lenin was the instrument of the proletarian revolution against the class enemy. Stalin is the instrument of the Thermidorian elements against the proletarian vanguard. That is the difference.

The Daily Worker speaks of the "defense of the Soviet Union". But it is Stalin and his paid press that weaken the defense of the Soviet Republic by assassinating its most faithful guardians. The corpse of Blumkin is a hostage offered by Stalin to the pope, to Briand, to Rubio, to reaction.

Therefore again we demand of Foster and the other leaders of the American Communist Party: Do you assume responsibility for the reactionary blow that Stalin has dealt the party? Why?

The Communist workers still await a reply and they have a right to know.

Ludlow Killer Rewarded

DENVER—Sixteen years after he had charge of the burning to death of 12 little children and two mothers at the Ludlow Massacre, the notorious "Pat" Hamrock has just been sent to the state penitentiary. Not, however, to await the trip to the gallows as one would naturally expect after such a ghastly orgy of killing, but to have complete charge of the "inside" of the prison as "military dictator".

Colorado had the worst prison mutiny in American history on Oct. 3, when eight guards and five convicts were killed. Since that time there has been an almost continuous series of petty mutinies, one getting so serious that a prison building was set on fire. In a panic the Board of Corrections in charge of the prison, turned to Colorado's most expert killer to set up a dictatorship. Hamrock has called his old lieutenant, Lewis N. Scerf, who was in charge on the two killings in the 1927 coal strike to be his chief aid.

Colorado organized labor lodged a strong objection with the governor, demanding that he immediately file charges against the Board of Corrections before the Civil Service Commission.

Hamrock answered the labor recital of his record with the statement that he would repeat the Ludlow massacre "if it were necessary". He has never shown any remorse or regret for the burnings and his whole record would lead one to believe his statement that he would gladly repeat the holocaust.

Billions Made by Big Industrialists

Thirty-eight leading industrial corporations each paid out in 1929 over \$10,000,000 in cash dividends on common stock. Reports of many other large corporations are yet to be published, but profits already announced are flaunted in the face of unemployed workers and of other workers whose wages have recently been cut.

General Motors Heads Lists

General Motors Corp. in 1929, as usual in recent years, heads the list of cash dividend payers. Over \$155,000,000 was distributed during the year to holders of its common stock. Second on the list comes American Telephone and Telegraph Co. paying to common shareholder approximately \$116,000,000, an increase of \$13,000,000 over the previous year. U. S. Steel Corp. stands third, paying over \$63,000,000, an increase of more than 26% as compared with 1928.

DuPont, the fourth company on the list paying more than \$50,000,000, distributed over \$60,100,000 in common dividends. Thus the leading four include the largest automobile company, the largest public utility, the largest steel corporation, and the largest chemical and explosives manufacturer. Oil is not one of the leading four only because the Standard Oil interests are broken into separate units. But together the biggest four Standard Oil companies paid close to \$150,000,000 in common dividends.

F. W. Woolworth Co., paying its workers from \$10 to \$15 a week, paid its common stockholders \$23,400,000 in cash.

Enormous Profits Continue

Common stock cash dividends of the 19 industrial companies whose payments in 1929 exceeded \$20,000,000 were as follows:

General Motors	\$155,000,000	\$163,300,002
Amer. Telephone	116,000,000	103,821,440
U. S. Steel	63,096,801	49,813,645
Du Pont	60,163,216	49,655,669
Standard Oil, N.J.	46,738,063	36,583,117
Kennecott Copper	43,936,353	32,909,565
Gen'l Elec.	43,268,504	42,265,656
Anaconda Copper	42,753,253	14,419,034
Standard Oil, Ind.	40,040,133	32,416,528
Consolidated Gas	34,867,361	23,978,135
Standard Oil, Cal.	32,500,000	37,728,294
Standard Oil, N.Y.	28,600,000	27,580,290
Tex. Corp.	28,500,000	24,306,712
Eastman Kodak	26,000,000	16,452,300
Reynolds Tobacco	25,500,000	26,000,000
Woolworth	23,400,000	19,500,000
Amer. Tobacco	21,091,512	15,623,172
U. Gas Imp'v'm't.	21,000,000	19,788,907
Union Carbide	20,606,859	16,235,208

The other 19 companies paying a paltry \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000 in common dividends include Sears Roebuck, Steel Union Oil, Morgan's new Standard Brands, three other motor companies, Bethlehem Steel, United Fruit, and Westinghouse Electric.

Dividends on common stock are not the whole story of returns to investors. Most of these corporations have also made large payments to bondholders and to owners of preferred stock. Part of their net profits they keep in the treasury to increase the corporation's undivided surplus.

THE SITUATION IN THE MINING INDUSTRY

The next issue of the Militant will contain a statement by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the situation in the mining industry. It will deal particularly with the recent call for an anti-Lewis international convention issued by Harry Fishwick, Alexander Howat, John Brophy, John Walker and others; the recent strike of the National Miners Union in Illinois; the coming convention of the N. M. U. in Pittsburgh, and the tasks of the Left wing in the industry.

TYPOS DEFEAT SALARY BOOST

INDIANAPOLIS—Again the membership of the Intl. Typographical Union has decided by referendum that \$5,000 a year is plenty for its chief officials. Convention action to raise the ante 50% was vetoed by 26,794 against the increase of 22,882 votes in favor.

GAIN 40-HOUR NIGHT WEEK

MT. MORRIS, Ill.—(FP)—Union printers of Mt. Morris, where hundreds of magazines are printed by Kable Bros., have gained the 40-hour week for the night shift. Wage increases include 11 cents an hour nights and 7 cents an hour days.

"The Greatest Disciple of Lenin"

"Comrade Stalin never deviated a hair, comrade Stalin fought side by side with Lenin in October" Daily Worker, 1-18-30). When Stalin made a united front with the Chinese militarists against the Chinese workers, he never deviated a hair. When Stalin was in favor of continuing relations with the traitors of the British general strike, he never deviated a hair. When comrade Stalin was in favor of a coalition with the Mensheviks in 1917, he never deviated a hair. When Stalin supported the Right wing in the Comintern and when he split every Communist party into three groups, he never deviated a hair.

"It is true," says John Reed in Ten Days that Shook the World (pages 123-124) "that the Petrograd Soviet had not ordered a demonstration but the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party was considering the question of insurrection. All night long, the 23rd they met. There were present all the Party intellectuals (the leaders) and delegates of the Petrograd workers and the garrison. Alone of the intellectuals, Lenin and Trotsky stood for insurrection. Even the military men opposed it. A vote was taken; insurrection was defeated. Then arose a rough workman, his face convulsed with rage, 'I speak for the Petrograd proletariat,' he said harshly. 'We are in favor of insurrection. Have it your own way, but I tell you now that if you allow the Soviets to be destroyed, we're through with you.' Some soldiers joined him—and after that voted again—insurrection won." (Stalin side by side with Lenin in October.)

"The Congress was to meet at one o'clock and long since the great meeting hall had filled, but by seven there was yet no sign of the Praesidium. The Bolshevik and Left Social Revolutionary factions were in session in their own rooms. All the life-long afternoon Lenin and Trotsky had

fought against compromise. A considerable part of the Bolsheviks were in favor of giving way so far as to create a joint All-Socialist government. 'We can't hold on,' they cried, 'too much is against us; we haven't the men; we will be isolated, and the whole thing will fall.' (Thus Kameneff, Rykov and others.) But Lenin, with Trotsky beside him, stood firm as a rock. 'Let the compromisers accept our program and they can come in. We won't give way an inch. If there are comrades here who haven't the courage and the will to dare what we dare, let them leave with the rest of the cowards and conciliators. Backed by the workers and soldiers, we shall go on.' (So, Stalin, side by side with Lenin in October?)

What my eyes hear and what my ears see; laugh, world, laugh with Stalin's bureaucracy.

DENIS PLARINOS

St. Louis Fakers Try Militant Painter

ST. LOUIS—Efforts are being made by the labor fakers in the St. Louis Painters Union to expel Elmer McMillen, leading militant and Left wing worker in this town, from the Painter's organization. He is about to stand trial on trumped-up charges preferred by the officials. These do not like the contrast of their do-nothing attitude with McMillen's activity in organizing the unorganized workers, leading the recent unemployed demonstration in a demand for work or compensation, and his steady efforts on behalf of the rank and file. The members are strongly sympathetic to McMillen. The outcome of the trial has not yet been made known.

TULSA, Okla.—(FP)—There are more than 4,000 unemployed in both Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes - - by L. D. Trotsky

Continued from Page 6

spite, the far-Eastern conflict broke out in the very heat of the preparations for the First of August. The official agitators and journalists yelled about war in general and danger in general so furiously and continuously, that the real international conflict was drowned in the cries finding only a weak approach to the consciousness of the masses. Just so in the present policy of the Comintern do the lean kine of bureaucratic schemas swallow the fat kine of live reality.

In connection with the question of the struggle against the war danger, it is again necessary to observe the strategy of the "second period": as one of the main reasons in favor of the bloc with the General Council was put forth the necessity of a common struggle against the war danger. At the July Plenum of the Central Committee in 1927 Stalin swore that a bloc with the General Council was fully justified by the fact that the English trade unions were helping us conduct a struggle against British imperialism, and therefore a demand to break with the strike-breakers could come only from those people who haven't the defense of the Soviet Union at heart. Thus not only the Leftward swing of the English workers but also the war danger during 1926-27 served as the main arguments in favor of a bloc with the reformists. Now it appears that both the radicalization of the masses and the approaching war danger demand a decisive refusal of any kind of agreements with them. All the questions are put so as to confuse the advanced workers as much as possible.

There is no doubt, that in case of war or even an actual and clear approach of one, the reformists will be completely with the bourgeoisie. An agreement with them for a struggle against war is just as impossible as a bloc to carry out the proletarian revolution. Precisely for this reason, to imagine the Anglo-Russian Committee as a weapon of struggle against imperialism, as Stalin did, meant to deceive the workers criminally. But matters are such that history knows not only wars and revolutions but also periods between wars and revolutions, that is, periods when the bourgeoisie makes preparations for war, and the proletariat—for revolution. We live at present in precisely such a period. We must win away the masses from the reformists, who gained strength in recent years and did not weaken. By their strengthening, however, they put themselves into a greater dependence upon the evolution of their proletarian base. It

is upon this dependence that the tactic of the united front is fully based. Only it is necessary to carry it out, not according to Zinoviev and not according to Brandler, not according to Stalin and not according to Bucharin. It is necessary in this question to return to Lenin.

Groupings in Communism

The Left Opposition, which has not joined in with the catechism of the "Third Period", will once more be accused of a Right deviation by skirmishers like Monmousseau. After the experience of the last six years, we can look calmly at this accusation. Already at the Third Congress of the Comintern, many of the gentlemen who later went over to the social-democracy or remained temporarily at the Brandler stage, accused us together with Lenin of a Right deviation. It is sufficient to recall that at the period of the Fifth Congress, Louis Sellier was one of the main accusers of "Trotskyism".

There is no doubt, however, that the Right elements will actually attempt to make use of some elements of our criticism. This is absolutely unavoidable. It is not necessary to think that all the accusations of the Rights are wrong. Quite often the Rights have a basis for their criticism of the goat-leaps of Left opportunism. Within these limits they are quite inclined to use a Marxist criticism, so as to counterpose under its cover opportunism to adventurism.

It must be added, however, that in the ranks of that Opposition, which quite justly considers itself the Left, were until recently the remnants of such elements as joined us in 1924, not because we defended an international revolutionary position, but because we fought against Zinovievist adventurism. Many potential opportunists, at that period in France adopted the protective coloring of the Russian Opposition. Some of them paraded even until very recently with the fact that they agreed with us without any reservations ("Sans reserves"). But when the real question of the struggle for the views of the Opposition came to the forefront, it was revealed that between these parlor Oppositionists and us there is an abyss. They deny the presence of a revolutionary situation all the more since they do not feel the slightest need for it.

Many good souls were sincerely worried by the fact that we unceasingly drove a wedge between the Left Opposition and the Right. Our classification of the three

MACHINIST UNEMPLOYMENT WORST SINCE 1921

WASHINGTON—Reports made by locals in 55 American cities to the Washington headquarters of the International Association of Machinists, each week, show that the present crisis in unemployment in this skilled metal trade is the worst since 1921.

Most of these reports show 20 to 100 union members unemployed, and trade "bad" or "poor" or "very dull". The depression began last August and has grown steadily more serious. Many veteran workers still in the prime of life, who have kept at work through all the previous periods of unemployment, have now been without work for six months.

60,000 Unemployed in K. C.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The unemployment situation in Kansas City is very serious. There are at least 60,000 out of work. Less than 35% of the union men are working. About two weeks ago the city hired some men to shovel snow, with the weather 10 to 15 below zero. Many of the men were so weak that they could not work until they were fed.

RAIL WORKERS DISCUSS MERGERS

MINNEAPOLIS—Railroad workers when they gather in the yardhouses and other railroad hangouts, find proposed consolidation of the roads an absorbing topic of conversation. Some railroad leaders, with ears to the ground, have taken up the 6-hour day movement. Others will be surprised when they find their members forming Left wing groups.

OUR YOUTH SECTION

For lack of space, we are omitting from this issue the "Young Vanguard", our regular section devoted to the working youth. It will appear in the forthcoming number and contain articles by George Ray, Albert Glotzer, Joseph Friedman, and Charles Curtiss.

basic currents in present-day Communism was called arbitrary and they affirmed that for France such a classification is not real because of the absence of a Right wing. The facts of the last months however gave life and blood to the international "schema" also in France. The "Syndicalist League" decisively raised the banner of struggle against Communism finding in this a common ground with the trade union opposition of the second order. Simultaneously the more reformist elements split away from the Party. They utilized the struggle against bureaucratic adventurism, and under the guise of a new party are attempting to preserve their mandates. Immediately, by the power of political relationship, the Right trade union opposition appeared connected with the new parliamentary-municipal "party". Thus gradually everything finds its place. And in this we think the service of La Verite was very considerable.

A straight line is determined by two points. For the determination of a curve it is necessary to have not less than three. The lines of politics are very complicated and curved. In order to evaluate correctly the different groupings, it is necessary to take their behavior for several stages: at the moments of revolutionary rise and at the moment of ebb. To draw a correct revolutionary orbit of the Left Communist opposition is possible only if we put down on paper a series of critical periods: the relationship to the German events of 1923; the question of stabilization in 1924; the relation to industrialization and the Kulak in the U. S. S. R. in 1923-1928; the question of the Kuomintang and the Anglo-Russian Committee; the relation to the Canton uprising, the evaluation of the theory and practice of the "Third Period", etc. Each of these questions by itself includes a whole group of tactical tasks. Out of the complicated system of ideas and slogans the apparatus marauders tear single phrases and construct on them the idea of an approach between the Left and Right. Marxists take the problem as a whole, carrying the unity of strategic thought throughout different circumstances. This method does not give instantaneous results but it is the only reliable method. Let the spoilers despoil. We will prepare tomorrow's day. Prinkipo, January 8, 1930.

*By the way, in creating a "workers and peasants" instead of a proletarian party Louis Sellier and company have given life in the West to the gifted formula of Stalin intended for the East.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 9,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Murder of Blumkinis An Act Against the Russian Revolution

The cold-blooded and cynically calculated murder of the Bolshevik, Blumkin, by Stalin for his adherence to the ideals of the Left Opposition is bringing in its wake swift revulsion against these latest methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy toward the Leninist Bolsheviks in the U. S. R. The worker-Communists and the proletarian forces throughout the world are putting the question: Why the imprisonment, exile and now shooting of the Left Oppositionists? What is behind it all? Stalin and his bureaucrats, in firm unity for years with the Bucharin-Rykov Right wing, carried out a program that was swiftly giving renewed life and strength to the Nepmen and Kulaks in the Soviet Union. They were thereby earning the gratitude of the bourgeoisie throughout the world. The expulsions and persecutions in the most vicious forms of the Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky went on simultaneously. But the Opposition, firmly rooted in the working masses of the Communist Party and the country continued to stand by their platform; for an industrialization

tion has been proved correct on every major issue before the C. P. S. U. and the Communist International. What cynicism, what brutality and coarseness, what disregard of the interests of the proletariat of the Russian October, mark this Stalin and his conscienceless chnovniks, the Molotovs, Thaelmanns, Fosters, Minors, Cachins! With one hand they wave the red flag of the revolutionary proletariat and with the other they persecute and even shoot the best fighters of October and the international revolution. The proletariat, the Communist workers demand an answer!

Stalinists Politically and Morally Bankrupt
The acts of Stalin against the Opposition, now culminating in the murder of the noble fighter for the Revolution, Blumkin, are acts against the fundamental interests of the Revolution. Stalin performs the work of an anti-Bolshevik when he decimates the ranks of the Communist movement. In far-off China, the Stalinist followers shot at a leader of the Chinese Opposition. In the United States the Pos-

Build A Broad Movement To Aid The Unemployed

Through out the United States millions of unemployed workers, their ranks increased by tens of thousands in recent weeks, face a future of increased misery, degradation, poverty and starvation. U. S. capitalism offers fine words to the unemployed but no work or compensation. In November 1929, immediately after the Wall Street crash, President Hoover called a conference of millionaire bankers, industrialists and manufacturers at Washington to map out a vast industrial and building program that would "normalize" business again and provide employment for the mass of unemployed workers. That conference has resulted for the workers in exactly—nothing.

Leading capitalist and governmental officials are now less sanguine about the prospects for a swift and huge economic revival. Lieutenant-Governor Lehmann of the State of New York, in which unemployment is greater than in any other section of the country, states: "We are not going to return to normalcy overnight. There never was a chance of that, in spite of over-optimistic predictions."

The gravity of the situation, the misery rampant throughout the country, rise everywhere to confound with stark facts the Hooverian sooth-sayers. The capitalists and their hired scribblers and mind-befogging professors find themselves unable to put forward any capitalist remedies that can relieve the acute conditions of existence and starvation that affect the lives of millions of working people. On an international scale, in fact, the deadly pall of unemployment hangs over tens of millions of workers and their families. Their need is, in short, bread. They are ready to work to get it. If they cannot get work, the

demand for compensation, for wages must be made upon industry and the government, local, state and national.

Organize Unemployed on Elementary Issues

Under the conditions it is possible to develop a broad movement on behalf of the unemployed masses, as has been previously shown by the *Militant*. This can be done if the class conscious workers, the revolutionaries and particularly the Communists, use correct tactics; that the broadest conceivable movement is sought and worked for; that simple elementary demands, such as, Work or Compensation from industry and the government of the bosses, are put in the forefront. Mere noise and bombast and demonstrations (here today and gone tomorrow) will not serve the purpose. Sectarian, narrow movements, in which the main object of the leaders is only to express their particular views, and who regard the workers involved, but as objects of agitation, will also not get anybody very far, and least of all the unemployed worker who is looking for a job, food, clothing and shelter.

The participation of workers in such movements of struggle, however, serves as an excellent preparatory school in the class war. Such movements teach the workers the nature of class society, the role of the governing classes, and certainly aid the development of the workers towards a class conscious ideology and action. This is the objective to be sought. But such conferences of the unemployed as the one called and held by the Trade Union Unity League of New York City, on Wednesday February 19th, at the Manhattan Lyceum will end only in a swamp, and bring about no bonafide organization of the unemployed workers to make effective their demands upon the bosses and the state.

New York T. U. U. L. Conference a Talkfest

The T. U. U. L. nationally, as the trade union instrument of the Communist Party in the United States, has set a task to organize the unemployed of this country, which is to culminate in an international demonstration on March 6th against the scourge of unemployment in all capitalist countries. The New York Conference of the T. U. U. L. therefore serves as a picture of what is undoubtedly being duplicated in other cities where it has or is calling similar conferences.

At the New York Conference, 300 people representing, according to the chairman, Sadie Van Veen, 12 unemployed councils, left wing unions, T. U. U. L. groups, workmen's circles, working class housewives, etc. were present. The chairman, Van Veen, was not elected, she just served and opened the meeting with a speech of some 30 minutes length. In the course of her remarks, she stated: "There is no trade union movement outside the T. U. U. L." Such profound notions may or may not be the main problem to discuss at conferences called to organize and aid the unemployed; or they may also help to make clear why the Trade Union Unity League is virtually nonexistent.

Called upon to speak, all C. P. or Y. C. L. members, were a Negro comrade, Alexander; a Pioneer speaker, a youth organizer of the T. U. U. L.; a speaker of the Communist Party, Darcy; a Needle Trades Industrial Union speaker. No remarks from the delegates were invited. None of the speeches advanced concrete tasks for immediate solution and action. All truthfully assailed capitalism as the cause of unemployment; all called for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of workers' rule.

TROTSKY ON STALIN AND BLUMKIN

"Blumkin did visit me at Constantinople..."

"I told him among other things, that my exile as well as the imprisonment of other comrades did not change our fundamental line; that in the moment of danger the Oppositionists would be in the most advanced posts; that in the difficult hours Stalin would be forced to call upon them, even as Tseretelli appealed to the Bolsheviks for aid against Kornilov..."

"...The Stalinist repression against us does not yet signify a change in the class character of the State, but only prepares and makes more easy that change; our course remains, as in the past, that of reform and not that of revolution; the implacable struggle for our ideas must be based on the perspective of a long delay."

—Excerpt from a letter of comrade Leon Trotsky of January 5th, 1930 at Prinkipo, Turkey.

program for the Soviet Union, presenting their projects in 1927 in the form of a 5 Year Plan; for the policy of collective and Soviet Farms and against the encroachments of the Kulak; against the growing bureaucracy in the Party, the Soviet Union and the trade unions; and many other principle and tactical issues.

Opposition Pressure Forces Stalin to the Left

Under the pressure of the Opposition, the Stalin Centrists have been compelled to swing back from a Right course toward the Left, and piece-meal to adopt the Platform of the Opposition. The *Militant* has made and will make further evaluations of this latest Stalinist zig-zag, the so-called Left turn. But we put here the question: How does one carry out a Left course genuinely and at one and same time expel, imprison, exile and murder the Left Opposition? Why this fury? The Opposi-

ter-Lovestone cliques adopted the methods of the underworld, of gangsterism, against the Communist Opposition. Why? We ask and will continue to demand adequate replies of the Stalinist regime for their defenseless acts against the Opposition, against the Revolution.

These brutal acts only show more conclusively the political and moral bankruptcy of Stalinist Centrism. It is the replacement of a political line with the bureaucratic power of a corrupt apparatus. The murder of Blumkin will but serve to consolidate more firmly than ever before the growing ranks of the Opposition. At the same time the murder will call forth the protest of the Communist and class-conscious workers throughout the world. Come what may, the Opposition knows its path and duty. The Opposition remain at their post and continue to serve the cause of Communism.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MOCKED BY INCOME REPORT

WASHINGTON—Equality of human opportunity in the United States in these days of big-scale industry is mocked by the Internal Revenue Bureau's preliminary report of taxable income for 1928, which shows that 24 persons had private incomes amounting to \$242,000,000. As these were the taxpayers in the class "above \$5,000, 000", it is to be assumed that some of them, such as the Rockefellers and Fords and Mellons, must have had incomes of \$30,000, 000 to \$50,000,000 each. In the year 1927 only 11 persons admitted incomes above \$5,000,000.

SNOW FAILS TO BRING JOBS TO JOBLESS
MINNEAPOLIS — (FP) — The hungry and jobless used to look to the skies for help. When snowflakes began falling, they reported to the snow removal bureaus and lined up for jobs.

This year snow means little to the unemployed. Tractors are being used with scrapers to collect the snow, and automatic hoists to lift it into the trucks.

Eighty per cent was the estimate of unemployment given by one building trades council representative. The Citizens Alliance admits that thousands have been laid off in the last two months, and that the end is not yet in sight.

40 Percent Jobless In Bay State

BOSTON—During January but 60% of the 260,000 workers who would be employed normally in 1,106 Massachusetts factories and mills were at work on full time schedule. Jobs, part time and full time, could be found for only 213,000 of the quarter million or more, states the Massachusetts labor department.

Employment declined 1% between December and January and average earnings sank from \$24.16 a week to \$24.08. An upturn in the shoe industry of 17% kept the average from sinking far lower. In 31 industries employment dropped below the December level. During the month seven factories went out of business, including three woolen mills and two shoe factories.

The state labor department has created a new index of employment, based on a figure of 100 for 1925-27. Employment in January was 82.9, according to this revised index, contrasted with 89.2 in January, 1929. Cotton goods showed 68.3, or a decline of one third in the number of jobs in four years. Other depressed industries are: Woolen, 67.5; textile machinery, 81.2; rubber goods, 72.2; hosiery, 76.2. Industries which have gained in employment are: bakery, 107; women's clothing, 102; printing and publishing, 109.

MASS. EMPLOYMENT CONTINUES DOWN

BOSTON—Employment fell off 4% in Massachusetts public utilities between December and January, reports the state labor department. Steam railroads, with a cut of 6.5%, accounted for 2,040 jobless men. Payrolls fell 3.4% and on the railroads alone, 5.7%.

TOO MANY LABOR OFFICIALS

As a preliminary and immediate step, and also an effective one, towards the reduction in the number of trade union bureaucrats, we should consider and spread the idea of reducing the number of useless offices and officials in our local unions, lodges and divisions.

To use the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as an example: The local unions are called "Divisions" and have the following offices and officials which, in my opinion, are not only useless and unnecessary, but decidedly detrimental, namely: Chief Engineer, Second Engineer, Guide and Chaplain.

These officials render the Divisions no special service. Their part played in the useless ritualistic ceremony at the opening and closing of meetings has a most stultifying effect on the membership.

Breeding Bureaucracy

However, the most serious objection to having an organization honeycombed with useless officials is that it breeds bureaucracy and corruption in the union. The B. of L. E. furnishes a glaring example of this. In this case the local officials often become the tools of the Grand Officers in misleading and defrauding the membership. This was especially the case in my local Division 369 where the local officials became the active agents of the Grand Office in selling worthless stock, real estate and fake "Loyalty" Bonds to the members and to frame-up and to expel any member who objected to this wholesale robbery of the B. of L. E.

With the aid and support of the salaried General Officials, these local office holders form a combination or political machine to get themselves reelected year after year. This office-holding develops a craving for personal benefit at the expense of the rank and file, a desire to get on the payroll.

All the elected officials that are needed in a Division of the B. of L. E. are a Secretary-Treasurer, a Grievance man and a delegate to the National Convention. The Chairman (called the Chief Engineer) should be elected for each meeting. This would promote democracy and intelligence among the members. In Division 369 of the B. of L. E. the local bureaucrats headed by J. F. Collins, are running and controlling the Division as if it was their personal property. Through machine control and bull-doing tactics, the Chief Engineer and Secretary-Treasurer have had themselves reelected to office for the last quarter of a century. A lot of useless officials breed such conditions.

Prepare for Convention

The thing to do is for the local union (lodges or divisions) to introduce amendments at the forthcoming convention to eliminate all useless officials, big and small.

The labor constitutions should also be amended to provide for salaried officials to be automatically drafted back on the job after a certain number of terms in office. Trade unionists should discuss this and let themselves be heard also through the columns of the Militant.

C. R. HEDLUND

Long Hours in Steel Mills

Long hours are still the curse of the steel industry. The popular assumption that Pres. Harding induced the late Judge Gary, out of the goodness of his heart, to abolish the 12-hour day, and that therefore steel mills are now operating on the 8-hour shift, is knocked into a cocked hat by figures just released by the Federal Council of Churches, through its research department.

More than Half Work over 48 Hours

Actually but 46.6% of 250,000 steel workers covered by the report are working the 8-hour day. Nearly as high a percentage are working 10 hours while 6.7% are on the 12-hour schedule. More than a quarter of the steel workers studied are working 7 days a week, a half are on the 6-day basis and only 20% work five to five and one half days.

This by no means tells the story however. The figures for the 11 and 12-hour shifts and the 7-day week are minimum figures, the investigators reported, because plant managers often "color" their figures for the benefit of public opinion.

The New Bedford Textile Workers Unite to Aid Jobless and Stalinist "Politics"

(Continued from Page 1)

The unemployment condition in New Bedford is becoming more acute daily. While half of the 30,000 textile workers were jobless several weeks ago, at present about 20,000 are unemployed. It is difficult to state accurately the exact amount of workers who are without work. Half of the mills are closed while many of the others are running only several days a week. Those that are closed include the Acushnet mill and the City Mill. The Dartmouth mill is running two days a week. According to old time textile workers the unemployment situation is worse than it has been in 15 years.

Taking advantage of the scarcity of work, the mill owners are reducing wages and installing methods to further speed up the workers. The workers resent these actions on the part of the employers and are talking of another general strike.

In fact, several weeks ago, when the mills in the South End cut wages of the weavers and added more looms they went on strike. The strike lasted for a few days but the weavers went back to work with the cut in pay and speed-up conditions. The National Textile Workers Union which was conducting the strike apparently was not prepared to lead the workers in a successful struggle.

The tasks that face the N. T. W. U. at present are of great importance to the future development of the union. The workers are in a mood for struggle and with proper leadership can be lead successfully in a strike that will organize the great bulk of the 30,000 textile workers. On the one hand, if the union does not live up to the expectations of the masses, the base that the N. T. W. U. has built will be smashed and the United Textile Workers Union headed by the notorious betrayer, William Batty, will again sell out the workers as it did in the 1928 strike.

When the strike was ended two years ago by the collaboration of the U. T. W. and the mill owners, the N. T. W. U. found themselves in a surprisingly strong position. Almost as many workers were organized in the left wing N. T. W. U. as in the U. T. W. organization. In fact, after the strike the N. T. W. U. continued to gain members at a pace even faster than the U. T. W.

Factionalism Hurts Development

In recent months, when a strong and united organization is more needed than in any time in the past, Communist Party disputes have stepped in to the disadvantage of the union. Within a period of several months the New Bedford Union has had four district organizers and one can never tell when the next change will be made. The same policy of manipulation that has become the vogue in the Communist Party and the Communist movement generally, is what the New Bedford workers are facing in the "third period".

When Eli Keller, who was the union organizer for more than two years, was made national secretary of the union, several months ago, Ellen Dawson was sent to New Bedford to replace him. When the Stalinist leadership discovered that she supported the Right wing Lovestone group, Dawson was quickly replaced by John Nahorsky, unknown to the textile workers of New Bedford. However, Nahorsky did not last long, for Martin Russak, a poet from Paterson, N. J., is now at the helm.

This kind of irresponsible faction politics is not the way to organize the workers and lead a successful strike in New Bedford. All forces who accept the Left wing program of the N.T.W.U. should be utilized to prepare the New Bedford workers for struggle. With the elimination of mechanical, strangulating control and the proper preparations, a strike larger and more important than that of 1928 can be started in New Bedford. The situation is ripe, but how will the Stalinists react to it?

The mass of the militant textile workers who are now members of the N. T. W. U. must demand that the political opinion of any worker shall not bar him or her from an active or leading role in the union. The N. T. W. U. is not the Communist Party and if it attempts to base its leadership upon the acceptance of Stalin's program of socialism

in one country and national Communism, the future of the union is one of defeat. It must abandon its clique control and aim to develop a movement for a united struggle of the New Bedford workers with a leadership that can lead the workers successfully. Instead of devoting all their time to preparing for a strike against the mill owners, the party leadership in New Bedford is busy fighting Lovestone and Trotsky—and not the mill owners or A. F. of L. Such a policy is disastrous and must be opposed vigorously by the union members as well as all conscious Left wing and Communist forces.

A united struggle of the New Bedford workers against the mill owners and their wage cuts and speed up, and against their U. T. W. officialdom allies is on the order of the day.

An appeal must also be made to the U. T. W. rank and file to join in the struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the N. T. W. U. members in the common fight against wage cuts, speed up and unemployment. The future is bright for the New Bedford workers provided the Stalinists do not wreck the union to satisfy their petty factional aims.

FRANK BROMLEY

Conditions of Metal Scrappers

CHICAGO—On Lake between 1200 and 1900 West and on State Street from 1600 to 2400 South, there are whole strings of concerns making a specialty of gathering from everywhere old scraps of iron, machinery, autos, brass, copper, etc. of every description. Working conditions of those who labor for those concerns are indescribably bad. The hours are usually ten. Wages average 35 cents an hour. Most of the workers are Poles, Slavs and Negroes, that is of those who stay for any length of time at these places. Horses enjoy a lot better treatment than most of these workers.

Steady Work

The work is very hard. Much heavy wrought iron must be broken up with sledge hammers. We work up a heavy sweat on a tough job on bitter winter mornings. When we are done, then we have to keep on working outside, maybe on a lighter job, to cool off, and so fall an easy prey to colds and the "flu". Often we have to lift extremely heavy weights while the boss stands by and hollers "to give 'er the beef".

The bosses are nearly always the worst kind of slave drivers and seem to regard the workers as scarcely human. For anyone who makes the slightest protest against the intolerable conditions, means to be at once fired or laid off. The work in many places is not steady—maybe work for a few days, get laid off, and be told to return in a few days. There are so many unemployed here at all times, anxious for some kind of a job, that these concerns are never short of help.

Need Union

The workers need a union badly to speak for their interests and to fight against the merciless exploitation that exists now. I worked for the Monroe Iron and Machinery Company at 1322 W. Lake St. and know whereof I speak. This is one of the worst concerns, but they are all pretty much alike—rotten.

CHICAGO WORKER

RANK AND FILE FOR LABOR PARTY

CINCINNATI—"In our opinion there is no issue before the labor movement today of greater importance than of strengthening its political power," declares the leading editorial in the Railway Clerk for February. "It is hard to escape the conviction that the nonpartisan policy does not appeal to the rank and file."

If the number on your wrapper is

34

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

George Siskind, chairman of the New York T. U. U. L., was next called upon and read a lengthy resolution which demanded from the employers and government either Work or Wages, and then went on, in elaboration, with a long list of additional demands, among them, Defense of the Soviet Union, Against another Imperialist War, Down with the Hoover government and private property, Down with Child Labor, Join the Unemployed Councils, Free meals for children in the schools, Demonstrate on March 6th, Down with the A. F. of L., the Musteites, etc., etc.—all in the name of the Unemployed workers and their immediate problem of existence.

After Siskind's resolution there were more speeches. Finally he summarized the speeches and completed the report.

How Not to Aid the Unemployed

There was no report of any credentials committee. (The delegates from the New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), James Russell and Charles Curtiss had handed in credentials at the outset.) There were no elections of any kind of committees. No executive was elected to carry out further work; and considering the conduct of the disorganized mass meeting (which is the best that can be said for this T. U. U. L. "Unemployed Conference"), perhaps it was just as well. The majority of those present left long before the meeting adjourned at 12:30.

With such conferences little success can be expected, despite favorable objective factors at present, for the demonstration scheduled for March 6th. The bombast must be done away with if there is to be a serious movement. The slogan of unity of working class forces to work for a minimum program on behalf of the unemployed is an effective one. Other organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc. can still be appealed to. The United Front and its effectiveness as a rallying call for the rank and file workers of all shades of opinion are not out of date. The Communist Party, and the T. U. U. L. by themselves are insufficient to rally the unemployed and to lead them effectively. When other forces, even Communist elements with dissenting views, are rejected out of hand, the unemployed movement is doomed either to be cut to pieces or to be led into channels that make them easy victims of capitalist propaganda and of the labor fakers and reformists. The rank and file of the A.F. of L. who number hundred of thousands of the unemployed can be gotten into an unemployment movement if proper appeal for united action is made. Their officials are subject to pressure: their unwillingness to act even then can be the best means for the militants and left wingers to expose them in their real role of capitalist lackeys. But their "expose" merely by denunciation is not convincing to a rank and file. Failure to propose a united front to the organizations of the A. F. of L., Socialist Party, I. W. W. etc., on the burning question of unemployment only results, particularly under present conditions, in the isolation of the Communists from the masses and renders them ineffective in the existing and ensuing struggles.

Develop a United Front Movement

The Communist Party must change its course and adopt methods that have brought successes in the past to the Communist movement and given it influence over growing numbers of workers.

It is not yet too late, even for the immediate future of the movement to organize the unemployed into Unemployed Councils. Genuine proposals for a united front movement, in an endeavor to draw all workers together, should be made. March 6th can only be a fleeting and passing demonstration of the unemployed if the movement remains in narrow channels. This must not be so. The conditions for a broad movement remain. Such a broad movement, basing itself on simple and elementary needs of the unemployed, is needed to give an impetus to the organization of Unemployed Councils that can act in concert and make strong demands for work or compensation, for shorter hours, against the speed-up system, upon the capitalists and the government. The militants and revolutionary workers must lend themselves to the task.

—M. A.

The Mining Situation and the Tasks of the Left Wing

Statement of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Three recent events have made it necessary to consider the situation in the mining industry and the tasks of the Left wing. They are: the heavy defeat suffered by the Left wing National Miners Union in the Illinois strike the call for an international anti-Lewis United Mine Workers convention, a call signed by the heads of the Illinois district together with John Brophy, Alexander Howat, August Dorchy, Dougherty, etc., etc.; and the call for a national convention of the National Miners Union itself.

None of the large trade unions in the country has been so heavily hit in the past five years as the United Mine Workers. The once powerful proletarian organization has been rent from stem to stern. One district after another has been mercilessly crushed by the Lewis machine controlling the union. Every progressive and Left wing member of the union has been subjected to the most brutal regime of expulsion and persecution, so that the backbone of the militant resistance to the ruinous course of the labor bureaucrats was broken. The vigorous offensive of the coal operators was countered by retreats all along the line, led by Lewis and Co. The extension of the industry into the non-union South—entirely unorganized to this day—was not followed at all by organizational action by the U. M. W. A. The union standards of the workers have been beaten down steadily by the operators who have had the scarcely concealed collaboration of the union officialdom; and aggravating this decline in living standards has been the festering sore of unemployment.

The coal operators have been gaining all along the line. They have not been met with any effective resistance. Working hand in hand with his capitalist employers, using the vilest methods of corruption, autocracy, black-jack rule, mass expulsions and the like, Lewis and his machine have bled the organization white. The U. M. W. of A. today has been stripped to the point where it exists—as a substantial organization—in only two districts: Illinois and the anthracite field. Under its present leadership it does not even make a pretense at fighting for the miners' interests. It keeps what is left in the union divided by sectional agreements; throttles all initiative; drives members out of the union with the poison gas of corruption and terrorism. Indeed, there is hardly another trade union in the country in which the complete bankruptcy and criminality of the leadership and collaborationist policies has been so conclusively demonstrated.

In the face of this utter bankruptcy of Lewisism and the repeatedly expressed opposition of the bulk of the miners to it (at conventions, in union elections) etc., and the excellent opportunities for progress thereby afforded the left wing movement, the latter has succeeded in making but little appreciable headway in the industry as a decisive organized force. On the contrary. The course it has pursued under the direction of the present Communist Party leadership has dealt it severe blows which, combined with the new developments in the situation, can prove fatal for its immediate future. To prevent such a development, the Left wing must soberly and objectively observe the newest events, absorb their significance and draw the proper conclusions. This has not yet been done.

1. The N. M. U. Strike in Illinois

The National Miners Union strike in Illinois bore most of the characteristic features of the present ruinous and adventurist course of the Party leadership which has been fastened to the new unions with a strangling grip. The strike was called with virtually no preparations made to carry it through successfully. The Belleville District conference, four weeks before the strike call was issued, was devoted mainly to a thoroughly framed-up polemic against the then national president of the union, John J. Watt, who disagreed with the Party policy of rigid, mechanical control. The strike was not mentioned there. The post conference attempts to discredit Watt among the miners, with the Party utilizing all the contemptible methods so common to the reactionary labor bureaucracy, only deepened

the distrust and antagonism among the miners. Instead of consolidating and extending the front of the N. M. U., in preparation for the strike, the Party leadership created a situation which narrowed the union basis down to the smallest minimum. The whole campaign of the N. M. U. in Illinois at that time, was conducted under the banner of the slogan that the principal enemies of the miners against whom the strike was to be directed were not the coal operators but...the "Trotskyists, the I. W. W., the Socialist Party and the S. L. P."

Irresponsibility, bombast and claims based solely on wishes, predominance of narrow factional interest, playing with the interests of the class—these were the outstanding characteristics of the Party leadership of the strike. The sub-district conferences held a week before the strike call was issued by the District Board, did not have the strike on the agenda. The N. M. U. leaders did not even take the trouble of circulating a strike vote among the miners which would have helped to draw broad masses into the struggle. The essential basis of the strike forces was among the unemployed miners and not among those at work. No serious attempt was made to agitate among the members of the United Mine Workers to join the struggle, and everything was done to make collaboration with the members of the I. W. W. in the coal fields impossible. In fact, every element in the situation that did not declare in advance its entire agreement with the political line of the Communist Party was deliberately repulsed. The Party (i. e., the National Miners Union) organizers, and their press (the *Daily Worker*, etc.) devoted more time and energy to "com'batting Trotskyism" than to organizing the combat against the coal operators and their trade union agents.

In the face of such a course, it is natural that the strike should have had so calamitous and pitiful a conclusion. The wretched and cowardly attempts of the Party leadership now to unload the responsibility for their own criminal mismanagement on to the shoulders of the local leaders of the N. M. U., whom they directed at every step with the lash of ruthless discipline, is both revolting and characteristic of Stalinist "self-criticism". The warning of the Communist Opposition, the indications that preparations were lacking, the demand made upon the Party to organize the campaign against the operators instead of against Watt, Angelo and others—all these were unheeded. In the same way, the need for a considered analysis of the strike results is entirely neglected—even prohibited by the Party.

What is outstanding is the fact that the N. M. U. has been practically eliminated from the Illinois field as a decisive factor at the present time. Its opportunity for expansion—particularly in face of the scandalous Fishwick-Lewis fight for the spoils—was shamefully bungled. For this the responsibility rests exclusively and four-square on the shoulders of the Communist Party leaders. The present attempt to retrieve the heavy losses incurred in bungling a big situation by the organization of sporadic small local strikes in camps here and there is only adventurist desperation that must be condemned lest the N. M. U. is completely wiped out and the Left wing is retarded for a long period.

The Communist League reaffirms its position—contrary to that of the I. W. W.—of urging the Illinois miners to join in the strike. Whatever the errors of the leadership, however false the policies they pursue, it is the duty of the militant and class conscious workers and workers' organizations to give wholehearted support to every struggle of the workers, to seek to broaden and deepen its ranks, to clarify it in action and purpose.

As a final consequence of the Illinois strike is the foothold gained there for the first time in years by the I. W. W. Even as a passing phenomenon, it has an ominous and instructive significance. If syndicalism (that is, anti-political party; anti-political action; belief in the labor union as the all-sufficient instrument of the working class) is the punishment meted out to the revolutionary movement for the sins of party opportunism and vulgar parlia-

mentarism, it is also one of the ways in which workers frequently repay the workers' political party for mismanagement and for dominating the trade union with the rigidity, bureaucratic arbitrariness, mechanical and formalistic transference of the party into the union which is typical of Stalinism. We warned about such an eventuality months ago in our comments on the Belleville Conference. The sudden spread of erroneous syndicalist conceptions among the Illinois miners may be put entirely at the door of the Party bureaucrats. To re-consolidate the prestige and strength of the Left wing and Communist movements that have been discredited by the methods of the official Party leaders, it will be necessary to approach these syndicalist workers as fighters with whom the closest collaboration must be established. The Party method of calumny and name-calling, instead of seeking to unite with them and discuss the problems and tasks of the movement with the aim of establishing clarity, must be repudiated as entirely false.

2. The Fishwick-Howat-Brophy Convention

The call for an international convention of the U. M. W. A., directed against Lewis and Co., and signed by the Fishwick machine men plus Brophy, Howat, and others, yesterday's allies of the Left wing and the Party, creates a new set of circumstances in the mining industry which can have far-reaching consequences for the Left wing if it proves capable of viewing the situation objectively and acting accordingly. This has also not yet been done by the Party or by the official Left wing which it controls. On the contrary, it has limited itself to substituting mere denunciation for analysis. In place of separating and distinguishing between the various factors in the situation, the Party has resorted to the vulgar method of identifying all groups outside itself and throwing them into one common pot of indistinguishable reaction. Such interpretations of events, which make any serious analysis "unnecessary", is guaranteed in advance to make the Left wing a narrow, ingrown, self-satisfied and uninfluential sect.

The old struggle between the Fishwick-Farrington and the Lewis machines has been going on for years, interrupted at periods only by the necessity of making common cause against the Left wing. That struggle was undoubtedly a fight for loot and position, and failed to move any substantial mass of the miners; it interested primarily the big and petty union officialdom and the operators. What is new in the situation is the fact that men (and the groups they represent) like Brophy, Howat and Dorchy have joined with Fishwick in an anti-Lewis fight; that the socialist party has given virtual endorsement, and the C. P. L. A. (Muste group) outright endorsement to the new combination. The Lewis faction has no progressives in its ranks and does not make the faintest pretense at a progressive program. What distinguishes the Fishwick faction now is precisely the fact that the progressives have joined with it and given it a different coloring, which will vitally affect the attitude of the progressive miners.

The new combination and its convention call is at bottom a sign of vitality in the U. M. W. of A. It will in the first place, have a strong tendency to reconstitute the old union. In other words, it is as much the reflection of the desire in the ranks of the miners for the establishment of a strong union on a progressive basis as it is the expression of the Fishwick machine's intention to capitalize this desire for its own purpose.

The development of this progressive and semi-progressive movement among the miners in the old union is, furthermore, of significance for the labor movement as a whole, particularly for the A. F. of L. It belies again the "theory" of the "complete bankruptcy" of the A. F. of L. and is proof positive that there are still at hand powerful forces—already in movement and potential—in the ranks of the old unions that offer a strong basis for the Left wing and for a struggle against the labor union

bureaucracy and class collaboration. is a refutation of the schematic (not Marxist) conception held by the Party (particularly by Foster) of the fatalistic "decline of the A. F. of L."—the "theoretical" foundation upon which have been erected the ruinous policies in the trade union movement now pursued by the official Party machine.

There is power behind the new movement. Fishwick-Farrington have a base in control of the Illinois district of the U. M. W. A., which is one of the two remaining districts of the old union still containing a hold on the workers in the industry. More than that, it has associated with it men like Brophy and Howat who have been associated with the progressive and Left wing movement for years, and have a great prestige among the miners throughout the country. The notion prevalent in the minds of the Party leaders that their denunciation of these men for departing from the Left wing movement has "discredited them among the masses of the miners" is entirely false and a replacement of reality by desire.

The progressive and Left wing sentiment remaining in the U. M. W. of A. will therefore incline strongly towards supporting and pushing forward this movement as a "legal expression" of the fight against reaction in the union. More than that, the miners who have dropped out of the union, without joining the N. M. U., or became passive and indifferent, will tend to see in this movement the hope for reconstituting the organization to its former strength and to a new progressivism. The movement, therefore, will tend to become a rallying ground for the dispersed and discouraged progressive and Left wing workers in the old union, the former members in the disrupted districts, and even in the ranks of the National Miners Union itself.

It is entirely true that any hopes or faith whatsoever placed in men like Fishwick, Farrington, John H. Walker, etc., is quite groundless and must end in bitter disappointment. These people have a record which is not one whit different from that of Lewis. Like him, they ruled by the blackjack, gunmen and terror. Like him, they have expelled militants and broken up progressive local unions. Like him, they worked hand in hand with the operators against the elementary interests of the miners. Their arch-type is Farrington, the paid employee of the Peabody Coal Company during his incumbency in the office of Illinois district union president. That is precisely why the Left wing must exercise its influence upon the workers in this movement, drive a wedge between the union misleaders operators' agents, and self-seekers on the one hand and the genuinely progressive elements in the ranks and the leadership on the other.

To deal with this movement by frontal attack and simple denunciation alone, as is the Party method today, to neglect to influence it from within, means only one thing: The Left wing, willy-nilly, will be aiding Fishwick and Co. to establish virtually unhindered domination over tens of thousands of progressive-minded workers who will lean to the new movement. The Left wing must bear in mind that the present C. P. policy is only the other side of a counterfeit coin: Yesterday, the Stalinists united in a most intimate bloc with the most reactionary reformist leaders (Purcell, Chiang Kai-Shek, etc.) without any regard for the masses; today, they again see only the leaders—this time condemning them out of hand—and again forget that there is such a thing as workers in the ranks who follow them. Neither policy has any particular virtue. The second is only a despairing effort to cover up the traces of yesterday's disappointments.

The Left wing cannot regard the formation of the N. M. U. as the end of the problem of the old union which still has the bulk of the organized miners, or as having solved the problems of the Left wing once and for all. It is rather a stage in a long struggle to reconstitute the miners' organization on a national scale on a militant basis. In this struggle the Left wing organized in the National Miners Union must retain its ability to maneuver. With only a few thousand members in its

(Continued on Page 8)

What is the «Permanent Revolution»?

By L. D. Trotsky

These these constitute a brief statement of contents of a large pamphlet which is being prepared by me for publication under the same title. The questions to which the pamphlet is dedicated, are inseparably bound up with the foundations of the program of the Comintern and consequently with the future platform of the International Opposition. I make these theses public as material for the elaboration of the theoretical section of the platform. The pamphlet, I hope, will shortly appear in numerous languages. —L. T.

1. The theory of the permanent revolution now demands the greatest attention of every Marxist, for the course of the ideological and class struggle has finally drawn this question out of the field of reminiscences over the old differences of opinion among Russian Marxists and converted it into a question of the character, the internal connections and the methods of the international revolution as a whole.

2. With regard to the countries with a backward bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their democratic and national liberative tasks is only conceivable through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leader of the subjugated nations, primarily of their peasant masses.

3. Not only the agrarian, but also the national question, assigned to the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population of the backward countries, an important place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, yes, not even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an intransigent struggle against the influence of the national liberal bourgeoisie.

4. No matter how the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political direction of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is only conceivable through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves the tasks of the democratic revolution.

5. The old slogan of Bolshevism—"The Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry" expresses precisely the above characterized relation of the proletariat, the peasantry and the liberal bourgeoisie. This is demonstrated by the experience of October. But the old formula of Lenin does not solve in advance the problem of what the mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry inside of the revolutionary bloc will be. In other words, the formula has unknown algebraic quantities which have to make way for precise arithmetical quantities in the process of historical experience. This latter showed, and under circumstance that exclude every other interpretation, that no matter how big the revolutionary role of the peasantry may be, it can nevertheless not be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois. This means that the "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry" is only conceivable as a Dictatorship of the Proletariat that leads the peasant masses behind it.

6. A Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, as a regime that is distinguished from the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by its class content, would be realized only in case an independent revolutionary Party could be constituted which expresses the interests of the peasants and in general of petty-bourgeois democracy—a Party that is capable of conquering power with this or that aid of the proletariat and of determining its revolutionary program. As modern history teaches and especially the history of Russia in the last 25 years—an insurmountable obstacle on the road to the creation of a peasants party is the economic and political dependence of the petty-bourgeoisie and its deep internal differentiation, thanks to which the upper sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (peasantry) go with the big bourgeoisie in all decisive cases, especially in war and in revolution, and the lower sections—with the proletariat, while the intermediary section has the choice between the two extreme poles. Between the Kerenskiade and the Bolshevik power, between the Kuo-Min-Tang and the

Dictatorship of the Proletariat there can lie nothing and there lies nothing, that is, no democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

7. The endeavor of the Comintern to foist upon the Eastern countries the slogan of the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, finally and long ago exhausted by history, can have only a reactionary significance. In so far as this slogan is counterposed to the slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it contributes to the dissolution of the Proletariat into the petty-bourgeois masses and in this manner creates better conditions for the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie and consequently for the collapse of the democratic revolution. The introduction of this slogan into the program of the Comintern is a direct betrayal of Marxism and of the October traditions of Bolshevism.

8. The dictatorship of the Proletariat which rises to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly placed before tasks that are bound up with a deep incision into the right of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution rises over immediately into the Socialist, and thereby becomes a permanent revolution.

9. The conquest of power of the proletariat does not end the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is only conceivable on the foundation of the class struggle, on a national and international scale. This struggle, under the conditions of an overwhelming predominance of capitalist relationships on the world arena, will inevitably lead to outbreaks, internal, that is, civil wars, and external, that is, revolutionary wars. Therein lies the permanent character of the Socialist revolution as such, independent of whether it is a question of a backward country which only yesterday had its democratic overthrow, or an old capitalist country, which already has behind it a long epoch of democracy and parliamentarism.

10. The completion of the Socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the main reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it overflow the boundaries of the national state. From this follow, on the one hand, imperialist wars, and on the other hand, the utopia of the bourgeois United States of Europe. The Socialist revolution commences on the national arena, is developed further on the inter-state and finally on the world arena. Thus the Socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in the new and broader sense of this word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.

11. By the above outlined schema of the development of the world revolution, the question of the countries that are "mature" or "immature" for Socialism in the spirit of that pedantic, lifeless, classification by the present program of the Comintern, is eliminated. Insofar as capitalism has created the world market, the division of labor and productive forces throughout the world, it has also prepared world economy for socialist reconstruction.

The various countries will go through this process in varying tempos. Backward countries can, under certain conditions, arrive at the dictatorship of the proletariat sooner, but they come later than the latter to Socialism.

A backward colonial or semi-colonial country whose proletariat is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and conquer power is thereby incapable of carrying its democratic overthrow to its conclusion. On the contrary, in a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the further fate of the dictatorship and socialism is not only and not so much dependent in the final analysis upon the national productive forces, as it is upon the development of the international socialist revolution.

12. The theory of Socialism in one Country which rose on the yeast of the reaction against the theory of the permanent

revolution (to "nine-tenths", according to Stalin's formula) and the opening of the epoch of national reform. The theory of the Kulak growing into socialism and the theory of the "neutralization" of the world bourgeoisie are consequently inseparable from the theory of socialism in one country. They stand and fall together.

Through the theory of national socialism, the Communist International is degraded to a weapon of assistance which is necessary for the struggle against a military intervention. The present policy of the Comintern, its regime, and the selection of its leading personalities, correspond entirely to the debasement of the Communist International to an assisting troop which is not designed to solve independent tasks.

14. The program of the Comintern created by Bucharin is thoroughly eclectic. It makes the hopeless attempt to reconcile the theory of Socialism in one Country with Marxist Internationalism, which is however, inseparable from the permanent character of the world revolution. The struggle of the Left Communist Opposition for a correct policy and a healthy regime in the Communist International is inseparably combined with a struggle for a Marxist program. The question of the program in turn is inseparable from the question of the two mutually exclusive theories: the theory of permanent revolution and the theory of socialism in one country. The problem of the permanent revolution has long ago rooted out the episodic differences between Lenin and Trotsky, which were quite exhausted by history. The struggle is for the basic ideas of Marx and Lenin on the one side and the eclectics of the Centrists on the other.

This theory sets the revolution in the backward countries the task of establishing an unrealizable regime of the democratic dictatorship; this regime it sets up against the dictatorship of the proletariat way it introduces illusions and fictions into politics, paralyzes the struggle for power of the proletariat in the East, and hampers the victory of the colonial revolution.

The very seizure of power by the proletariat signifies, from the standpoint of the epigones theory, the completion of the revolution.

Opposition Serves the Bolshevik Revolution

"Up to the very last moment Blumkin carried through work of the utmost importance for the Soviet Union. How could he do this while adhering to the Opposition? This is explainable from the nature of his work, which was of an entirely individual character. Blumkin had little, if anything, to do with the Communist nuclei, and no possibility of participating in Party discussions. But this does not mean that he hid his thoughts. On the contrary, Blumkin had told Menjinsky and Trilisser, the former chiefs of the foreign department of the G. P. U., that his sympathies were with the Opposition, but that naturally, like any other Oppositionist he was absolutely prepared to carry out his important tasks for the October revolution. Menjinsky and Trilisser considered Blumkin to be irreplaceable, which was true. They left him to his tasks which he always carried out.

Blumkin did visit me at Constantinople. I have already mentioned the fact that Blumkin had slight connections with my secretarial work. In particular, he had prepared one of my military works (I mention this in the preface of that work). Blumkin came to me in Constantinople in order to ascertain my analysis of the situation and in order to assure himself that he ought to remain in the service of the government which was deporting, banishing and imprisoning those comrades who were of the same mind as himself. I replied, naturally, that he was doing his revolutionary duty—not towards the Stalin regime, which had usurped the rights of the Party, but towards the October Revolution.

There has, perhaps, been quoted to you, from one of Yaroslavsky's articles, an allegation concerning my conversation with a visitor last summer and to whom I had predicted the inevitable and imminent collapse of the Soviet government. The miserable sycophant lies, that goes without saying. But on comparing certain facts and dates, I am certain that this referred to my conversation with Blumkin. As for his question concerning the possibility of reconciling his work and his adherence to the Opposition, I told him among other things, that my exile as well as the imprisonment of other comrades did not change our fundamental line; that in the moment of danger the Oppositionists would be in the most advanced posts, that in the difficult hours Stalin would be forced to call upon them even as Tseretelli appealed to the Bol-

sheviks for aid against Kornilov. In that connection I added: "If only it is not too late." Apparently, Blumkin, after his arrest disclosed the nature of his interview in order to show the attitude and state of mind of the Opposition: it must not be forgotten that I had been exiled because of the accusation that I was preparing an armed conflict against the Soviet power!

Through Blumkin I had sent an informative letter to Moscow for our friends, based upon the same ideas that I had set forth in a series of published articles: the Stalin repression against us does not yet signify a change in the class character of the State, but only prepares and makes more easy that change; our course remains, as in the past, that of reform and not that of revolution; the implacable struggle for our ideas must be based on the perspective of a long delay."

—L. TROTSKY

(Excerpts from letter of January 5th, 1930 at Prinkipo, Turkey).

QUARTER MILLION JOBLESS IN N. C.

RALEIGH, N. C.—(FP)—250,000 are jobless in North Carolina, leading industrial state of the south, according to Comm. F. D. Grist of the state department of labor and industry. Unemployment in Raleigh is double last year's.

Hunger, prevalent in the broken farm districts of eastern North Carolina, is creeping into the farms and small cities that dot the region. Tenants and farm laborers, driven from the land, congregate in these communities, while the crop failure causes curtailment of employment in the urban establishments, and the slowing up of new construction.

In Goldsboro scores of Negroes are being fed in jimcrow soup kitchens. In Goldsboro two thirds of the destitute are Negroes. In some places schools are feeding children at least once a day.

Edward C. Lindgren, former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, will speak before the New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) on Tuesday, March 4th, 1930 at 8 p. m. at the Militant Hall, 25 Third Ave. Room 4. His subject is: What is Wrong with the Communist Party?

Throughout the World of Labor

The Fall Of Primo De Rivera and its Consequences

The fall of Primo de Rivera surprised almost no one. It surprised only Primo de Rivera himself... and the leading Spanish Communists. The former stated, two weeks before his collapse, that he would relinquish power of his own accord in six months; the latter, like an echo, were writing that Primo would be with us for a long time.

Primo did not yield up power of his own accord. Neither was he driven out by a revolutionary movement. His downfall was due to one of those secret revolts which threaten to, break out not only against a government, but also against the class which maintains it. The class—the bourgeoisie, the monarchy the army—wish to ward off the immediate danger, the discontent and the growing revolution, by driving Primo out of power and promising a return to the constitutional form of government. In fact, a large-scale conspiracy was organized, which, in breaking forth could have overthrown not only the dictatorship, but even the monarchy, and which, under the existing circumstances, could have exceeded the desires and intention of the organizers themselves.

It can be said with certainty that the discontent against Primo was widespread. The proletariat showed their discontent through the powerful strikes of 1927-28-29 in Austria, Catalogne, Seville, etc., strikes of an almost spontaneous character, let loose through economic causes, and which rapidly assumed a political character, not through the almost non-existent efforts of the official communist movement, but through the intervention of the dictatorship, on the side of the bosses, against the proletariat and through the rapid development of the latter.

(The leading Spanish Communists have deceived the International in pretending that these strikes were instigated and directed by themselves. Unfortunately this was not so.)

Bourgeoisie Desert Primo

*The discontent of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, and of a section of the army manifested itself in the form of conspiracies, (six, up to the one which was being recently prepared) and in the student movements. Primo was already left with the support of only a section of the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie whom he had succeeded in reassuring through the establishment of national monopolies at the expense of foreign finance capital, and through extreme political protection. But he ended up by losing the support of the big bourgeoisie as well because of the fall in the value of the Peseta.

The pressure of international finance was in fact one of the chief causes, a fact which can easily be explained, it having given rise to the ultra-nationalist political economy of Primo. This, however, was not the sole cause. Instead of correcting this entire political economy, financial and social, and of achieving parity, the dictatorship believed that it could sustain the Peseta by means of simple manipulations in the world market. It obtained a credit of 18 million pounds from a group of British and American financiers, which made possible only a temporary halt in the decline of the Spanish standard. The decline proceeded in a fatalistic manner, resulting first in a defection of the Minister of Finance and finally in the collapse of the entire government.

Financial Crisis in Spain

The economic and political situation which Primo is leaving as a heritage to his successors, is extremely dangerous. If the best-known former political leaders—Cambo, the younger Maura, Sanchez Guerra, etc.—definitely refuse to aid Berenguer, it is because of the seriousness of the situation. Above all stands the financial question. In 1923, the year of Primo's Coup-d'Etat, the Spanish public debt, according to the official figures themselves, was 8,531 million Pesetas, the total indebtedness of the treasury approaching 5,000 million. At the end of 1929 these figures had risen to 19,635 million pesetas (an increase of 11 million in six years and four months of the dictatorship!)

Naturally, the political situation is also extremely serious. In 1923, Primo destroyed

all the government parties. Those could no longer offer the least resistance, being discredited in the eyes of the people.

But Primo set up nothing in their place. The Patriotic Union was an artificially created party, an empty shell in the eyes of the public owing its existence solely to official support. This group, together with the Advisory Assembly and everything created by the dictatorship of Primo, were doomed to perish. The proof of this lies in the fact that the king appealed and continued to appeal to the former leaders of the traditional parties, through Berenguer, that they reorganize their parties and prepare for distorted elections, following the vicious methods of former years. All this as though nothing had happened!

Of course the Spanish proletariat did not look at things in the same light. For them the former parties were permanently discredited. They did not await, they did not desire their return—a return to the status of 1923. Not a praetorian guard, but neither the former regime, and above all not a monarchy. Primo had engineered his coup-d'Etat in 1923 in order to save the monarchy.

The Growing Republican Movement

It is also in order to save it that his rule has just been liquidated and that the former politicians are preparing to govern anew. Will they succeed in saving the crown? We think not. A wider and wider republican movement is taking form in Spain. The very first acts of Berenguer have been to arrest several of the republican leaders in Valencia, Barcelona, etc. The demonstrations of the students and workers against the dictatorship revolved not only around the slogan of "Down with Primo", but "Down with the Monarchy". The republican movement cannot but grow. The important problems left over by Primo and which cannot be solved by his successors will serve to aggravate the crisis of the monarchist regime. We are at the threshold of political struggles of the greatest interest.

But we Communists, in this situation, which, by the action of material forces assume an increasingly revolutionary character, must act with energy and facility. The anti-monarchist movement will be led in its first stages by the petty-bourgeoisie, by the republican party and by the socialists.

The Spanish proletariat; whose living conditions are extremely wretched, and whose hatred of the entire system has matured during the last few years of dictatorial oppression are getting ready for participation in the struggle.

The Need of a Communist Party

But in face of the socialists who are preparing to manœuvre, and of the anarcho-syndicalists who will attempt to reassume the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions, what is needed now is a strong Communist Party, disciplined, supple, knowing how to lead the proletariat in the coming struggles towards its emancipation. Will the actual Communist Party attain its historic mission? This is the serious problem for the entire International. Today, once again, the leaders of the Spanish Communists, with the support of the Stalin clique which steers the Comintern, readily devote themselves to the miserable task of systematically hounding the best militant Communists. Under any circumstances this attitude would be incorrect; at present it is an anti-Communist crime. We Opposition Communists will know our duty. But if the Stalinist bureaucrats attempt to hinder us, they will be responsible before the international proletariat.

Paris, February 7, 1930.

—GORKIN

German Unemployed Defy Tyrannous Laws

BERLIN—(FP)—Depression has laid its heavy hand on Germany's Manhattan. Nearly 400,000 jobless pace the cold streets; old men and women peddle newspapers or matches; the free soup stations are crowded with the destitute.

Everywhere in Germany, whose total unemployed exceeds 3,500,000, the jobless are forming organizations of protest. Demonstrations have occurred in Würms, Erfurt

and Hamburg in defiance of the severe anti-demonstration laws recently passed by the government. These laws aim to cripple the growing Communist movement.

Police frequently shoot into crowds of marching out-of-workers. Many of the unfortunates have been killed or wounded.

But the protests continue despite the oppressive laws. "We have only our lives to lose," commented one of the jobless. "And under the present regime our lives are worthless anyhow."

Φ

German Unemployed and the First of February

For weeks and weeks the German party has proclaimed through its 35 publications that on the first of February millions of unemployed would parade throughout Germany. The factory workers would give proof of their solidarity. Braving the ban of Zoergel and of Severing, the working class would capture the streets.

The first of February was to have marked the beginning of great mass battles. In the Leningrad Pravda appeared:

"In no country are the rise of the revolutionary wave and the collapse of capitalist stabilization as evident as in Germany. The Communist Party of Germany is, next in order after that of the Soviet Union, the most bolshevik party. That is why it is not to be wondered at that it is in Germany that one can see the advance of the approaching European revolution."

"The barricade fights in Hamburg, the defiance of the ban against demonstrations in German cities, the parades of the armies of the unemployed are, under the existing circumstances, the expression of the growing revolutionary tendencies of the masses. The events of the last few days prove that a revolutionary situation approaches at full speed in Germany."

In proportion as the leadership of the Party becomes intoxicated with its own prophecies and bombast, the social democracy becomes increasingly arrogant. The social democratic press, energetically supported by the democratic press, agitates against the C. P. G. and spreads the most fantastic lies. The closer did the 1st of February approach, the clearer did it become that the social democracy hoped, through a sweeping provocation, to definitely strike down the Party and drive it into illegality. The agitation of the social-democracy was complemented by the slander of the Brandler press, which branded the would-be plans of the Party leadership as putschist.

Wherein Lies the Defeat of the 1st of February

The leadership and the Party press evidently speak only of a "victory". Thus, the Rote Fahne of the 2nd of February writes: "The Communist party achieved its desired end on the first of February; the solid advance of marching proletarian regiments crushed Grzesinski's ban against demonstrations."

The social democracy and the bourgeois press are jubilant: the "revolutionary plans" miscarried. The social democracy and the bourgeoisie know quite well that the First of February was not the "day of the revolution" on the calendar of Thaelmann's adventures. But they also know that on the 1st of February the C. P. G. suffered a serious defeat. For the actual task which they had set themselves was far from accomplished. Only a few thousand of the 350,000 unemployed in Berlin heeded the Party's call. None of the Berlin factories in which the Party obtained so many votes, as was the case last year, when it had such great success, participated in the solidarity strike. The Party leadership did not even call upon the factories to go out on strike in solidarity with the unemployed, for it knew that this appeal would be useless.

In Red Berlin, where the C. P. G. mustered as many votes as the socialist party in the communal elections of Nov. 17, 1929 the call of the Party went to naught, and this despite the growing bitterness of the masses, and despite the increasing contempt of the Berlin proletariat for the leadership of the socialist party.

Why Was the Defeat Inevitable?

The C. P. G. is a mass party which represents 3 million workers, and this despite the political adventurism of its leadership, despite the unfitness of Thaelmann, Neumann, Remmele, etc.

But the masses, although voting for the party, whether in the general elections or in the elections of the factory councils, do not at all thereby show that they have decided to carry through the proletarian revolution. They simply show that they are disassociating themselves from the counter-revolutionary policy of the Social-Democratic Party—the enemy of their class. Unfortunately this is not how the Rote Fahne puts it:

"In the factories, among the unemployed on the streets, in the country and on the farms, everywhere, the willingness to abolish the system which brings nothing but hunger and misery for the masses, is growing among the workers, the willingness to put an end to a system which has proven its inability to guarantee to the working people an existence at least worthy of a human being!"

The masses who vote for the party, even those who follow its actions, are not yet that far advanced. The Party's appeal for the first of February was forcibly extinguished without achieving its aim, because it did not appeal to the masses with immediate concrete demands affecting every unemployed worker, but all it could do was to get itself drunk with vague political phrases which could not represent to non-party workers the goal to be sought after today, and tomorrow.

Berlin, February 2, 1930.

—KURT LANDAU

Φ

LaVerite and the Militant

"There was no dearth of prophets who predicted the doom of La Verite even before it appeared. Several profound sages explained their desertion by saying that conditions were not suitable for the formation of a Communist Party in general. Nevertheless La Verite not only grows and gathers strength, but now has acquired a fighting ally as precious as La Lutte des Classes. La Verite itself assumes a clearer and more distinct form. One cannot but agree with our Chinese comrade N. who recently wrote from Shanghai that La Verite of Paris and The Militant of New York are the best publications of the International Opposition"

Excerpt from "A New Step Forward" by L. D. Trotsky, Constantinople, January 22, 1930.

Φ

ACTORS EQUITY DEPRECATES COMPANY UNION PLAN

HOLLYWOOD, Calif.—(FP)—Company unionism is sneaking into Hollywood as a backfire against Actors Equity Assn., the theatre and movie union. Using the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the movie magnates are compelling screen people to swear away their right to strike in return for a dubious agreement.

Among concessions made to the actors as a result of the Equity strike last summer, and written into the company union agreement, are reasonable notice of dismissal (the company to determine what is reasonable) and overtime pay at regular rates. Actors are to be permitted to rest 12 hours between calls, and eight hours is to constitute a day's work for day workers.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—For posting a sign calling for work or wages, Angelo Cappello was arrested at the Broadway Auditorium and held for \$500 bail. The maximum penalty, under an ancient city ordinance, is one year in jail.

Two workers were arrested at an open air protest demonstration held by the Council of the Unemployed. Bail was set at \$2,000.

ST. LOUIS JOBLESS SWAMP CHARITIES

ST. LOUIS—Pleas for charity coming to the St. Louis Provident Assn. during January again established a new high record, unequalled during the 60-odd years of the organization's life

Imperialist Development and its Inevitable Doom

By Arne Swaback

Marx has given to the movement his brilliant terse definition of the true nature of the capitalist system of production. In his description of the transformation of the individual means into social means of production with the social product appropriated by the individual capitalist, he demonstrated the basic contradictions whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves.

The specific features of the development of monopoly capitalism are, alongside the higher stage of socialization of production, also an intensification of contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle, as indicated most vividly in this present depression. Its extent and depth cannot yet be estimated, but whatever the degree, the depression itself will accentuate these conflicts. Any steps taken toward "social control of business"—to use the phrase of the capitalist economic writers—by monopoly capitalism and its government, will naturally mean not merely attempts at new divisions, but first of all a further expansion of productive capacity with increased exploitation of the workers. Evidence of this has already been given in the Hoover conferences. Discounting all the window dressing from the "promises" for building and expansion of activities by the big corporations and retaining that part which will actually find a place in their "normal" development, what have we left? Just such building and expansion which makes each corporation a more effective competitor and bring results in increased production of surplus values, at reduced cost by further rationalization, labor saving machinery and speed-up.

Lenin distinctly emphasized that capitalism in its imperialistic phase leads to the most extensive socialization of production, that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism are not eliminated but become intensified, that the general structure of free competition remains and the oppression by a few monopolists becomes much harder, more painful and unbearable.

The Imperialist Struggle for Market Control

Concretely, the further developments will manifest themselves today first of all in efforts by American monopoly capitalism to overcome its economic difficulties by further pressure upon the workers. The theories of the capitalist economists of the high wage standard, labor stock ownership in enterprises and capital and labor partnership, also valiantly championed by the A. F. of L. "leadership", are due for some rude shakings: for the indispensable and fundamental condition of the capitalist method of production is a starvation standard, with, however, continued imperialist bribings of certain sections of the more skilled. This is already on the order of the day. The working class as a whole is suffering both by outright wage cuts, by the fact of a standing army of unemployed hitting most families, as well as increased speedup. The working class will find itself compelled to ever more resistance, thus sharpening the class struggle.

American imperialism will further seek to overcome its economic difficulties on the international arena by conquests of new markets. But the division of the world among the groups of capitalists, as far as colonial territory is concerned, was already completed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Now only redivisions are possible which usually find this "solution" in war. The American exports to foreign markets are increasing, and already presage an immediately sharpening trade war, because the European imperialist powers will do their best to retaliate. In answer to the new U. S. tariff policy, for example, similar steps are indicated in Europe. The French parliament is laboring over a bill providing for an exceptionally high duty on import of automobiles. The recent League of Nations Report shows Germany increasing her foreign trade much faster than the United States. One of the special tasks of the McDonald government is to carry through a complete reorganization of British industry to become a better competitor with the United States, and, if possible, to make the British workers "like" the speed-up system. A trade war of imperialist cut-throats will be based primarily upon their ability to cut wages and increase the pace of the workers. This struggle for the world market, or for redivision of the world, is but the prelude to the imperialist war, in other words—a continuation of the trade war with different means—which now finds its reflection in the

jugglings for position at the London naval conference in the race for armaments.

American Expansion will Bring Revolutionary Disturbances

"The inevitable further development of American expansion, the contraction of the markets of European capitalism, including the European market itself, entails the greatest military, economic and revolutionary disturbances, such as will leave all disturbances of the past in the shade." (Trotsky—Criticism of Comintern Program.)

As for any beliefs of the ability of the often appearing world trusts or syndicates actually to divide the world spheres between them and eliminate competition, historical experiences should teach a good lesson. Lenin cites some examples in his book "Imperialism":

The petroleum market already in 1905 was divided between two groups: The Standard Oil Co. and the Rotchild-Nobel combine. Both of these groups were closely connected, but their monopoly became threatened by newly developing oil fields mainly backed by German banks. A struggle ensued between the Standard Oil and the German banks, involving the German government, with the result that the former became victorious. We can add, that now this struggle is continued between the Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch Shell. Lenin further cites the field of mercantile navigation where the gigantic growth of concentration led to division of all routes between the two German groups, Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd on the one hand and the Morgan trust of Anglo-American companies on the other. An agreement for division was concluded in 1903 to run for 20 years. It became void by the world war. Similarly in 1904 the steel rail cartel was organized with a definite basis of division of the market between England, Germany and Belgium. Later France and the United States Steel Corporation, followed by Austria and Spain, joined. The war scattered it again.

Capitalism Can't Harmonize Contradictions

Recently rumors were current of American steel trusts entering the new European steel syndicate. Here again the prospects of the coming imperialist war indicates its short lease of life, if the conflicting interests of the national capitalist groups can be harmonized even that long. However, the decisive conclusion from such developments was drawn by Lenin:

World Textile Situation Bodes Workers Ill

By ROBERT W. DUNN

Anarchy of production under the present economic order is freshly illustrated in textile industry figures recently released. While mill owners complain of over-production and depressed prices, the annual review of the Textile World reports the total amount of mill construction in 1929 is larger than for 1928. Of the 550 separate concerns in the industry that erected, enlarged or improved plants during the year, 162 were cotton mills, 194 knitting mills, 74 woolen mills, 52 silk mills, 18 rayon mills in addition to 50 dye-houses and finishing plants.

While new construction was being rushed in this highly competitive and "depressed" industry, other plants were working two shifts. Still others, chiefly in the north, were going out of business altogether. But on the whole the capacity of the industry to turn out goods was being steadily increased.

In one of the "sickest" years for the cotton industry new mill construction was booming in the south. North Carolina led with 40 new plants, units and basic improvements to mills. South Carolina was a close second with 32. The south added 420,000 new spindles and 9215 looms in 1929, according to figures compiled by the Southern Textile Bulletin which reports that the average increase in southern spindles since 1912 has been 468,000 a year. Eight brand new cotton mills were built in the south in 1929, the largest being the Goodyear Rubber Co.'s mill at Rockmart, Ga., for the manufacture of tire fabrics.

With new mills and additional spindles running day and night, the owners turn their eyes overseas to find markets for goods. About 6% of cotton manufactures are now exported. The cotton men want to raise this to 15, 20 or more. And yet they collude with the export manager of the

"Some bourgeois writers were of the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalization of capital, give hope that peace among nations will be possible under capitalism. Theoretically, such an idea is an absurdity, and in practice it is a sophism and a means of dishonest defense of the worst kind of opportunism. The international cartels show the point to which capitalist monopolies have now grown and what the struggle among groups of capitalists is about. The latter point is the most important; it alone explains to us the historical-economic meaning of what is going on at present, as the FORM of the struggle may change and does change constantly, being dependent on various comparatively trifling and temporary causes, but the ESSENCE of the struggle, its CLASS CHARACTER CANNOT CHANGE as long as classes exist." (emphasis in original.)

Finance Capitalists Direct Government

It would be foolish, however, to close one's eyes to the possibilities for further expansion of American monopoly capitalism even on the home market. The tendencies manifested in the Hoover conferences toward "social control of business" (state capitalism) is keeping that well in mind and is based upon such possibilities. They envisage the prospects of bringing the government into more direct participation, support and responsibility, that is:—to establish a more perfect synthesis of control by the dynastic oligarchy both in the economic and political spheres. In this country the personal union, or fusion, of banks, industrial establishments and the government has not been lagging. The banks are no mere intermediaries in business but powerful monopoly holders; finances are completely interwoven with direction of industrial activities, industrial magnates are on board of directors of the banks and ever more openly this whole gentry fills the seats of government. Mellon, whose family cleaned up nearly 300 million dollars during the month of May last year in the rich stock market harvest, has long been the most outstanding directing force in the cabinet. Recently, as part of the general Hoover program, he was able to hand down a small subsidy in the form of a 160 million dollars tax cut on all incomes between 1 and 10 millions. Now Grundy has been put in the Senate and Morrow, Morgan's partner, will soon also take a seat

there.

It follows incontestably that any such further expansion on the home market as well leads to further contradictions, further sharpening of the class struggle, further competition between the monopolies themselves and with the smaller capitalist enterprises. This is inherent in capitalism and substantiated by all historical experience. The present industrialization of the south is the most vivid example. So far only in the first stage, it is already developing acute class conflicts.

The Petty Capitalists are Ground Under

There are throughout the country plenty of advocates for extension of super-power developments; for damming of mighty rivers and irrigation and fertilization of extensive tracts of land or for a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. Unquestionably the resources are available but within lie also sharpened competition and conflicts. We witness the uneven development not merely between the capitalist countries but also of capitalism within the country itself—not in the least softened in its monopolist stage. There are constant competition and encroachments upon the lighter or finishing industries by the heavier industries in control of raw materials, sometimes represented by horizontal versus vertical trusts. There is constant developing competition for new raw materials made possible by inventions of new methods. The new Edison process of making rubber from goldenrod or other weeds, for example, is likely to make great changes in the world struggle for rubber. Even the mere advocacy of the expansions mentioned above has struck opposition and conflicts between the various capitalist groups and monopolies. Conflicts between the capitalist groups is reflected in the dispute around the proposed high tariff legislation.

The Increase of Bankruptcies

The present depression as with others, is taking its toll in bankruptcies. According to the R. C. Dun review there were 2,759 bankruptcies during the month of January, the greatest number of any January for years. This offers the usual "splendid opportunities" for finance monopoly capitalism to proceed to organize these concerns or buy them for a song. The smaller capitalists and the middle class elements, who are thus being hit and who suffer in general from the oppression of the few monopolists have always looked for saviours to free them from the monopoly domination. They thus looked to and followed Roosevelt and LaFollette and they are now cherishing hopes that the present "progressives" in Congress will take up the cudgels against Grundy and Morrow and lead another "trust busting" campaign. It presages disturbances and splits within the important props of finance monopoly—the capitalist parties, mainly along economic lines. Many of the middle class elements, however, will be reduced to the ranks of the proletariat and become disillusioned.

The Growth of Communism

These are the dialectics of the capitalist system of production standing out more clearly in its greater maturity in the imperialist epoch. Every expansion of productive capacity; every step for more perfect stabilization of production, produces and intensifies its exact opposite—greater competition although in changed forms, and sharpened class antagonisms. These develop opportunities to advance the Communist movement. They should not be wasted in academic debates over primacy of external or internal contradictions; not to proclaim, as the Stalinists do, that the Right wing view of the disappearance of internal contradictions and the growth of anarchy in the international arena means that they hence "lead a purely metaphysical existence in the cosmic space". This is not the way to combat wrong theories. Crises in the specific country may focus particularly its internal contradictions; wars may focus particularly the external contradictions. Nevertheless these contradictions interrelate and are in the imperialist epoch inseparably bound together. The fact that American imperialism rests upon a foundation of world economy with its international conflicts hastens and sharpens the conflicts within.

DENVER—In January 24% of union members in Denver were unemployed, an increase over December of 1%. The percentage of unorganized workers unemployed is, of course, much higher.

YOUNG VANGUARD

- - A Section Devoted to Problems of the Working Class Youth - -

The Decline of the Y. C. I.

The present crisis in the Young Communist International is a direct reflection of the situation in the Comintern. The latter, under the leadership of Stalinist Centrism, with its policy of national "socialism", and the conversion of the Communist parties into automaton to carry out its bureaucratic orders, finds itself in a state of disintegration.

The Young Communist International as a section of the Comintern, has the same political and tactical line as the latter. Therefore the mistakes of the Comintern become the mistakes of the Y. C. I. The bureaucracy in the Comintern and its sections has more than its equal in the Leagues and the Y. C. I. Mechanical calling of conferences, bureaucratic appointments with complete disregard for the mass of the membership, mechanical use of Party slogans and policies for youth work, bureaucratic carrying out of decisions, (as "proletarianization" and "nativization") etc. are prevalent in every League in the Y. C. I. The well-known Stalinist abhorrence for revolutionary theory has its fitting supplement in the almost complete absence of educational work in the Leagues. The fundamentals of Marxism, the teaching of Lenin, the history of the Comintern and the Y. C. I., the history of the Russian October, are unknown to the average League functionary, not to speak of the average member. The above, when taught, is falsified—officially called "popularized". (See Stalin's "Leninism" as a model.)

Simultaneous with the declining influence and numerical strength of the Comintern since 1924, the Y. C. I. was transformed from an organization of over a million (exclusive of the Soviet Union) to, according to the report of Furenborg at the recent Plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I., a little over eighty thousand (83,067 to be exact). (This is less than one half the number of members it had in November, 1919, the time of the First Congress.) In every country, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the Leagues are small sects with little influence over the working youth, mere shadows of the Communist parties (although theoretically the former is supposed to be more of a mass organization than the party.)

The Fifth Congress of the Y. C. I. settled the entire question in a very simple manner. It reiterated the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on the necessity of a new line, the third period, the Right danger as the main one, and issued the slogan of: To the masses. These decisions were patented to give an impetus to the growth of "mass young Leninist leagues". A genuine discussion of policy and tactics; a critical analysis of the conditions of the young workers in the various countries; steps to educate the membership of the Leagues; ways and means of drawing the working youth into the struggle, these and similar questions were absent from the proceedings. It is no longer necessary to follow such tedious and "academic" procedure—for don't we know that in the present, the "third period", the young workers are becoming radicalized, that the Communists are the only true representatives of the workers and, ipso facto, the communist youth leagues will grow? Such reasoning sometimes with the most naive consciousness, other times unwittingly, is the prevalent logic of the young Stalinist leadership, internationally and nationally.

Y. C. I. Follows the False Path of the C. I.

Since the Fifth Congress, the Y. C. I. conducted the following mass activity. On July 20th and 21st of last year an International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference was held at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany, for the purpose of forming "youth sections" of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues in the various countries. The advisability of such a conference, even from a principle point of view, is highly questionable. The conducting and leading of the struggle against Imperialism is the tasks of the Comintern and its sections, especially the Y. C. I. To organize the petty-bourgeois liberals and socialists into an organization and expect them to carry on a consistent fight against imperialism is to close one's

eyes to the history of the liberal and socialist betrayals. Nevertheless, the Y. C. I., in calling into existence the above conference, once again mechanically and with as much reason, followed the policy of the Comintern in its organization of the World League Against Imperialism—which has contained such celebrated and consistent anti-imperialists as, Lansbury, Cook, Sandino, the elder Nehru. The first two were official spokesmen of the organization for some time, while the latter were colonial "heroes."

The proceedings of the conference were very simple. Representatives of petty bourgeois colonial groups and representatives of Communist Youth Leagues present reported on their activities. William Rust, who helped ruin the British League, and served Stalin in lining up the American League at its last convention, gave the report for the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I. He urged the necessity of anti-imperialist work and the formation of youth sections of the Anti-Imperialist League. Two days were spent in discussion. Not a single new youth section has been formed since then—anti-militarist activity in the League is less now than ever before—the E. C. Y. C. I. which convened the Conference did not even consider it important enough to discuss its resolutions and proceedings.

The May Day and August First Fiascoes

The sections of the Y. C. I. took part in the May Day affairs of the Parties and shared in the latter's failure to arouse the masses; it participated in the August 1st demonstrations. In reference to this, Manuisky tells us: "On the eve of August 1st—we said to you, comrades of the Y. C. I.—organize a number of demonstrations in the street before August 1st, dissipate the strength of the enemy, don't let him have a breathing-space. Did you pay heed to this call, did you respond to it? you who declaim about being rendered unpolitical? Did you, with the exception of timid efforts in Germany organize many such demonstrations in other countries?" Following this failure, the Y. C. I. called for the annual International Youth Day, September 1st, as a continuation of August 1st—and it was! Due to false political policy, an incorrect approach to the youth, lack of preparation, absence of the united front tactic, International Youth Day went the way of August 1st—no large sections of the working youth were mobilized.

Big Loss in Membership

The national sections of the Y. C. I. were just as impotent. In the period between the Fifth Congress and the recent plenum, the French League lost, according to official reports, one thousand members, (it fell from 7,000 to 6,000). In Great Britain, although the League had made great strides during the British miners' strike and the General Strike in 1926, had dropped to 900 members at the time of the Fifth Congress, and now has about 300. In Germany, the Brandlerite (Right Wing) youth succeeded in organizing a group, which has resulted in the loss to the Communist movement of many young workers, some going over to the Right wing, some leaving the movement entirely. In Czechoslovakia, the League in a period of one year has declined in membership 50%—from 12,000 to 6,000. In the United States the League has fallen to a little over fifteen hundred members (1589). Not a single youth section of a trade union or auxiliary organization had been formed. Meanwhile, we witness the attempts on the part of the social democracy to revive and activate its youth sections. In Germany the social democratic youth is taking an increasing active part in the strikes led by the social democratic controlled trade unions; in England, the Guild of Youth of the Independent Labour Party, after being made impotent by the winning over of many of its best elements by the Y. C. I. of Great Britain, is showing signs of life; even in the United States, where the national movement of the socialist youth has been practically non-existent since the war, the Socialist Party is attempting to resurrect it. The Leagues of the Y. C. I. are carrying on no work

against the young social-reformists. In a period when the young workers are beginning to show signs of active struggle, the absence of alert and active Communist youth Leagues, give the social democratic youth an exceptional broad base for growth.

With these facts before it, the Plenum, recently held, had as its main task a thorough review of the policies and tactics of the Leagues and the Y. C. I. including the line of its Fifth Congress, and the position of the Sixth Congress and Tenth Plenum of the Comintern. To prevent this, was the function of the Comintern representatives to the Plenum, Manuisky and Remmele.

Manuisky Passes the Buck

At this meeting, self criticism reigned—the Comintern representatives criticised the work of the Y. C. I. For example, Manuisky said: "In words you stand for the third period, but in deed you are still in the second period." What criticism could be worse than this! The political resolution (which was eventually carried) was said to indicate "fear of the masses". The slogan, "To the masses" is insufficient, said Manuisky, unless we carry on a struggle against the Left danger, that is, the sectarian tendency which leads to isolation. In spite of this, the resolutions and decisions of the Tenth Plenum were reiterated. Some of the comrades could not completely swallow the statement that the reason (!) for the present condition of the Y. C. I. is the "sectarian isolation and separation from the basic mass of the working youth which dominates in the organizations of the Y.C.I."

Lovestone's Whining Baby

The long awaited Revolutionary Youth organ of the youth members of the Lovestone group has finally graced us with its maiden debut. Expressing intentions of becoming the fighting organ of the American youth movement, the beacon light for the training of young Communists, and the herald of all that is "revolutionary" "Leninist," etc. it actually typifies in the main the characteristics of the whole composition of the Lovestone group. It goes without saying that Revolutionary Youth embodies none of these forms; on the contrary, it exhibits the worse features that have become attached to the body of the Communist movement.

The problems of the American League have not grown up today. The decline, both organizationally and politically of the Y. C. I., its cynicism, high politics, lack of vital activity, and all the retarding conditions of the Communist Youth League, are not the product alone of the present leadership. While it is true that the present regime of Harvey, Green, Rijack, has only accentuated these conditions, basically they have been part of the League from the period of the Lovestone-Zam leadership.

Present Disintegration of the League

The present leadership despite its strict adherence to the "leftward" swing in the Comintern, actually carries over all the features of the former opportunistic and bureaucratic leadership. The heritage of the Harvey-Green-Rijack (Steuben) leadership from the former Lovestone-Zam clique was a non-appearing Young Worker, a pitifully small membership, a League that was apathetic to its tasks, that was virtually non-existent as a factor in the revolutionary movement. This inheritance found fitting executors in the present regime, who while differing in their political affiliations, are for all practical purposes alike in their concepts of the needs of the League, and the methods of building a mass youth movement. Not only has the present leadership failed to better substantially the state of affairs left by the former ruling group, but it is responsible for the further decline and disintegration of the League.

Revolutionary Youth offers no solution for these conditions. Upon the heads of the Rubins, Silvis, Lurys, Zams, Herbergs, as well as the present Harveys, Rijacks and Greens, lie the shortcomings of the League. The attempts of the Lovestone youth section to cry for democracy, discussion, mass work, organization, etc. can only draw crocodile tears from the members of the Communist Opposition. Only a year ago we were faced with the same bureaucratic expulsions, lack of opportunity of discussion and sluggings from the same group that finds it expedient today, to discover that the principles of Communist organization are mercilessly looted by the present Stalinist adventurers.

It is apparent from the situation that

Some ventured that while that was true enough as a condition of the Leagues, the cause must be sought in the political policy and tactics of the Y. C. I. This "doctrinaire" conception was readily dismissed by Stalin's representatives, and the Plenum found itself once again in complete "agreement".

The Opposition Youth is Taking Hold

The young workers in the Opposition, who fought the false policies and leadership of the existing Leagues and supported the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, have the important task of educating the working youth, inside and outside the official Leagues in the principles of Communism. In France our young comrades are actively participating in trade union activity; in Mexico they are taking the initiative in forming a strong Opposition group; in Canada and the United States, they are taking an active part in the work of the Communist League of America (Opposition); and lastly, and of utmost importance, in the Soviet Union, our comrades are winning over more and more young workers to our position; a recent report in Izvestia states the disbanding of two Komsomol nuclei for being "nests of Trotskyites". This work must be increased. The publications of the Opposition must devote more space to youth questions, where feasible, special youth organizations should be formed, all efforts should be made to win the young workers and especially, the Communist youth for the principles of Marxism, for the Opposition.

JOSEPH FRIEDMAN.

exists in the League (which cannot be and is not separate and apart from the general conditions prevalent in the Party, and for that matter in the Comintern and Y. C. I.) that the problems of building a mass youth movement are far greater and deeper than the personalities in the leadership. Revolutionary Youth clarifies nothing. It actually brings on greater confusion.

Needs of the League

What is necessary at this juncture is a revaluation of the principles that accompanied the organization of the Y. C. I. Clarification is sorely needed on the following questions: What is and what should be the character of the Communist youth leagues? What shall be the attitude towards the question of "vanguardism"? What shall be the attitude on the question of "independence"? What are the main problems and the immediate tasks of the Youth? What is the attitude of the youth movement on the burning questions of principle between the Centrist leadership and the Leninist Opposition?

A discussion of these questions and the arrival at their proper decisions will fundamentally alter the course of disintegration of the youth Leagues. A correct solution would spell death to the sophistication, high politics, cynicism and opportunist adventurism that today pervades the youth movement. To these and other questions, subsequent issues of the Militant will devote itself.

—A. M. G.

FOODLESS MOTHER TRIES SUICIDE

DETROIT—(FP)—Rescued after an attempt at suicide in the Detroit River here, Vida Britton, unemployed waitress and mother of two, tells a pitiful tale of hunger and misery in "dynamic" Detroit.

"I've worked so hard, and life is so hard," she sighed, as she told of hard work as a waitress bringing in a few pennies a day. "Business slumped and I lost my job."

Mrs. Britton then went to work as a dancing partner in a local dancing school. "I had to depend on taxi-dancing for a living. Sometimes I barely earned enough to buy food, let alone pay my share of the apartment rent where I lived. I earned 40 a dance. These last weeks I sometimes didn't earn more than 50c a night. I couldn't live on that. Half the time I didn't get enough to eat. Things went from bad to worse."

"I love dancing but dancing, night after night isn't so easy as it sounds. Whether you are tired or not, whether you like your partner or not, you must dance. I couldn't be pleasant to people half of the time, and that was bad for my income. There was nobody to whom I could look for help."

And so Vida Britton tried to drown herself.

The Mining Situation and the Tasks of the Left Wing

(Continued from Page One)

ranks while the old union is numerically many times stronger its fight cannot consist exclusively of a frontal attack against the U. M. W. A., but of the mobilization of the broadest possible sections of the miners to conduct a struggle against the offensive of the employers and the betrayals of the officialdom. For this a two-sided policy is necessary: the extension and consolidation of the National Miners Union on the one hand and the establishment of a firm base in the ranks of the old union on the other.

Under the new conditions that have been created, the N. M. U., particularly in view of the fact that its generally weakened position throughout the industry has been further aggravated by the Illinois defeat, must in all fields where the U. M. W. A. embraces the majority of the miners—and particularly where the check-off system prevails—maintain and constitute itself as a Left wing in the U. M. W. A. without at the same time dissolving the N. M. U. In Illinois, this is especially imperative because of the practical "illegality" of the N. M. U. and the conditions of check-off that prevail. The organization of a Left wing minority in the U. M. W., especially in Illinois, has a favorable basis and is necessary as a counter-agent to disintegrating tendencies.

3. The Coming Convention of the N. M. U.

The Left wing at the coming convention of the N. M. U. in Pittsburgh should set for itself the goal of re-uniting the miners on a national scale in a single organization. This does not exclude but presupposes temporary agreements with progressives and semi-progressives, which is one of the most effective means of establishing broad contacts in the ranks and advancing the interests of the workers and its most progressive vanguard. The elements in and around the N. M. U. must establish connections with the new movement in Illinois and push it persistently to the Left. They must demand of Howat, Brophy and others who base themselves on the progressive-minded workers, that they express themselves on the record and program of Farrington-Fishwick-Walker, and separ-

ate themselves from the latter. The Left wing must put to the progressives—in formal public statements and by widespread agitation in the ranks—the question of their position on various issues: Democracy in the union; National vs. local and district agreements; the organization of the unorganized miners and a fight for regaining their lost standards; the reinstatement of expelled miners; the Lewis plan to run 300,000 miners out of the industry; the right to independent thought and action and expression for minority groupings; independent working class political action, etc., etc. By working in the ranks of the miners along this line, the Left wing will clarify the situation; it will be able to draw the miners to its side and prevent them from falling under the complete influence of the Fishwick-Farrington machine and those who support and strengthen it in any way.

There are, however, certain pre-requisites for such a drive, which must be accomplished by the N. M. U. Pittsburgh convention. The N. M. U. must become a forum for the rank and file members, who should be made to feel that it is their union. The N. M. U. must declare for the unity of the Left wing, which means that all elements must be given full opportunity for participation and expression of their views. Up till now, the party leaders in control of the union have used it for a faction battlefield against their party opponents. A united Left wing, however, is a pre-condition for a successful influencing of the new movement. The N. M. U. must throw overboard the whole narrow line with which it has been operating, arbitrarily foisted upon it by the party leadership, and certain if persisted in, to doom it to a futile sectarian existence. If the Left wing is to fight successfully for trade union democracy in the U. M. W. A. it must first establish such a regime in the N. M. U. This does not exist today. All opponents and critics of the Party policy are mercilessly crushed without the interests of the workers and their union being considered. The N. M. U. must reject the party theory of purely mechanical, strangulating control of the unions by the C. P., and replace it with ideological and comradely guidance, advice, influence and aid of the working class party. The present relations of the Party to the union only plays into the hand of the Lewis-Green-Gompers theory of "no politics in

the union" (i. e., for capitalist politics in reality) or into the hands of the "pure and simple industrial unionists" (I. W. W. anti-political actionists).

Not only the convention, but the Left wing miners now, must reject the course proposed in the T. U. U. L. Board statement, (*Daily Worker*, February 20, 1930), which states: "The T. U. U. L. calls upon the miners to quit the Lewis organization and to eliminate Fishwick and his whole crew of 'progressive' fig leaves. Send no delegates to this fake convention." That is no method of eliminating Lewis and Fishwick, but of strengthening their position. The Left wing miners must, on the contrary, send as many delegates to the proposed convention as possible, establish a Left wing bloc there, force the progressive leaders to the wall on the burning issues of the day, and challenge Fishwick and Co. for the confidence of the miners. The proposal to leave Fishwick an open, unhampered field at this convention must be repudiated out of hand by the Left wing.

The Left wing is confronted by the most serious tasks. Its present line is a rope around its neck that must be ruthlessly cut before it chokes the breath of the movement among the miners. A new course must be steered. The Left wing must rise to its task and be capable of mastering it.

* * *

The members of the Communist League in the mining industry, and the non-party militants co-operating with them, have before them now exceptional opportunities and responsibilities. In carrying their work forward it is particularly necessary for the Opposition Communists to bear in mind the differentiation and relation of forces within the Left wing as well as within the miners movement as a whole. The Left wing, organized primarily in the National Miners Union with all its defects and weaknesses, and the false policies of its leadership, is the main dynamic force for progress in the industry. The adherents of the Communist Opposition are but a faction—at present a small faction—of the organized Left wing. From this follows the central task of the Opposition Communists: to struggle within the Left wing to unite it on this program. All provocation and slander, aimed to isolate them from the or-

ganized Left wing, must be met with a deeper penetration of it. This work within the ranks of the National Miners Union goes hand in hand with the widest possible proclamation of these views in the ranks of the U. M. W. A. and independent agitation for them.

By steering a firm and steady course as Bolshevik fighters along these lines the Opposition Communists in the mining fields can bound forward. They can render great service to the interests of the miners and bring a new prestige to the banner of Communism which has been sullied by the Party bureaucrats. Conscientious work for the policy indicated in this statement is the road to this accomplishment.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

Operators Speed-Up Illinois Coal Diggers

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Speedup in Illinois mines is on the increase month by month, according to official state figures. For January the statistics show that more coal was dug than in December. This was done with fewer miners employed than in December. And each miner worked fewer days in January than in December. When an Illinois coal miner told Michigan college professors three years ago that the mine was turned into a "goddam factory" that was only a very modest beginning of the underground speedingup.

The actual figures are given by state director of mines and minerals John G. Milhouse as follows: Tons of coal dug in Illinois in December, 6,415,838 in January, 6,590,275; number of miners employed in December, 51,265, in January, 50,664; average days employed per miner in December, 29.1, in January 19.7 days.

Ten men were killed and 1,399 were injured seriously enough to keep them from work a day or more in January mine accidents in the state, the director adds.

HAMMOND, Ind.—Stingy hands and electricians in union theaters in Hammond, East Chicago and Indiana Harbor won a raise of \$2.50 a week to \$72.50. Operators were raised \$16.25 a week to \$95.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich.—Union painters have won a 5c increase to 85c an hour in a contract with the employers as-

WAR'S GLORY

By Peter Hansen

Brr...brr...went the field telephone in the dugout in trench No.—, where a group of Russian officers shivered in the cold of an early morning of the winter of 1915. Brr...went the telephone, and the operator lost no time in answering it.

"Lieutenant Orloff!" he called out. "Division Headquarters on the wire."

A tall, blond fellow with a mild peasant face that harmonized little with his military bearing strode forward and seized the receiver, frowning. He listened intently for a moment, and his face cleared as he wrote down the message:

"At eight o'clock sharp you will attack enemy trench No.—. Two hours of artillery preparation will clear the wire entanglements. Occupy the trenches and hold them at any cost."

"Thank God!" he exclaimed. "We're going into action." Similar cries of relief came from the assembled group, and one after another the officers leaped to their feet to receive their orders. The Lieutenant, breathing quickly, read off the message.

"It's just five minutes of six," he concluded, consulting his watch. "You've got two hours to get the boys ready. Each man to his post now." They saluted him gravely and turned to go.

"Just a moment!" he called. "There's one thing more." He smiled. "See that all the men have a good stiff drink before we go into action. They're going to need it."

The smile still lingered on his face as he entered the trench for his morning inspection. The dawn was breaking and the forms of a long line of khaki-clad men, still shivering from the night's intense cold, were just barely visible. Orloff spoke a few encouraging words as his men saluted, but as he passed along a little inward voice kept asking: How many of you are going to be missing at the next inspection? To Orloff his men were not inferiors, but fellow-fighters in a common cause.

Inspection over, he returned to the dugout, listening intently the while for the familiar booming of the Russian

artillery from the lines in the rear. It would announce the beginning of the engagement, but now, at ten minutes after six, it was already overdue. "Two hours are hardly enough to destroy the entanglements," Orloff muttered to himself. "And still they are delaying." Scarcely able to contain himself, he re-entered the trench, and another quarter of an hour passed while he strove to hide his gnawing agitation. His subordinate officers looked toward him as if to question him, but military discipline held them back.

Orloff had kept up a nervous pacing. At seven o'clock he came to a halt, took off his cap, and wiped the sweat from his brow. He could hear the roar of cannon in the far-off distance but from his own sector not a sound.

"My God! Only one more hour," he groaned. "What can the matter be?"

He hurried into the dugout. "Was there a call from headquarters?" he asked the operator.

No, sir. Not a word," was the reply.

Orloff turned away. His face was pale with rage and fear, and as he raised his field-flask to his lips his hand shook.

"Some more of their damn blunders—that we must pay for with our lives," he wheeled around again to say. With this he rushed out into the trench. But in a moment he was back. A look of dumb appeal on countless human faces was more than he could bear. He took the telephone receiver in his hand. He hesitated but a moment. Then, "Damn the discipline," he said aloud, and when a voice answered his ring his voice had the same edge of angry protest in its tone.

"What's the delay?" he demanded. "I am to go over the top at eight and the artillery hasn't started firing yet."

"Orders have been given," came the reply. The voice was a grey monotone.

"But what am I to do?" protested Orloff.

"Obey orders," mechanically returned the voice, and there followed a sharp click as the receiver at Division Headquarters was hung up.

The soul of Lieutenant Orloff was at that moment a battlefield; and his face showed it. There the unquestioning obedience of the seasoned soldier fought with the passionate revolt of youth faced with death for himself and his comrades. Once more Lieutenant Orloff hurried into the trench; once more he faced the mute glances of his men.

Second Lieutenant Osol saluted him

"What's the order?"

Their eyes met. All too well they understood each other. But Lieutenant Orloff resumed the military mask.

"You have your orders. Eight o'clock. All the men to carry snipers. Wire snipers...is that clear?"

Osol repeated the order and withdrew. Orloff looked despairingly at his watch. Only ten minutes of the hour remained. His glance swept up and down the ranks of men, waiting, with fixed bayonets, for him to give the signal. He thought of what awaited them and a sob of pity tore at his throat.

Sharp on the hour of eight he raised his signalling whistle to his lips. A shrill note rolled along the line and with a shout, "For the Czar and the Fatherland," Orloff leaped out of the trench. A thousand voices echoed the cry as the Russians followed their leader. A short and furious run across No Man's Land and they had reached the wire entanglement.

"Down and cut through," shouted Orloff, panting for breath.

"Ra-ta-ta-ta," answered the German machine guns, and the Russians began to drop, while those who escaped the bullets cut feverishly at the wires. Terrific explosions now began to sound from the rear of the German lines and shells to plow the ground around the attackers. A shell burst over the head of Lieutenant Orloff and his face contorted with fury.

"Damn you!" he shouted. "Damn you! You're two hours too late!"

His men wavered. They were caught in a curtain of fire, the barrage from their own cannon. Their retreat was cut off.

"Forward!" shouted Orloff, and his order was repeated down the line. Again the men threw themselves upon the wire entanglement. In cutting through it lay their only hope.

"Ra-ta-ta-ta-ta!" The enemy's machine guns ceaselessly spit death. Boom! Boom! Boom! Boom! and the Russian shells burst over their heads, raining deadly fragments among them.

Ramloff was on his knees, the blood streaming down his face. He staggered to his feet and shook his fists toward the Russian lines.

Fools! Murderers! You have betrayed us!"

"Ra-ta-ta-ta-ta!" And Orloff crumbled up.

"Boommoooooooooooo!" roared the Russian artillery, tearing up the wire entanglements.

Too late...Forever too late!...For Lieutenant Orloff and his men obeyed orders.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol III, No. 10,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 8, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Demonstrate on March 6th MINERS! BUILD LEFT As Unemployment Grows WING AT SPRINGFIELD

The efforts of "Prosperity President" Hoover, Big Business, and industry in general, and other agencies to hide the acute conditions among the working masses caused by unemployment already directly affecting seven million workers, are of no avail. Figures and reports from all parts of the country show wide distress and misery in a situation that has become now worse than the depression of 1920 and 1921. Charity flops are overcrowded; black coffee and cheap bread are the luxury doles handed out to those who wait in the long lines of mission houses, charity institutions, etc. Capitalism cannot employ men and women willing and able to work, and so millions of human beings must suffer cold and hunger. Not a single copper cent of their unearned increment will the rich masters give up without the compulsion of the mass pressure of the workers. That is the way of the capitalist system—the system of the claw and fang.

Protests and demonstrations of the unemployed masses in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and many other cities throughout the country are met with clubs and black-jacks, guns and tear gas, police wagons and jailings of working men and women and their children. It is government—the government of the American ruling class—the Wall Street bosses—in action. Thus they try to maintain dominion over the masses. With cohesive organization of all their forces they meet the protests of the workers.

Capitalist society cannot eliminate unemployment. Only a social system serving the interests alone of the proletariat and exploited peoples can lay the basis for the elimination of unemployment, exploitation, misery and degradation of the masses. Only in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has the basis been laid for cooperative work on behalf of the producers. The working masses in the United States also must have as their objective the abolition of the capitalist system and its replacement by a Workers' Republic.

Join Unemployment Demonstrations on March 6th

But today mass unemployment, the problem of the masses to exist is a pressing consideration. The unemployed and employed, the workers organized in labor unions and the unorganized workers, men and women, white and colored—all must unite in protest and action to demand of the bosses that exploit them and the government that protects them—work or compensation; shorter hours of labor to provide work for the unemployed; abolition of the speed-up system that saps the energies of the workers and leaves them worn out and useless at an early age.

All elements among labor, no matter what their particular economic or political views, if sincerely wishing to endeavor to relieve the distress prevalent among all strata of the working masses can find a basis for united action against the common enemy—the wealthy employing class and their governmental hirelings. Sectarianism and aim for group advantage can do only harm. The problem of mass unemployment will face the workers for a long time to come—till the overthrow of capitalism lays the basis for its elimination. From industry and government can be forced certain measures of relief, provided there is militant united action.

Demonstrations have been conducted in many cities already under the direction of organizations, including the Communist League of America (Opposition).

On March 6th demonstrations against unemployment and for relief of the unemployed will be held in cities throughout the United States and in other countries similarly affected. They are under the auspices of the Trade Union Unity League in the United States. We have spoken before of the narrowness of the movement sponsored by the official Communist party and the T. U. U. L., and its failure to endeavor to develop a genuine and broad united front movement for the unemployed. We shall have occasion to speak of it yet again, including the adventurism in calling for strike action in the height of the depression.

On March 6th, however, all militants and Communists, workers of every shade and opinion should make it their business to get into the demonstrations wherever they are held; to help broaden them; to protest as one body against the scourge of capitalism—unemployment; and to demand work or compensation.

"In the name of the rank and file!" This is the pretentious claim of the call issued for a convention of the United Mine Workers to meet at Springfield Ill. on March 10. The call is by a self-constituted organization committee, the main body of which is made up of the Fishwick Farrington Illinois union administration under the Lewis regime.

With the exception of Howat, Brophy and Derchy, who have at certain times in the past upheld the standard of militant struggle and fought against the destructive, treasonable policy of John L. Lewis, the other signatories to the call have all, during these years not only indorsed the whole of Lewis' policy, but actively carried it out in every one of its treasonable acts.

The destiny of the rank and file coal miners lies in their own hands and theirs is the task, now more than ever, to act, and to act in their own interest. Militancy and courageous self-sacrifice by the coal miners everywhere gained union conditions

for them in the past. Militancy and a knowledge of what needs to be done will show the way out now. To the rank and file this convention can become another opportunity to extend the struggle so well fought in the past. It will become so only by courageous action on their part to put a stop forever to the sell-out policy of the officialdom which has brought the union to almost complete destruction and forced degradation upon the miners.

Immediate Needs of Miners

At innumerable times the coal miners have given voice to their burning needs and decisively brought forth their demands. They are yet to be translated into action and no opportunity should be lost sight of. Again it is necessary for the militants among the rank and file to point the way to united struggle for severance with all the corruption of the past and with all those who have served as the tools of the operators. To take up the struggle aggressively against any further wage reductions; for a minimum wage scale and for control of operation of machine mining by the workers; to eliminate the deadly speed-up and divide the work among the miners; to fight for the shorter workday so as to afford employment for all and to organize the coal miners in every field.

Audacity and militancy in every working class organization and the battle is half won. This is the particular task of progressive and Left wing coal miners to thus show the way.

Send Delegates to March 10th Convention

The progressive and Left wing miners should send the largest possible number of delegates to this convention to endeavor to compel a genuine struggle for these immediate demands and needs of the coal miners. The Left wing, organized in the National Miners Union, has a two-fold task: to strengthen and extend their own independent organization, and, at the same time, to build a Left wing in the U. M. W. of A. The Left wing, the N. M. U., must demand from the progressives—Howat, Brophy, etc.—a stand on the numerous burning issues confronting the miners. The program and declaration of policy presented by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the March 1st issue of the Militant indicates the path the coal miners of America need to take for the revival of a militant miners' movement and organization.

FLOOD CONTROL CONTRACTORS GYP NEGRO LABORERS

MEMPHIS—(FP)—How U. S. government contractors gyp Negro laborers is revealed by workers employed in the "willow fleets" that ply out of Memphis to work on Mississippi flood control. The willow fleets make the willow mats for the levees.

Hundreds of colored workers employed on these ships are paid off daily in flimsy paper checks redeemable only at the ship's commissary. These checks, printed with weak ink, soon become smudged and illegible. In that condition, the company refuses to redeem them. The laborer then loses the money due him. At the end of the trip, the Negroes present their checks but receive cash only for those which are in good condition.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

In the next issue will appear an article of the most timely interest by L. D. Trotsky on "THE NEW COURSE IN THE ECONOMY"

Continued on Page 6

STALIN PERSECUTES RAKOVSKY

At the same time that Stalin, in order to face the difficulties accruing from his peasant politics, again and again makes use of the proposals of the Opposition, but in distorted form, or resorts to dangerous ultra-Leftism; when events have confirmed the analyses of the Opposition, he becomes more and more brutal to the members of the Left Opposition who persist in understanding and representing the clear tactics of the proletarian revolution.

Yesterday it was the assassination of Blumkin. Today we receive the most alarming news concerning the health of comrade Rakovsky.

Christian Rakovsky is weakened by malaria and is ill with serious heart trouble. The doctors most categorically ordered a stay in the Caucasus. The political Bureau refused. Deported together with his sick wife to the Siberian winter, Rakovsky at Barnaul is exposed to the most miserable living conditions, to temperatures of 40 and 50 degrees below zero. Our comrade has recurrently suffered from most alarming heart crises.

In addition the usual tactics made use of to exterminate the Opposition—the difficult conditions and hunger—have been directed at him. They have destroyed his means of livelihood in refusing him the historic work which he was fitted for.

The working class remembers the role played by Rakovsky, latterly in France where he represented the proletarian state as Soviet Ambassador. That was before the united fury of the reactionary Le Matin of Paris and the hatred of Stalin resulted in his replacement by the clumsy Dogalevsky, aided by the traitor, Bessedovsky. The working class, particularly in the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, in France, know well Rakovsky's heroic and valorous life, completely devoted to the Revolution. He has remained steadfast and inflexible to the Bolshevik ideal in the face of the fury of the Stalinist degeneration.

The bureaucrats of the Secretariat are preparing a new assassination. But the workers will not permit the cruel persecution of one of the most tried and valuable fighters, for his devotion to their cause, for his high-minded firmness.

Over 8,000,000 Women Toil at Low Wages

According to the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor there are 8,500,000 women wage earners in this country at the present time. Their figures assert that one woman out of every five works in the mills, factories, stores and offices throughout the land; and that out of every five workers in the country one is a woman.

These figures compiled under the direction of the capitalist government of the United States show how important is the winning of the women workers to the labor movement. With 20% of all the workers women, the need of actively drawing them into the labor movement is of major importance.

tance.

Throughout the United States, the women workers are the lowest paid and most exploited section of the proletariat. The employers in the unorganized industries are in very many cases, discharging the men workers and hiring women to do the same work at much reduced rates of pay. In addition, the employers are attempting to force the women to toil long hours, in which they are quite successful although some states have adequate laws that are supposed to prevent the women from working more than a certain amount of hours weekly. It has been shown in many cases

THE COMING PATERSON STRIKE

The National Textile Workers Union is planning a general strike of the Paterson silk workers within several weeks. Since the Passaic struggle of four years ago which laid the basis for the present organization of the N. T. W. U., there has been no outstanding New Jersey strike. After the Associated Silk Workers Union was split, the N. T. W. conducted a strike of several hundred workers for more than a month.

The N. T. W. is largely known to the silk workers of Paterson through the Passaic strike of 1926, led by the Left wing now organized into the N. T. W. The Paterson workers aided this heroic struggle of the Passaic strikers by raising funds for the relief of the strikers.

At present, as a consequence of the split in the Associated Silk Workers and the weak organization drive conducted in Paterson since then, the N. T. W. has several hundred members signed up. It is upon these forces that the N. T. W. is basing the proposed strike.

Better Preparations Are Needed

As things stand now, unless more thorough preparations are made before the strike is called, it will be virtually still-born, even as was the recent N. M. U. strike in Illinois and other even more bombastic "strikes" that have been called by unions directed by the Communist Party officialdom.

The attitude of the entire apparatus of the N. T. W. U. is one of disregard for preparation. It is further, wholly inefficient to care for its tasks properly. As national secretary of the N. T. W. now rests one Clarence Miller, a stupid, lazy careerist, who has a long record for inefficiency and laxness in the Young Communist League, the Passaic strike, etc. But he will take any and all orders of the Stalinized Foster-Minor, et al, Communist Party apparatus.

The N. T. W. has held but very few mass meetings and distributed hardly any literature, as well as taking other organizational steps, in preparation for its proposed general strike. The Paterson local of the N. T. W. is headed by Kushinsky, a colorless and unqualified worker for such a task as the local leader of a big strike. His "qualifications", as with most Stalinist officials, is the readiness to take orders without question. A prerequisite to any successful work among the textile workers by the N. T. W. U. is the removal of incompetents and untrained people such as Miller and Kushinsky. The rank and file of the union need to have a say in the selection of their officials and the conduct of any contemplated activity.

With a proposed strike of the proportions of a general strike of all Paterson silk workers, there is need of far more adequate and detailed preparations. To call the strike in the near future, as planned and with the "leaders" in charge, dooms the strike before the first day is over. Mass meetings, shop meetings, systematic distribution of literature; a rank and file strike committee, the sound formulation of a set of demands of the strikers are among the preparations that yet need to be made. The Stalinists cannot be permitted to play with strikes for the sake of records and the verification of the "third period". The conditions of the Paterson silk workers have steadily worsened. There is need for a movement and struggle that will bring about a strong and large organization of the silk workers and gain them better conditions of livelihood, more wages and shorter hours.

—FRANK BROMLEY

◆

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) will speak at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the League on Saturday, March 15th, 1930 at 8 p. m. His subject will be: "WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?" Admission is free and all interested workers are invited to attend.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Miner's Death Toll Mounts

By Federated Press

Coal mine workers' death toll in 1929 was 2,181, according to figures on fatal accidents just released by the U. S. Bureau of Mines. This is an increase of five over the number of deaths in 1928. Besides these men killed on the job, more than 120,000 workers suffered an injury involving loss of working time. Every week 42 men are killed and more than 2,000 injured in or about coal mines of the United States.

In spite of safety campaigns, the death rate in bituminous mines has been higher since 1921 than it was for several years previously. It is now higher than the death rate in the anthracite, although this has also risen above the low points touched in 1924 and 1926.

Mine workers in the United States face a death hazard about twice that of German miners, about three times that of British or Belgian miners, about four times that of French miners. In the American mines out of every ten thousand full time workers more than 40 are killed on the job in the course of a year; in Great Britain, less than 15.

Even the mining companies enrolled in the National Safety Competition in the United States, have brought their average death rate only about one-fourth below the average death rate in other mines. The hazard for workers of all these selected companies is still far greater than the hazard for miners in European countries.

Explosions and mine fires that slaughter many workers in one disaster have been fewer in recent years. But the explosion two months ago at McAlester, Okla., the disaster at Kinloch mine, Parnassus, Pa., a year ago, the Mather disaster which killed 195 men in 1928, and others only less horrible that have found their way into the headlines, remind us that advances in the technique of safety are too largely confined to the laboratory. Many mines are still operated in such a way that an explosion of gas and coal dust can sweep through the workings and kill instantly all the men who are underground.

But spectacular disasters carry off only a small fraction of the miners who are killed on the job. While they have been decreasing, the daily, unnoted tragedies have continued to roll up a stupendous total. About 2,000 workers a year are caught in these "trifling" accidents that never reach the city press.

Mine Owners Concerned Only with Profits

More than half of all the coal mine deaths in 1929 were due to falls of rock or coal. These falls of rock and side go on steadily, crushing out one or two lives at a time—rarely as many as five men together—and slaughtering more than a thousand workers in the course of every year. The death rate from these falls is steadily higher than it was before 1920, a direct result of wage-cutting and speeding up within the mine. Timbering at the working face to make the roof safe for the workers is in most mines "dead work" for which the unorganized miner commonly receives no pay. Companies making a drive to cut down the death rate from falls of roof usually stiffen up the rules and standards for timbering but do not set up a fair rate of pay for the timbering. So the workers continue to take chances—driven to it; even in "safety" mines.

Haulage accidents underground have also in recent years killed more mine workers than the big disasters. Increase in motor haulage has pushed up the death rate from this cause, especially in bituminous mines. Electricity is in general an increasing hazard underground. Power lines imperfectly protected lead to electrocutions from direct contact. Electric machinery is in use in which the making and breaking of the current flashes a dangerous arc—an explosion hazard as serious as the open lights which are now banned in many mines.

REGISTRATION OF ALIENS FOUGHT
NEW YORK—A campaign to prevent the passage of any form of legislation registering aliens in the United States has been undertaken by the American Civil Liberties Union in cooperation with other organizations following the action of the Senate Immigration Committee in voting to report favorably the voluntary registration bill introduced by Senator Cole Blaise. The bill has been temporarily referred back to the committee through the efforts of Senator Copeland of New York. It is expected that the issue will be fought out on the floor of the Senate. Two compulsory registration bills are pending in the House.

The Union is opposed to any scheme of registration whatever, on the ground that it is "a monstrous scheme of espionage conceived by would-be patriots fearful of alien radicals, and useful chiefly to persecute alien members of trade unions and the Communist Party".

HAVE YOU READ

L. D. Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the Communist International?"

This 139 page masterpiece will be given free with each year's subscription to the Militant. Those who have not read this book should do so at once, those who have, will want to read it again and again. It is a devastating exposure of the Right wing and Centrist positions of Bucharin and Stalin and also a clear cut recital of the Leninist position of comrade Trotsky.

Free With a Year's Subscription to the Militant at \$2.00

CAB MEN REJECT SCAB TERMS

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

PITTSBURGH—Another effort to break the taxi drivers' new union, strikeborn and tested in conflict with the Parmelee Transportation Co., was defeated by the strikers themselves when they rejected a proposed settlement, 1,153 to 1.

Cramming the roof garden of Moose Temple to the doors, the taxi men in the largest meeting held since the beginning of the strike rejected almost unanimously the proposal that they abandon their union and receive in return certain wage concessions. The taxi monopoly agreed to a 37 1-2% commission, abolition of fines, damage costs and special charges but opposed recognition of the union.

Sensing before the meeting that the unionists would not tolerate a non-union agreement, Parmelee once more started recruiting of scabs. Mayor Kline's order banning Parmelee scab cabs from the streets still holds, but the company is expected to win a court order with the aid of the state public service commission to permit their appearance.

This commission, headed by a former Mellon Standard Steel Car Co. lawyer, has consistently refused to permit smaller taxi companies to operate, although they have been able to guarantee service through recognizing the union.

A big benefit entertainment was held at a Pittsburgh theater through the solidarity of unionized theatrical workers who contributed 2 acts of vaudeville and all stage, electrical and musical labor involved. The entire city is alive to the challenge to Mellon control of the great open shop iron and steel center. From nearly every variety of organization—including religious—contributions are coming to the strike chest.

The union is maintaining an emergency taxi service for hospitals and similar agencies. "Union Car" signs are seen on the streets constantly as emergency vehicles go about their work with union sanction. The union is thus maintaining a successful taxi service for the city's minimum needs.

◆

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

If the number on your wrapper is

35

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

In addition to the writings of Trotsky, the Militant regularly publishes articles by Ch. Rakovsky, A. Rosmer, Kurt Landau and other international leaders of the Left Communist Opposition.

Articles by Martin Abern, T. James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck and other active figures in the American Communist movement also appear regularly in these pages.

YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE MILITANT

The Militant, Room 4
25 Third Avenue, New York City

Enclosed find \$2.00 for one year's subscription to the Militant. Please send me at once a copy of Trotsky's book on the Draft Program.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITYSTATE.....

The Proletarian Revolution and the Shooting of Blumkin

By MARTIN ABERN

Lenin died. No sooner had the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed his eyes in eternal sleep, then began the open and systematic revision of the basic theoretical principles and conceptions of Marx and Lenin. Coupled with this revisionism, the Stalinist regime also undertook the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution.

For a period of years now, since and before the death of Lenin, Stalin and his scribblers, the Yaroslavskys, Thaelmanns, Fosters, Minors, Cachins and numerous others have lied about Lenin and his teachings. They lie about Trotsky. They have falsified and distorted the history of the greatest event of all time for the toiling masses—the proletarian revolution of Russia. They have disfigured the Revolution in a grotesque and shameful manner.

With a procedure completely out of line with the practice of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the Stalinist Centrists jointly with the Right wing, suppressed the views and Platform of the Russian Opposition, led by L. D. Trotsky, the platform that represents the continuation of the Bolshevik line of Lenin. They have persecuted the revolutionary Leninist-Bolsheviks; they have expelled the outstanding Communists, with services of many years to the revolutionary movement from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stalin and his followers have made a mockery of ideas and theory and independent Bolshevik thought.

The Five Year Plan

The regime of the bureaucrats has exiled to far-off and desolate points the Bolsheviks who fought against the Stalin-Bucharin policy that gave encouragement and support to the Kulaks and Nepmen and that were sapping and undermining the strength of the proletariat and poor peasants and hired men.

Trotsky, after a long struggle against the revisionism of Stalin-Bucharin, presented the Platform of the Opposition to the XVth Congress of the C. P. S. U. in 1927 which, among other things contained the FIVE YEAR PLAN for socialist construction in the Soviet Union. But Trotsky finds himself deported by Stalin and Bucharin from the Soviet Union to Kemal Pasha's land at Constantinople, Turkey, there to be in continual danger of assassination by the thousands of Russian White Guards that swarm about Constantinople. Because Leon Trotsky remained and remains a Bolshevik; because in the suppressed (in the Soviet Union) Platform of the Opposition, he insisted upon the revival of genuine workers' and Party democracy and upon a campaign against the growing bureaucracy in the Party, the trade unions and in the Soviets; because he and the Opposition demanded the adoption of an INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAM that would develop industry along modern lines as the technical and economic foundation for genuine socialist construction; because he stressed and fought for a systematic and widespread development of COLLECTIVE AND SOVIET FARMS; and because he demanded an end to the policy of Stalin-Bucharin that encouraged the Kulak, gave him economic strength, the Right-Center bloc (Stalin-Bucharin) deposed Trotsky and increased their persecutions of Bolshevik-Leninists.

The Bureaucracy and the Working Class

But the neglect of the basic interests of the city proletariat and the hired hands and poor peasants by the Stalinist regime caused wide-spread dissatisfaction in the C. P. S. U. and among the working masses. Under the pressure of the working masses and the Bolshevik Opposition, the Stalinist Center was compelled, after many years of joint policy and work, to break the Right-Center bloc and to undertake another zig-zag, a "New Turn" to the Left. The Opposition Platform is now being adopted in piece-meal fashion by the Party bureaucracy. The turn is in the proper direction, but unless the "Leftward" swing is carried through with genuine belief and conviction; unless the turn is accompanied by an analysis of the present relationship of class forces in the Soviet Union, so that the strength and possibilities of struggle of each class grouping are understood and measures applied in accordance by the Party; unless the industrialization and collective and Soviet farms program is linked with a campaign to advance the cultural and po-

litical consciousness of the working masses and poor peasants (retarded in recent years by the policies of the Stalin-Bucharin regime)—the Five Year Plan can easily defeat its own purpose.

There is no doubt that the ranks of the Communist Party and the mass of workers in the Soviet Union welcome the new course of the Party. Therefore, the Opposition correctly warns against eclectic, piec-meal adaption, arbitrary selections from the Platform of the Opposition by the bankrupt Stalinists. A genuine Left course can only mean the adoption of the Opposition Platform as a whole, and the reinstatement of the Opposition to help carry out the Left turn.

Stalin Splits the Communist Movement

Stalin and Bucharin not only in Russia, but on an international scale, split and decimated the ranks of the Communist Parties and converted them into factions. Behind the factions of Stalin and Bucharin in the C. P. S. U. particularly, stood the conscious and unconscious forces of the class enemy—the Kulak and the Nepmen. The Opposition warned and pointed this out, despite all oppression, and demanded that Stalin and Company change their course. It is sad to say, but it is the truth nevertheless: The Stalin apparatus-men, without definite principles or platform, swaying between the classes, the proletariat and the poor peasants on the one side and the Kulak and Nepmen on the other, for these past years carried out a Right program which objectively aided the return of the bourgeois forces to power. They could not see what was taking place in the class relations in the Soviet Union and many yet do not want to see.

It is only by recognizing that these epigones, Stalin and Company, have changed, for a time, their ways, but not their minds, that one can understand how the Centrist bureaucrats have proceeded from one backward step to another and have arrived at length at an extreme act—the murder of Blumkin at Stalin's behest. The person of Stalin cannot be removed from his policies and the policies cannot be removed from the personality of Stalin.

Lenin Rejects Stalin

Lenin years ago recognized what would come of the brutality and disloyalty of Stalin. A brutality and disloyalty that would affect not only the revolutionists themselves in a personal way, but would in time adversely affect the proletarian revolution itself. Lenin saw clearly the true Stalin—the splitter and wrecker of the international revolution, of the Communist International and the C. P. S. U. Lenin therefore in his final Testament to the Party, still suppressed in the Soviet Union, DEMANDED the REMOVAL of STALIN AS SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Lenin, in fact, finally found it necessary to cut off all comradely and hence political relations with Stalin. At the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. Zinoviev said:

"And the third warning consists of this: That at the beginning of the year 1923, Vladimir Ilyich, broke off all comradely relations with him (Stalin)." This speech refers to Lenin's letter of March 5th, 1923, written after Lenin's testament. But the Party membership has yet to hear of this.

Now, Trotsky is deported, and as the next step of the lost bureaucracy, the Bolshevik, Blumkin, a supporter of the Opposition has been shot upon Stalin's orders. This act is a personal act of Stalin, but it is also, and more important, an evidence of instability and lack of confidence of the Centrists in their latest zig-zag to the Left. Why has Blumkin been shot? Why was this crime against the Revolution committed? With us it is not a matter alone of the person of Blumkin, but rather where does such acts, and the approval of them lead.

The Daily Worker "Answers"

The Daily Worker, under the barrage of questions of the Militant and the indignation of large numbers of workers, has twice been compelled to "answer", but it yet has given no fitting reply. The Hearst-like scribblers of Stalin on the Daily Worker and the Communist Party

first answered (Daily Worker, 2-15-30) by professing ignorance: "The name of Blumkin is little known." This was no answer at all. The Militant has fully told how Blumkin travelled the road to Bolshevism; how he became a trusted, active, loyal and leading member in the service of the Bolshevik Revolution. His work was of sufficient importance that not even his open adherence to the Opposition and to Trotsky brought his removal from his post. The murder of a Bolshevik, Blumkin, is accomplished for the first time by professing Bolsheviks, the Stalinists. How to explain such acts of terrorism against the Opposition Bolsheviks that one could expect only from White Guards? What is behind it all?

With utter irresponsibility they lie about Blumkin and speak of Blumkin's "flight" after July, 1918 to avoid being shot for his activities while he was yet a Left Social Revolutionary. They neglect to speak of his years of prominent work as a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as an up-standing Bolshevik, holding an important post and carrying out his duties till the day of his murder by Stalin. Still the Daily Worker and the American Party perform one doubtful service. They endorse the shooting of Bolsheviks and take full responsibility thereof. All in the name of the "Five Year Plan" and "building socialism!"

The arguments of these Stalinists sycophants! What alone matters is the Five Year Plan and the building of socialism. How? By shooting Bolsheviks? By removing and deporting them? By removing those most capable to lead the proletariat and the Revolution? By suppressing the ideas and ignoring the thousands of comrades, men and women, who first brought forward a Five Year Plan, a program of industrialization and soviet and collective farms? That is the way to hinder, not to advance, the Proletarian revolution.

Rakovsky on the Centrists

Ch. Rakovsky, now exiled under bitter conditions at Barnaul raised this very question of the "New Turn" to the Left

and makes an analysis of the class content of the turn now being executed by the Stalinist Centrists. He says:

"You (the Centrists) made a principally new and important step in the question of industrialization. But this step will not achieve your purpose if you will not make radical reforms in regard to the Party, the trade unions, and the Soviets. If you sincerely and seriously want to get on this road you must first of all reestablish the Opposition in the Party."

At the same time, Stalin now acknowledges (N. Y. Times, 2-23-30) that he is appropriating the program of L. D. Trotsky and the Opposition, and gives in extenuation the late excuse that Trotsky was "too early". So! We will not at this point argue the merits of "too early" or "late". But we put the question: Since when does being "too early" merit expulsion, persecution, imprisonment and death of Bolsheviks? It is rather, that Stalin and the Centrist apparatus are making a late turn, and then only under the pressure of the Opposition and the proletarian masses.

What Is to be Done?

There is imperative need for still another turn. Blumkin is dead—at the hand of Stalin. He cannot be brought back to life. But his death can yet serve the revolutionary cause. But the answer, further, lies with the proletariat and the worker-Communists whose only interests are service to the Revolution. They in increasing numbers will demand, as a tribute to Blumkin: RETURN L. D. TROTSKY AT ONCE TO THE SOVIET UNION; REESTABLISH HIM IN HIS RIGHTFUL POSITION AS A LEADER OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. And likewise, return all the Left Opposition once again to the Communist Parties. Reinstatement and the use of the services of the Opposition is the only guarantee for an honest and militant campaign to carry out the Five-Year Plan, to smash the Kulaks, to build anew and on its original revolutionary foundations, the Communist International and Communist Parties. The reinstatement of the Opposition lays the basis for a correct Bolshevik policy and program in the Soviet Union. This is our view of the Blumkin shooting.

«IN THE NAME OF GOD»

Every day that passes without a blow struck at the Soviet Union means for the imperialists a day wasted in promoting their own interests. "The Soviet Union must be destroyed." This is their hope and slogan. Their methods to accomplish this end have been many—and unsuccessful, and the workers will continue to see that any new schemes of the Black Hundreds everywhere are thwarted. Military intervention by U. S. Imperialism, Great Britain, France united with the counter-revolutionary movements of Deniken, Wrangel, et al, failed miserably in the face of the determined defense of the proletarian revolution by the workers of Russia. The round-about scheme of the Hoover Relief expedition (A. R. A.) in the period of the famine also failed miserably. The economic blockade was attempted by the capitalist powers in the endeavor to starve out the Revolution. They failed. In the Donetz Basin, foreign and bribed Russian specialists sabotaged the development of the area. That was exposed.

The Sick War-horse of Religion

Now the old, but failing war-horse, "religious persecution" is dragged out of the imperialist Augean stable; and on this mount the imperialists are placing their stakes and hope to ride to victory over the Workers' Republic.

No sooner did the Pope, that apostle of tolerance modeled after the Inquisitor Torquemada, issue his encyclical, than the whole religious tribe, Catholics, Jews, Protestants and all, took up the cry. The cynicism of these willing tools of their capitalist masters has no bounds. The world of religion is rallying to the defense of the Russian priests. In reply, it suffices only to point out the oppressive role played by the church under the Czar, their counter-revolutionary activities after the Bolshevik revolution, and now secretly to brand

as hypocritical and lying the charges of "religious persecution" that are leveled by them at the Soviet Union. The workers of Russia have every reason to hate and despise religion and the church, but in spite of that, religion and the church have been tolerated so long as their supporters did not engage in counter-revolutionary practices against the Soviet Union, of which there have been all too many instances to need recounting.

The Opium of the People

The Soviet Union and the Communist Party rightfully regard religion as the "opium of the people", but it is fought through the methods of education and propaganda and not persecution. The latter way has been the way of religion and the church of all creeds. Theirs is the method of the medieval inquisition. Their practices and ideas, their support always of reaction and today of capitalism and all it stands for are becoming clearer to the Soviet masses through the dissemination of scientific knowledge and modern education in the Soviet Union. Hence the church and religion becomes ever less popular. That explains in the main why there are less churches and even less attendance in them as time passes. Its marked decline has come to the attention of the religious defenders and the imperialists, and they hope by lying and scandal-mongering to arouse among peoples in other countries a feeling of hatred against the Workers' Republic. In the corners of their mind is the hope of united effort of the imperialist powers to war on the Soviet Union. After all, in the pre-world war days there was first a preliminary propaganda of "virgin raping", "breast cutting" etc. Workers everywhere have the duty to combat this latest anti-Soviet campaign and to expose the combination of the bosses, the government, the church and the press to attack the Soviet Union.

The Policy of the Leadership and the Party Regime

By CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY

brought out the working class and the Party from its numbness, which was simultaneously a condition and a consequence of the rule of Centrism. Objectively Centrism is condemned by history. Precisely because of this, in its desire to preserve itself as a leading group, it takes measures in order to still more strengthen itself organizationally and ideologically. For that purpose it utilizes the gigantic power which the revolution concentrated in the hands of the party leadership. Centrism excluded and is still excluding the Rights from the leadership in the Trade Union and the Comintern, the Soviet and Party organizations, but only for the purpose of substituting Centrists for the Rights.

But what is most characteristic of the Centrist leadership is that with doubled and tripled energy it concentrated its severity against the Leninist Opposition, enriching daily its arsenal with new guns of compulsion. The most remarkable invention in this respect which was made after our platform had been written, is the invention which leaves its impression on the present epoch and which resurrects in the Soviet Union, the clerical methods of the Middle Ages. This is the effort to compel by all means that the Oppositionists of the Communist Party give up their Communist views (which was proven by the attitude towards the so-called "Left-Centrists"—Schatzkin, Sten, and others; the impatience of Centrism, has lately increased still more). Life proved the whole inconsistency of the Centrist ideologic zig-zags wrong and anti-Leninist ones.

But Centrism, having a monopoly on the press, continues to falsify the Leninist teachings and leads astray the Party and the working class by saying that it is not the Kulak that attacks us, but we attack the Kulak (Bauman, Molotov). The claim of the capitulators, that Centrism has changed although it still rests on the same ever-widening social base—the "functionaries" with a corresponding ideology, and its peculiar apparatus methods of ruling the country and the Party, only proves that the capitulators have lost all their theoretical conscience and have rolled themselves into the mud of Centrism. Because Centrism is condemned by history as a current not possessing the requisite qualities, and sooner or later will cease to be a determining factor in the life of the Party, the liquidation of the Leninist Opposition, its dissolution in the Centrist mud, would mean nothing else than the presentation of the power to the Rights. In betraying the Opposition, the capitulators betray the interests of Communism, the Party and the working class.

The Changes in Class Relations

The capitulators befog the capital question: what kind of a turn is taking place in relation to the class forces in the country? It is true, as we shall see, they sometimes talk about it, but then only when they have to sow panic in the midst of the Opposition. But ordinarily to them the turn in the country and the Party is covered by the turn in the policy of the Centrist leadership—which is of course not the same. The turn in the country continues to unfold unfavorably for the proletariat. There undoubtedly is a Left turn in the Party, but its reasons and character are distinguished from the turn in the leadership. For the Centrist leadership the turn towards the struggle with agrarian capitalism was a matter of compulsion. This is a turn of the bureaucratic group under the pressure of events but the turn in the Party—we have in mind the working section of it—is a class turn. But while the Center makes its Left steps on the agrarian question, with excuses adapting itself to the moment, the turn in the Party is a genuine revolutionary one.

The Centrist leadership conceals very carefully the contradictory processes going on in the country. One of the most harmful peculiarities of the Centrist leadership is to cover up the traces and to present every thing in a rosy light (everything goes from good to better). But it does not succeed in hiding everything. The loud scandals that occur periodically prove how far the decomposition of the Right-Center apparatus has gone in the Party as well as in the Soviets and Trade Unions. Beginning with the heights of the commissariats themselves and ending with the county committees bourgeois rust penetrates the pores of the proletarian dictatorship. The pri-

We give below another excerpt from the theses of Rakovsky, Okudjava and Kossior, which characterizes the economic policy of the Centrist leadership in connection with the Party regime. That the new five year plan, worked out under the whip of the Opposition, represents a big fact and an important support for the further struggle of the Opposition, only the pedants of the ultra-Left phrase can deny. On the other hand, the claim that the Five Year Plan removes all or even the basic differences, can only come from the capitulators, who have been waiting for an excuse to get on their knees. Rakovsky very correctly insists on the unbreakable bond and relationship of all the parts of our platform. In connection with this he gives the basis for the declaration of the opposition to the Central Committee, and over its head, to the Party.

The sense of the declaration in the interpretation of comrade Rakovsky is the following:

"You made a principally new and important step, in the question of industrialization. But this step will not achieve your purpose, if you will not on the one hand evaluate a series of theoretical assumptions, and on the other hand. If you will not make radical reforms in regard to the Party, the trade unions and the Soviets. If you sincerely and seriously want to get on this road you must first of all reestablish the Opposition in the Party." This political syllogism, the Opposition transformed into a political act, by presenting the declaration for its reestablishment on the Party. —Editors.

owner in the village have already succeeded in partly getting hold of the apparatus, subordinating it to their class interest.

Sometimes through the official material which presents a picture of general welfare and idyllic relations between the working class and our government, there breaks through like lightning through clouds, tragic facts, such as the murder and lynching at the Grivno Station which throw an instantaneous but clear light on the realities. The press had to register the words of the defense at the trial: "A passing quarrel occurred between the working class and the apparatus created by it". In the same newspaper, in the speeches of the prosecuting attorney, was noted the fact of passive and indifferent conduct of the Communists and Young Communists present in the mob during the wild lynching scene. If one can analyse politically the event at the Grivno Station, he will understand that it has a more symptomatic significance than one or another resolution at a Party conference. A no less symptomatic significance is the fact that a worker was boycotted by his craftsmen for joining the Communist Party, or the fact included in the report about organizational conditions in Bakinsk, where the falling off of workers reaches 25% of the number of applicants in a year. Workers leave the Party in spite of the fact that membership in it insures to a certain extent against the loss of one's job. As far as the moods of the village are concerned is significant to point out, that the results which were brought by the "chaotic character of the grain collections" resulted in the village in a bloc between the poor and middle peasants with the Kulaks.

Industrialization and the Classes

The capitulators try to single out the industrialization and the building of collective farms from the whole chain of Centrist measures—from its general policies. Considering them as a sort of "matters of their own" they also attempt to regard the "new course" of Centrism as independent of the immediate reasons that called it forth. Finally they avoid or befog the biggest and most basic questions: What conditions must be fulfilled that the industrialization and the building of collective farms shall not remain mere paper resolutions (like the resolution on Party democracy at the end of 1923), that it shall not be stopped half-way, or that they should not give results directly opposite to those expected.

The new Centrist servants and accountants, the capitulators, supporters of unprincipledness, and possibleism, avoid analysing the most important sides of the question of industrialization and the struggle against agrarian capitalism; knowing that an honest discussion of these questions would reveal the double facedness and contradictions of Centrism, its inability to get on the road of continuous Socialist construction. In reality such a discussion would have revealed that

1. The policy of Centrism remains Right on the Labor question and the Party regime (here it even went to the worst compared to the past) and partly in the village (not allowing unions of poor peasants).

The sharpening of the class struggle between the well-to-do and the poor peasants, the new law on food taxes, the raising of prices on grain which gave the well-to-do peasants an additional 350 million rubles; all this not only disturbs the industrialization and building of collective farms but puts it under the direct threat of a break-up.

2. The Left swing of the Center (industrialization, building of collective farms) is a compelled one—on the one hand, by the pressure of the Rights who wanted to sweep aside the Center with the aid of the Kulak and grain strikes, and on the other hand, by the pressure of the dissatisfaction of the working class, whose interests were hit by the grain strike; and finally by the pressure of the Leninist Opposition. The removal of the effect of the latter two factors would immediately create the condition for a new Right swing of the Center, either with the leaders remaining at the head, or by way of removing the present leaders of that part of the Party which follows the Right leaders.

3. The only real guarantees against a new recession of the Center to the Right is the Leninist Opposition which consistently expresses the interests of the proletariat and the village poor.

The Five Year Plan

The capitulators consider the five year plan from the arithmetic viewpoint exclusively, not taking into consideration, even from such an approach, that as a result of inflation and the drop of the buying power of the Chervonetz, the figure of investments is in reality much smaller than the five year plan shows. They leave out the main question: what change in the class relations in the country will the five year plan bring? This "oversight" on the part of Radek and Company is fully understood insofar as the five year plan is the fig leaf to cover up their capitulation. Meanwhile here is what a coeditor of the official organ of the Gosplan Planned Economy" (Strumlin) is compelled to admit. If the Five Year Plan will be realized fully—at the end of five years the rise of the per capita national income will be 51% in the city, 52% in the village and 40% for the well-to-do part of the village. However, this is under the condition of the stabilization of prices on agricultural products on the level of 114%, that is 14% higher than in 1927-28. Meantime the index of the private agricultural sector has risen 37.9% in only this one year.

Further, the actual income of the worker (city) is supposed to go up by the end of the five years by 58%, but the productivity of the worker is supposed to rise 100-110%. At the same time, the village, through only the difference in prices, will get 3.5 billion rubles, and in the government expenditures for industrialization only about 10% will be allotted. The growth of wages in the first part of this year amounted to 7.1%, but the price index of the collectivized sector went up 8.5%, private, 19.3% and the agricultural, as we already saw, 37.9%. The conclusion: the center of gravity of the wealthy part of the village in the general economics of the country will grow further, notwithstanding the talk about the struggle against agrarian capitalism.

Without unions of poor peasants, the political influence of the wealthy peasantry and the Nepmen in the city and the well-to-do

will grow to a still greater degree, insofar as the Kulak will continue to group about himself the middle peasants and part of the poor. Further, the bureaucratic methods of rationalization, with the aid of administrative pressure, "blacklisting" and tricks of a la Larin may create such a break away of the working class from the Party, such a political minus, which it will be impossible to compensate by the best achievements of industrialization. The Party leadership expects to support itself on the groups of poor in the village, but the latter are a mere fiction. "There is almost no work conducted among the groups of poor" wrote one of the members of the collegium of the Commissariat of Agriculture, Latzis (Pravda, December 23, 1928). Another fact: In Siberia there are 15 thousand cooperatives, and in them there are only 266 groups of poor organized (figures by Komarov, member of the territory committee.)

Centrists Fear Workers and Poor Peasants

In regard to the working class as well as the peasant poor, Centrism continues its former policy of fear and lack of confidence—this is a feature of bureaucracy generally. Centrism fears the real participation of the laboring masses in Socialist construction. Of course it would like to support itself on them, but with the conditions that the masses should not occupy themselves with "politics", that is, shall not judge and what is more, criticize the "general line". Centrism kills the actual initiative of the masses. If under the influence of sharpening struggle in the village Centrism should be compelled to permit unions of peasant poor, it will put them under such bureaucratic supervision, that they would very rapidly resemble our trade unions, out of which bureaucracy has castrated the class and revolutionary content. Industrialization and a struggle with agrarian capitalism, directed by the apparatus, which is partly worn off and which has lost its revolutionary enthusiasm and in many of its links is decomposed, will be under constant threat of break-up.

The Party Regime

The Opposition of the years 1923-24 foresaw the tremendous harm to the proletarian dictatorship coming out of the perversion of the Party regime. Events have completely justified the prognosis: the enemy has climbed in through the bureaucratic window.

Now more than at any other time it must be said loudly: a correct democratic Party regime is the testing stone of the present Left course.

There is an opinion held even by some steadfast revolutionaries, that a "correct line" in the sphere of economics must "of itself" bring about a correct Party regime. This view, with its pretence to dialectics, is one-sided and anti-dialectical, because it ignores the fact that in the historic process, cause and effect change their places repeatedly. A wrong line will increase a wrong regime and a wrong regime will still more disfigure the line.

Under Lenin there was a correct line. But it was precisely Lenin who pointed out that the apparatus with its anti-proletarian methods, turn a correct line into its opposite.

"The machine isn't going where we guide it, but where some illegal, or lawless or God-knows-whence derived speculators or private capitalistic businessmen, either the one or the other are guiding it. A machine doesn't always travel just exactly the way, and it often travels just exactly not the way, that the man imagines who sits at the wheel."

That is how Lenin expressed himself at the Party congress at which he appeared for the last time. What Lenin signalled at the time—as proof of the influence of the bourgeoisie on the apparatus, developed thanks to the policy of the Centrist top. By selecting people not according to their ability, experience and tried honesty, but exclusively according to the principle of adaptability, the Centrists gave that luxurious obsequy the squire followers of which bear the names of our great cities: Smolensk, Baku, etc. Centrism did not create bureaucracy. It inherited it together with the other general peculiarities, cultural and others—with the conditions of our country. But instead of combatting bureaucracy, Centrism developed it into a system of government, carried it over Stalin and the Centrist apparatus are making.

Continued on Page 5

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY AND THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By KURT LANDAU

I. The Legend of the New Revolutionary Wave.

"Our sister-party has measured up to its tasks. It is our party which is stimulating, promoting, and organizing the grandiose revolutionary revival of the laboring masses. It can be stated that not a single day passes in Germany which is not marked by the mobilization of the masses and street-fighting."

These are the words in which the French Communist organ, *Humanité*, describes the situation in an article entitled, "Street-fighting the position in Germany".

How the German Communist Party itself appraises the position is clearly revealed by the illegal leaflet which it distributed on the first of February, proclaiming that "the tottering chariots of capitalism at break-neck speed career towards the abyss and destruction." Every issue of the Berlin *Rote Fahne* purports to represent the workers as engaged in "conquering the streets", in putting the police to flight and here and there in setting up barricades.

But daily the hard language of facts contradicts this legend of the rising revolutionary tide. Of the three million unemployed who with their families compromise some six to eight million proletarians, not one percent heeded the call of the party to join in the hunger demonstrations—the call of this great and powerful party which rallies three million votes.

When the workers of Hartmannsdorf near Chemnitz in red and highly industrialized Saxony were recently shot down like rabbits by the unbridled police fury, the factories were not closed down, the workers did not storm out of the shops to demonstrate against the fearful bloodbath, as was the case last Fall on a hundred different occasions in Austria. No, the wide masses of the proletariat remained as dumb as the red shops of Berlin were the first and second of May when Zoergiebel was shedding the blood of the workers. The workers remained as silent as when in September the party called for the struggle against the worsening of unemployment relief, and later called upon them to fight Hilferding's finance program in December.

The most important symptom of a rising revolutionary wave—the extraordinary rise in the activity and initiative of the masses—is missing.

II. Towards the New 1923?

In the last few weeks and months the analogy of 1923 has been used more and more often in the German party as well as in the entire Comintern press.

The German party leadership and the Comintern regard the present situation of German capitalism hopeless. They point to the extraordinary rise of the index of unemployment, the symptoms of crisis in a section of industry and talk already of the approaching collapse of stabilization. The general social crisis following the collapse of the stabilization will, so the theoreticians of Stalinism think, reach in the immediate future, the intensity and profundity of 1923. The pace of this process, they consider, will be accelerated by the beginning crisis of American capitalism.

There can be no doubt that a series of crucial phenomena are making themselves felt in German capitalism. The closing down of industries, bankruptcies, etc. does not however, signalize the approaching general collapse of German capitalism but the extraordinary degree reached in the process of the concentration of capital. The year 1929 was record-breaking for the number of mergers, cartels—in a word for the gigantic advance on the road of concentration. The enormous increase of unemployment also is intimately bound up with this. The gigantic concentration makes possible the vast extension of the rationalization process. In the most important branches of German industry production in 1929, despite the numerical decrease of the workers employed, actually increased. That is, productivity actually rose. It is just such phenomena that reveal the fundamental contradictions of stabilization. In the same measure that the productive forces develop they come into conflict with the prevailing social order.

In the wake of these processes the social antagonisms have also grown unusually acute. The huge proportions of the

mass unemployment is exciting the unrest of the entire working class. The execution of the Young Plan in the form of imposing its whole burden on the masses, the forced increase of the indirect taxation, the custom duties, and tax-remissions to the bourgeoisie accentuate this unrest.

But it is a long way from the dissatisfaction of the masses to their revolutionary will to struggle. If anything sounds the death-knell of the present policy of the German party it is obviously the fact that in 1929, the year of the most brutal and reactionary offensive of the social democratic government, our Party has not been able to advance the working class a single step forward. The parliamentary and democratic illusions of the masses which a far-seeing Bolshevik leadership could in this stage have surmounted, have instead remained intact, thanks to the adventurist and zig-zag policy of the Thaelmannites. In so far as these democratic illusions were undermined, it was, however, not in favor of Communism but of national socialism (Hitler) which has doubled and tripled its ranks in the industrial centers.

Do we find ourselves then, on the eve of an acute revolutionary situation—of a new 1923? Positively not. But if there were a real Bolshevik party in the leadership, the German working class could indeed organize its effective resistance to the developing capitalist offensive. If, indeed, the German Communist Party organized a systematic struggle against the Young Plan, rallying the workers in the shops and the unemployed about the concrete tasks of the day, it could lend wings to the activity and initiative of the masses and prepare them for the victorious counter-offensive of the morrow.

III. Radicalization of the Workers, Political mass Strike, and Struggle for the Streets.

Something has already been said in the foregoing concerning the radicalization of the masses. It would be ridiculous to deny—as the Rights do—that a certain degree of radicalization of the masses is perceptible. That, despite Thaelmann and Neumann, the German party has remained a mass party with great sympathy in the proletariat and that this is the case despite the sense of shame that these sympathizers feel at the bombastic phrases and systematic self-deception of the Communist leaders and press—is due to the circumstance that great masses of the proletariat want to fight. That they do not fight, that they do not follow the battle-slogans of the party, is not their fault but exclusively that of a leadership which is incompetent to apply the ABC of a bolshevist policy.

The Thaelmann leadership has placed the German party in the state of self-delusion in which the Austrian party has found itself for many years. Since 1919, the Austrian Communist Party has been waiting—except for short intervals—for the revolution. Dedicated to the bold idea of the armed insurrection, the Austrian party has not, by and large, worked in the mass organizations and workshops; and whenever the proletariat begins to move, this party immediately proclaims the general strike and only stops short of talking of soviets.

In the "Third Period" the Austrian school has attained to international ramifications. The theses of the Wedding Congress of the German party explain why the struggle for "every-day demands" has outlived its usefulness in the following terms: "the process of the radicalization of the masses has made rapid progress and is being transformed into open mass action. The balance of forces has undergone a fundamental change... The May-Day struggles in Berlin are a turning point in the political development of Germany. The conditions are maturing for the approach of an immediate revolutionary situation, in the course of the development of which the question of armed insurrection will inevitably arise on the order of the day..."

It is from this appraisal of the situation that the party leadership approaches every question. This fateful over-estimation of the given processes of crisis cripples it in the task of the real systematic organization of the revolution in Germany

The slogan of the political mass strike met with catastrophic failure already the first and second of May; later it met with an even fainter echo. It is the very failure of this watch-word that should have opened the eyes of the Thaelmannites to their exaggerations—if they had eyes to see.

In 1923—which is represented to have so much in common with the present situation—there were no less than 47 political strikes, embracing 3506 shops and 320,000 workers. The number of working days lost through political mass strikes amounted to 1,048,293. What of 1929? Not a dozen shops, fewer than 30,000 workers joined in a political mass strike—despite the events of May First.

The economic struggles, for the year 1929, no less contradict the party thesis of the "stormy will to struggle" and the resolute counter-offensive of the proletariat. The following comparative index figures show this to be the case.

Year	No. of Workshops	No. on strike	No. of working days lost
1929		115,000	1,800,000
1928	5,672	328,529	8,519,713
1927	8,144	232,704	2,945,815

These figures bear an unmistakable meaning. They show that the party leadership has not succeeded in combatting the reformist trade unions' policy. The leaders of the "free" unions, on the other hand, did succeed to a large extent in bolstering up their class-collaborationist policy of "Industrial Peace."

We have the same picture of the "successes" of the struggle for the streets. If the party was yet able, despite all its preceding mistakes, to lead out tens of thousands on to the streets, the position has become considerable worsened since then. The first of February which was to have been the signal for a large scale mass action against unemployment and the rise in the cost of living, resulted, it is generally recognized, in a pitiable fiasco.

If one were to believe the party press, the outlawing of the party is a matter only of days or weeks at the most. The party leadership is daily engaged in preparing the working class for the imminent illegality of the C. P. and proudly proclaims that the Party cannot be proscribed, as little as the Red Front Fighters League.

IV. Is the Party Threatened by Illegality?

It is a fact that the left wing of the bourgeoisie, particularly the Social Democratic party and its press, energetically supported by the Democratic Party, demands exceptional measures against the Communist Party. In this sharpened offensive against the party, the Right press has been left far behind the "Vorwaerts" and the pacifist-democratic "Welt-am-Montag". This remarkable fact naturally has its deeper explanation.

The more the Coalition regime crumbles, the more the heavy-industrialist and right-wing circles of the German bourgeoisie demand the head of the Muller Government,—after Hilferding has already been ignominiously driven from the cabinet—all the more does the Social-Democracy inveigh against the Communist Party, in the hope of impressing its indispensability as a police-guard of the bourgeois republic. The legend of the putschist plans of the Communist Party, which are circulated daily by the capitalist press, is the axis about which revolves the struggle of the S. D. P. to preserve the Coalition. The proletarian dead of Hartmannsdorf, Worms and Hamburg are an integral factor in this struggle.

Apart from this, the Social-Democracy has latterly become confident that the Communist Party is impotent to carry on a successful fight for its existence in a state of outlawry. The inglorious end of the Red Front Fighters League which on its proscription simply disappeared, confirms the Social democracy in this expectation.

The possibility of the suppression of the Communist Party certainly exists.

But the S. D. P. clearly perceives that the banning of the C. P. G. would be anything but popular; granted anywhere near a reasonable policy of the party leadership, the struggle for legality could evoke a deep response from the masses. If this is not

the case to-day, if to-day the wide masses of the revolutionary proletariat stand aside in a waiting attitude, the S. D. P. should be grateful, first and foremost to the "Barricade-philosophy" of the Communist leadership and the methods of pseudo-revolutionary gymnastics that the C. P. daily applies, inasmuch as it proclaims struggle to be an end in itself.

But what the S. D. P. fears and what will probably deter it from driving the Communist Party into a state of illegality after the fascist precedent, is the awakening of the masses, who are sympathetic towards Communism and who would be able better to control the policy of the party than at present. Finally it is precisely in a condition of legality that the contradiction between the policy of the party and the revolutionary necessities becomes more and more crass, so that the outlook for the gradual disintegration of the Communist Party appears more attractive to the social-democrat than the risk of illegality.

But in the last analysis, this question will not be settled by a careful weighing of the pros and cons by Zoergiebel and Grzynski, but by the further development of the class-struggle in Germany. The tragedy of the situation lies in this: that the Thaelmanns and Neumanns objectively play into the hands of the Zoergiebel and Severings, inasmuch as their pseudo-revolutionary gestures push the revolutionary proletariat into passivity.

So for instance, the illegal leaflet of the party on February first called for demonstrations for the slogans—"All Power to Workers! Long live the Struggle for the dictatorship! For Soviet Germany!" Besides this the leaflet contains a long dissertation on the "History, Forms, and Technique of Barricade-Fighting".

The masses responded to these slogans with their feet: they did not appear.

And louder than ever the bourgeois press is calling for exceptional measures against the C. P. G.

V. The Struggle for a New Left Wing in the Party.

Up till now the gainers from the enormous mistakes of the party have been exclusively the Right wing, which has become a serious menace to the Party. They seize hold of the glaring mistakes and defeats of the party leadership to broadcast their own opportunist views of the united front policy, trade union tactics, etc.

The one-time Left Wing in the Party, that had already for the most part been expelled years ago, has up to the present been unable to re-form its ranks. The decisive obstacle to the reorganization of the forces, has become the Leninbund. Of its grave confusion in the fundamental international questions in connection with the Russo-Chinese Conflict, the declaration of Rakovsky, etc., much has been said and written. No less fateful for the Leninbund and through it, for the whole Left movement, has been its sectarian and opportunist policy in all the basic German questions. Above all, its radically false position on the Communist Party, which the Leninbund considers as already lost. This attitude which underlies the organizational form of the Leninbund as an independent organization, has led to the complete isolation of the Leninbund from the party masses and has resulted in a permanent crisis of disintegration, in the course of which a number of good comrades of this organization have separated themselves from the Leninbund and the policy of its leadership and embarked on open opposition.

The Leninbund which, at the time it was founded, was an organization of some thousands of largely active comrades, now ekes out only a shadowy existence. Except for some more active and firmly established groups (Westphalia, Baden, Central Germany) the Leninbund no longer disposes anywhere of strong positions.

The meandering way of the Leninbund has caused the Left groups that had remained in the party, to adopt a waiting attitude, to avoid being overtaken by a like fate. This is particularly true of the so-called Wedding Opposition which dominated Wedding two years ago—the most proletarian and powerful districts of the party in Berlin.

The Wedding Opposition too has many
Continued on Page 6

WORKERS NAIL EMPLOYMENT LIE

DETROIT—(FP)—Published reports of increased employment were branded as "damned lies" by workers interviewed by Federated Press.

Ford workers, asked to comment on a recent report that most Ford workers are to go on full time, said that a layoff is now actually in progress. They claim that 35% of the remaining workers have been laid off since the big layoff of 30,000 workers last fall. This is due to the new policy of the Ford Motor Co. in letting out contracts for parts to sweatshop firms. Until recently this policy was confined to bodies and wheels but now it has expanded until the brake, housing, rear-axle and shock-absorber departments have shut down. Workers in those departments have been thrown on the street. Newspapers report from time to time the visits of parts company officials with the announcement that this policy is but beginning.

The tool department, affected by this, has already dispensed with 200 of its skilled workers and foremen admit the probability of another 200-500 being laid off.

Foundry workers laugh at the possibility of full time with the comment that cylinder blocks are stacked by the thousands in the foundry yard. They expect a shut down in the foundry within a week. Already many departments having direct connection with the foundry are working six hours a day, two or three days per week. Their wages are correspondingly low, for Ford River Rouge workers are paid, not by the day, but by the hour.

Reports of increased production are "so much hooey", according to one worker in a strategic department. Far from increasing production, he says, officials contemplate a cut from about 5,000 to 2,500 cars daily.

Ford salesmen bear out these reports. "The New Ford just ain't goin' over," said one to Federated Press. Chevrolet salesmen take up the refrain with the added point that in spite of an extension in time payments the new car just isn't selling. One Chevie salesman, of the "up-and-coming" variety lamented that he had not made a single sale in five months. "And the new Chevie is a flop," he lamented.

500 girls have been laid off from the J. L. Hudson Co., foremost department store in town. Other stores had already done so. Chrysler office workers report a cut of 40% in their force some time ago.

The Employers' Assn., which usually publishes employment statistics weekly, has not done so since the beginning of the fall. Requests for such figures have brought the response that the figures are not being compiled.

Inconspicuous statistics from three companies show the factual situation in the auto industry. Buick reports January 1929 shipments as 7,299 compared with 13,008 of January 1929. Reo reports a slight decrease of 329 and Hupp, a larger firm, reports a decline of 1,400.

No wonder the city welfare department reports "the worst situation in 35 years", with over 14,000 families directly dependent on it for their subsistence!

POLISH CONDITIONS GROW RAPIDLY WORSE

WARSAW—(FP)—Unemployment is rapidly growing, and all industries except coal mining are depressed. Agriculture is suffering despite the export bounty on grain. Government allowance for unemployment relief is only \$1.50 per month for a man with a wife and child. The minimum subsistence cost for 3 persons in a family is estimated at \$13.00 per month. **LONG HOURS, LOW WAGES, FOR FOUND-DRY WORKERS**

WASHINGTON—Average full-time hours per week in foundries in the United States in 1929 were 51, and in machine shops 50.3, while foundry wages averaged 82.4 cents an hour and machine shops wages 63.3 cents an hour, says the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

MASS. UNEMPLOYMENT IN ROCHESTER ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Alarmed at the number of unemployed, the Rochester city council has voted to establish an emergency unemployment bureau to handle "all new cases which present themselves to the private agencies who will, in turn, refer them to this bureau." It is estimated that out of a working population of 100,000, 25,000 are idle.

Over 8,000,000 Women Toil at Low Wages

Continued from Page 1

that these so-called restrictions have not been lived up to, and have been placed upon the statute books as a concession to certain groups that have conducted campaigns for their enactment.

Long Hours for Women

Referring to the wages of women workers, Mary Anderson, director of the Women Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, speaking recently in Kansas City, Mo. stated that

"The approximately 80 reports already published by the Bureau, stress the fact that thousands of women still fail to receive a living wage and that thousands still toil more than 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, many as much as 10 hours daily and 60 hours a week, and some much more. In too many instances women are forced to work in crowded, poorly ventilated, dirty workrooms, to strain their eyes because of glare or insufficient light, to stand all day or sit continuously in a cramped by unguarded machinery and their health jeopardized by lack of comfort and sanitation in plant service equipment."

Of course, Miss Anderson as an official of the United States capitalist government will not advocate any drastic changes to better the conditions of the working women. It is only the women workers themselves by being organized in militant fighting unions and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men workers for equal pay for equal work who will be able to better their conditions. They must become active advocates of increases in wages, the abolition of speed-up, sanitary working conditions and a shortening of hours. In such a struggle they will also develop issues of special importance to the women workers.

From all parts of the country reports of the long hours and low wages of the women workers are received. The Newark, (N. J.) Trades and Labor Council, an American Federation of Labor body, reveals that girls' working hours are 12 to 14 hours in many big stores, including the powerful Sears-Roebuck corporation. Their report also points out that laws that are supposed to limit the hours of labor for women are difficult to enforce because fines are nominal and girls who complain are discharged.

Reports from Albany, N. Y. state that

Political Situation In Germany

Continued from Page 5

and powerful district of the Party in Berlin. The Wedding Opposition too has short-comings, characteristic of the German Left Wing of 1923-26, which it has not completely overcome even to-day. This is particularly true of its ultra-left position in the trade union question. The best of these Left groupings has maintained itself in the Pfalz district, where it publishes a paper called "The Pioneer."

The catastrophic development of the party since the Sixth Congress has alarmed these scattered Left groups. In the past few months the scattered Wedding groups have again united and begun to discuss, seriously and actively, the basic problems of the party.

These forces that have set themselves into motion are still weak, here as opposition in the Leninbund, there as Left faction in the party, at first in Wedding and Pfalz.

But one thing is clear: the old forms of the struggle with its outlived traditions and watch-words — of which the German Left had more than enough — must be surmounted. The new trend of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany since the Sixth World Congress demands more elastic, theoretically more deeply grounded and active factions than the past.

Despite a thousand difficulties in the struggle against innumerable obstacles and difficulties, the pieces are gathering inside and outside the party that will build the Left wing and that will have to understand how to represent and to apply the basic teachings of the international Leninist Opposition in Germany.

BUILDING ON THE CHUTE IN PENNSY

HARRISBURG, Pa.—(FP)—In January showed an unprecedented decline in building and construction in Pennsylvania. Building permits dropped 77.5% compared with January, 1929. Philadelphia reported \$2,719,000 in permits this January against

during January of this year two women and five boys and girls died of injuries received on the job, according to the state labor department. The sharp decrease of employment in New York state is accompanied by the lowering of safety precautions, which is usually the case during industrial depressions. Of course, the amount of men killed during the same period was larger than that of women, nevertheless the latter are daily facing the same risks as the men.

Night Shifts in Auto Plants

The Federated Press reports that in Detroit women are working 12 hour night shifts in the Briggs Body plants, a flat violation of the state labor law. Wages, run from \$10 to \$14 per week. Before the unemployment crisis, the women workers were able to earn as high as \$18 weekly, but the plant taking advantage of the surplus labor, cut the pay, knowing that under present conditions there are many jobless who would replace them.

When celebrating International Women's Day, March 8, the working women of America must declare emphatically their determination to fight for better working conditions — equal pay for equal work, end of the speed-up, raise in wages, sanitary working conditions, reduction of hours and no night work.

The women workers have shown in many past struggles that they were militant fighters and in the future will again show that they can fight courageously for the rights of the working class. Who will forget the bravery of the wives of the coal miners who in a score of struggles have fought shoulder to shoulder with their husbands on the picket line in spite of the machine guns of the bosses thugs. They have been among the most active participants on the picket line in the needle trades struggles in New York, the textile strikes of Passaic, New Bedford and Castonia and many smaller strikes throughout the country.

International Women's Day is a time for the militant women workers to rededicate themselves to the class struggle and prepare for future activity. The Communist League of America (Opposition) calls upon all women workers to join in the celebration which is held every year for the working women of the world when they measure their victories and defeats of the past twelve months and prepare for future struggles.

Reveals Crime of Archangel Expedition

By Federated Press

The leading article in the American Mercury for March is the Archangel Adventure, written evidently by an American army officer who went through that criminal piece of British muddling for which Woodrow Wilson was generously ready to pour out American lives and treasure, all to no avail. The return of 75 bodies of American middle western soldiers, uselessly and tragically sacrificed on the Arctic Russian soil from which they were exhumed last fall, is the occasion for returning to that 12-year old wild goose chase against the Soviet Union.

Right at the outset the Mercury author states that the adventure "cost hundreds of lives, millions of dollars and an immense amount of suffering."

Wilson lightly promised American cannon fodder and American dollars to the British general staff and on August 18, 1918, announced that the doughboys would be used to guard war material for czarist Russians against the revolution. In addition they were to get control of the northern arm of the Trans-Siberian and its feeder railroads from the Bolsheviks. The author points out that the Bolsheviks had already taken all the war material there would have been to guard and that a very much larger total force would have been needed to grab the railroads.

He concludes: "From the 102 caskets shipped to the United States from Archangel in 1919; from the 75 that arrived in New York the other day; from those waiting disposition in France; from the hundreds of lonely unmarked graves in the tundra — Yankee, British, French — there comes no singing. I should hate to be the staff man who planned that dream of a winter march through Arctic Russia."

That brainless crusade was all for democracy. Another is now being planned in

STALINISM IN CHICAGO I. L. D.

CHICAGO—On Monday, February 3rd the Chicago Joe Hill branch of the International Labor Defense held its regular elections—well organized. I say organized advisedly as I noted several comrades present who otherwise do not attend much, neither to meetings nor to work of the I. L. D. Knowing them all well, I soon observed that they were members of the official Communist Party brought there to vote. Why that was "necessary" became clear to me later.

Comrade J. R. Booth had been our branch educational director for a long time, being elected unanimously; his program had in the past been accepted without opposition. His very active work for the movement and for the I. L. D. in particular had always been recognized; at one meeting he alone brought in 25 new applications for membership. His general working class record is well known, including one year and a half in jail for opposition to the last world war. He was now again nominated for the position of educational director to succeed himself but that started the "works". Those Party members brought there to vote objected to the nomination on the grounds that comrade Booth supports the Opposition—the Trotskyites—no other reason was advanced.

Narrowing Down Labor Defense

Although not on the "inside" but still having heard enough discussion from time to time about the "new line" it is quite clear that this is what has been put into operation in the I. L. D. and used against comrade Booth. There used to be a time when the I. L. D. had room for all revolutionary and class conscious workers who were ready to fight for labor's prisoners and for the working class movement in general; but that is all over now.

Comrade Booth defended his right to continue in active work for his class. He reminded the voters of the act that while he himself, a "Trotskyite", had been present defending the "Freiheit" during the severest days and nights of attack by the bourgeois zionists he had failed to see these voters present. He stated that no organized caucus could prevent his active work for his class even though they may prevent his being elected for the post for which he was nominated. They might even carry through their threats of expulsion; but, turning to the other branch members he asked them not let such Stalinist tactics interfere with the work of the branch or break it up. "Whether outside or inside," said comrade Booth, "I will continue to work for the I. L. D., and I ask you all to do likewise."

A couple of members, not belonging to the party, spoke against the objections made to Booth's nomination and when it came to election things had been carried so far that all the non-party members present abstained from voting one way or another, not wanting to take part in such manipulations. Thus the party caucus won a victory; but a few such victories and there will be no I. L. D. branch left.

—A BRANCH MEMBER

No Murder Charge Against This Judge

By FRANK L. PALMER

DENVER—(FP)—"Passing the buck" from one city to the other struck a snag in "Justice" Court in Denver. It was noticed for a day however and then forgotten.

A father was brought into court for failure to provide for his family. "I can't get work," he pled. "Then I'll give you 90 days," the judge thundered. "I couldn't support them any better if you did," the desperate father countered, with some apparent justification.

"I'll sentence you to 90 days in jail and suspend sentence to give you 48 hours to get out of town and take your family with you."

Some way he got an old Ford and started through the Colorado winter to "get out of town". The baby was ill but fear of the judge was strong. In a Nebraska town the pleas of the mother that the baby be taken to a doctor, even if there were nothing to pay the bill, was agreed to.

The baby was dead.

Murder charges have not been filed against the judge.

YOUNG VANGUARD

- - A Section Devoted to Problems of the Working Class Youth

:-: Whither the American League? :-:

The Enlarged Plenum of the Y. C. I. found its echo in the recent plenum of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. The "New Turn" and watchwords were all faithfully reproduced according to schedule. Undoubtedly the new zig-zag was very welcome to Rijack, Harvey and Green. It saved them the embarrassing trouble of really explaining the causes for the disintegration of the League. The Y. C. I. plenum provided them in advance with all the necessary explanations. The resolution adopted (*Daily Worker*, February 5-8, 1930) reveals the miserable situation in which the Y. C. I. finds itself—but explains nothing, and lays the basis for further decline.

There is much "self-criticism" in the resolution. Self-criticism plays today a special role in the official Parties and Leagues similar to a safety valve in a steam boiler. Genuine self-criticism could never serve the interests of an opportunist bureaucracy. They indulge in "self-criticism" in order to forestall criticism from below. The bureaucracy use self-criticism as the bourgeois liberals view free speech—to relieve the internal fermentation. So they confess their sins, and the membership feels that a new clean revolutionary atmosphere surrounds them. In reality, the new atmosphere is a most congenial place for committing new errors.

"The struggle of the young workers were often allowed to pass unobserved, and when we did participate in these struggles we too often failed to give independent leadership or to develop the necessary new forms of struggle (New York, Boston, Kansas City, etc.), and to build the league". Really a most remarkable leadership and a most remarkable state of affairs in the League. The silence with which such a statement (which reveals paralysis and impotence) is received in the League, is a sign that the process of disintegration and demoralization is very far advanced.

In the "Third Period" it is necessary to exaggerate without limit (in order to conceal the very increasing bankruptcy of the present leadership). The third period must be confirmed at all costs. Facts are no longer of any importance; so think our youth "leaders". "Thus the economic crisis is causing the young workers to move to the Left at an extremely rapid pace (so!). This growing activity on the part of the young workers finds expressions in the ever increasing number of youth strikes..." Of course in the "third period" it isn't necessary to mention just in what industries these youth strikes are to be observed or to name any of them. Only those who are still lagging behind somewhere in the second period want to have exact and accurate information on these youth strikes. To determine the extent, the main tendencies, the number involved, light or basic industries—all this seems to be of no concern to the marionettes in the leadership of the League.

If anyone is in search for a quotation expressing underestimation of social reformism, here is one of the outstanding examples: "The radicalization of the young workers takes away the base of the social reformists among the young workers and while social reformism remains the chief ideological barrier, which we have to overcome amongst the young workers, there can be no real growth of reformist youth organizations—but only disintegration, providing the Young Communist League plays its role." Everything here is wrong and muddled. It is false to say that radicalization takes away the base from the social reformists and only politically irresponsible people who trifle with the interests of the workers would state such a thing. It is precisely in the period of radicalization that social reformism has all the opportunities of growth among the working class. This period likewise makes for greater opportunities for Communism and makes more fertile the possibilities of its growth. Who will grow faster, which will outstrip the other depends on several conditions, among which the tactics of the Party play an extremely important and decisive part.

An expression of the "Left" danger we are told is "vanguardism". But may we ask, What is the origin of this tendency? Who cultivated and nourished it? Who was it that always flattered the youth and taught them that they played a special, sanctioned role in the struggle against deviations in the Party? Who told the youth that they were the best interpreters of the Comintern decisions? Who always used the youth as a pawn for every zig-zag move on the Centrist chess-board? It is exactly that leadership which today cries loudly against "vanguardism" that is entirely responsible for the growth of such a tendency in the Y. C. I. It was found then to be expedient in the struggle against comrade Trotsky and the Leninist Opposition. But today when dissatisfaction with the course of the present leadership (Shatzkin-Sten) the E. C. finds it necessary to struggle against the very tendencies for which it was responsible, and which it nurtured.

The Y. C. I. and American League plenums were important in that it foreshadows the "new turn" that is to follow in the C. I. and its sections. The "new turn" stated in the resolutions as the need to struggle against the "Left Danger" is a forerunner of the beginning of the new wave of repressions and persecutions against the Leninist Opposition. It foreshadows the adoption again of a Right course by the Stalinist Center. The excuse of the League, that the need of a struggle against the "Left" is the result of sectarian isolation, is just an excuse. The cause of the sectarian isolation is the result of the adventurist and recent ultra-Left course of the International, arising from the spurious theory of the "third period". In this "new turn" the League will once again be the "best interpreters" of the Comintern decisions, and struggle against the "Left deviations"—and prepare with the Party the swing to the Right. Such is the honorable role that the Young Communist Leagues, the world over, are fated to play under the regime of the Centrist bureaucracy.

—GEORGE RAY

The Militarization of the American Youth

A new feature in the militarization of the American youth is taking place in New York. This act, in face of the recent London Conference, and all other peace and disarmament negotiations, belies the attempts of this government to appear as a promoter of peace. A bill has been introduced into the New York State Legislature calling for the conscription of all students between the ages of 10 and 18 to compulsory military training.

To avoid resentment to this open attempt at making soldiers of the American youth the bill states in its title that it is "Instruction in boy scout training and kindred subjects". But even such a covering fails to hide the fact that the aim and purpose of this bill is the preparation of cannon fodder for the coming war. As in all forms of military service, the weak and sick are eliminated, and the best physically are allowed the "privilege" of participation, which in this instant would mean compulsion to service.

The bill if passed would mean that all students, regardless of attendance at private or public schools would be forced to wear the uniform, take 30 minutes drill daily, and special training during the holidays, and summer vacation periods.

Need of Mass Movement

The passing of such a bill would necessarily set a precedent that would undoubtedly be pursued in other states. At the present moment only the Teachers Union of the State has protested against "this attempt to exploit the children of the state and thus keep alive the institution of militarism". That however, is far from sufficient.

This particular attempt of the state of New York must be linked with the whole attempt at militarization of the youth in

The Class Character of the Constitution

Since the close of the World War a group of new sects has appeared in America, made up of self-styled defenders of the American Constitution. The most fervent of these are the American Security League, the Key Men of America, the Army and Navy League, the Constitutional Defense League, and the Ku Klux Klan. Even the old corpse of the Sons of the American Revolution—not to mention the Daughters—has been revived and shouts loudly with the rest.

These organizations have to a degree succeeded in foisting on America a new religion in which the fathers of the revolution are made the saints and the Constitution a holy book. Like all religious fanatics, the makers of the new religion are ready to inflict punishments on anyone who dares to question the truth of their doctrines. To suggest that the revolutionary forefathers were after all only human beings, with no more power to look into the future than we have today—and perhaps with less—is to bring down their wrath upon you. They are equally ready to condemn any one who declares that the Constitution is now obsolete; for they are not realistic enough to recognize that the framers of the Constitution were not inspired by heaven but only by the social and economic conditions of the time in which they lived.

Not content with practicing their jingo religion by themselves, these holy crusaders have done and are doing their best to instill into the American workers a worship of the past and a fear of questioning the American institutions. Like the early Christians the American workers are ready to suffer rather than reason out whether or not these institutions having their foundation in the Constitution serve their interests or not.

As a matter of fact, the evidence is on the negative side. Take, for example, private property and the protection of the individual, comparing conditions today with those of 150 years ago. At that time, most property in America was the result of individual labor. America was primarily an agricultural country, with an abundance of virgin land. Very little capital was necessary to establish a man's independence. Almost anyone was able to get land and clear it for cultivation. After a few years of labor, he would be the owner of property that was the result of his own toil. A man with a few simple tools was able

to carry on a trade without the assistance of a capitalist. The Constitution in those days served to some extent also the interests of the bulk of the population (with the exception of the slaves) who consisted of small farmers and independent craftsmen, or, in other words, of small property owners.

The Exploitation of Labor and the Law

Now let us see if that holds good today. For example, Henry Ford, the outstanding individual capitalist in America today, is the reputed owner of an industry worth at least \$1,000,000,000. Is this billion dollars the result of Ford's own labor? Of course not. It is the result of the labor of hundreds of thousands of wage laborers who work "for" Ford. It is the product of social toil. It is possible under a private-property system for Ford to exploit these hundreds of thousands of men, or to speak more simply, possible for him to legally rob them of by far the greater part of what they produce.

Ford has, during the last four months, laid off 50,000 workers, denying them the right to work in the industry which they, not he, were the builders of. Yet the government would back up Mr. Ford when he deprives workers of the means whereby they live. According to the Constitution, it is his factory, not theirs. Suppose that the Ford workers should demand that he turn over the plant to them. Ford would stand on the right given him by the Constitution which says: "No person shall be...deprived of...life, liberty or property without due process of the law...Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." And the armed forces of the state would protect him in that right.

But what about the right of the 50,000 workers to life, liberty and the right to work—which is the only "property" of wage slaves? Well, the Constitution and the state laws have nothing to do with that. Property rights come first, and that holds good throughout the nation. Why? Because, though an industrial revolution took place in America, and we have changed from an agricultural country to an industrial, from individual production to social, yet we are still bound hand and foot by a document written in a pre-industrial era. Today a small minority own nearly all the land, the raw material, and the industries, while the greater part of the population are propertyless (proletarians). But we have failed to change our institutions to meet the changed economic conditions.

Abolish Capitalism

To speak of "we", however, is to be inexact. The nation is made up of those who own and those who work. Of these two great classes, one, the minority, namely, the propertied class, still derive benefit from the existing order. It would be futile to expect them to bring about a change in the social system of America. That can only be done by the other class, the propertyless ones, when they waken to a realization that a national constitution drawn up 150 years ago is now obsolete and must take its place in a museum as a thing of the past. New institutions must instead be created. We, the proletariat of today know far better than did our forefathers, what the social and political requirements of today are. We cannot let the past stand in our way, nor can we allow a handful of professional patriots and ancestor-worshippers to hold back the wheel of progress. The proletariat must and will brush all such aside and write its own constitution and make its own history.

—PETER HANSEN

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AT STANDSTILL

WASHINGTON—Total membership of all trade unions in the United States in 1929 was 4,331,251, according to a summary published in the latest edition of the Handbook of American Trade Unions, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is somewhat less than the total for 1926. During these three years 10 national organizations, chiefly dual passed out of existence. American Federation of Labor unions report a gain of 126,430 over their 1926 total. The chief gains were made in the construction and public service industries.

WAGE CUTS IN OIL FIELDS

LOS ANGELES—Drastic job cuts have been made in the southern California oil fields, the Los Angeles Times admits in an inconspicuous item on the financial page. January has shown a "marked decrease in employment" the open shop paper states.

RAIL TELEGRAPHERS ADD NEW MEMBERS

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—The Order of Railroad Telegraphers enrolled 307 new members in January.

MY PART IN THE OCTOBER

By L. D. TROTSKY

The following is a chapter of the "Real Situation in Russia" by L. D. Trotsky, dealing with the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution by the Stalin regime. This chapter is of special interest now in view of the celebration of the founding of the Red Army. The translation, including the notes, is by Max Eastman.

As to my participation in the October Revolution—in the notes to Volume 14 of the Complete Works of Lenin you read:

"After the majority of the Petersburg Soviet passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks, Trotsky was elected its president and in that position organized and led the insurrection of October 25:

How much is true here, and how much false, let the Bureau of Party History decide—if not the present one, then some future Bureau. Comrade Stalin has lately categorically denied the truth of this assertion. Thus:

"I have to say that Comrade Trotsky played no particular role in the October insurrection and could not do so, that being president of the Petrograd Soviet, he merely fulfilled the will of the corresponding party authority, which guided his every step."

And further:

"Comrade Trotsky played no particular role either in the party or the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period." **

In giving this testimony, Stalin forgot what he himself said on the sixth of November, 1918; that, is on the first anniversary of the revolution, when facts and events were still too fresh in the minds of all. Even then Stalin had already begun that work in relation to me which he has now developed on such a grand scale. But he was then compelled to conduct it far more cautiously and underhandedly than he is now. Here is what he wrote then in Pravda ***under the title, "The Role of the Most Important Party Leaders":

"All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky."

Those words, spoken by no means for the purpose of laudatory exaggeration—on the contrary, Stalin's goal was then wholly different, but I will not dwell on that—those words sound absolutely incredible today as coming from the lips of Stalin.

It was said long ago: A truthful man has this advantage, that even with a bad memory he never contradicts himself. A dishonest, unscrupulous, and dishonest man has always to remember what he said in the past, in order not to shame himself.

Comrade Stalin, with the help of the Yaroslavskies, is trying to construct a new history of the organization of the October insurrection based on the fact that the party created a "practical center for the insurrection," of which, it appears, Trotsky was not a member. Lenin was not a member of that committee. That fact alone demonstrates that the committee had only a subordinate organizational significance. It played no independent role whatever. The legend about this committee has been created today for the simple reason that Stalin was a member of it. Here is the membership: "Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov, Uritsky." However unpleasant it is to dig in the rubbish, it seems necessary for me, as a sufficiently close participant and witness of the events of that time, to testify as follows:

The role of Lenin, of course, needs no illumination. Sverdlov I often met, and I often turned to him for counsel, and for people to help me. Comrade Kamenev, who, as is well known, occupied a special position, the incorrectness of which he himself has long ago acknowledged,*** took never the less a most active part in the events of the revolution. The decisive night, from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-sixth, Kamenev and I spent together in the quarters of the Military Revolutionary Committee, answering questions, and giving orders by telephone. But stretch my memory as I will, I cannot answer the question in just what

consisted, during those decisive days, the role of Stalin. It never once happened that I turned to him for advice or cooperation. He never showed the slightest initiative. He never advanced one independent proposal. This fact no "Marxist historian" of the new style can alter.

A Supplementary Insertion

Stalin and Yaroslavsky, as I said above, have wasted much effort these last months in proving that the organizational center created by the Party, consisting of Sverdlov, Stalin, Bubnov, Uritsky and Dzerzhinsky guided, so to speak, the whole course of the insurrection. Stalin has emphasized, every way he can, the fact that Trotsky was not a member of that center. But alas! through sheer carelessness on the part of Stalin's historians, in Pravda for November 2, 1927—that is, after the present letter was written—there appeared an accurate excerpt from the report of the Central Committee for the sixteenth to the twenty-ninth of October, 1917.

"The Central Committee creates a military revolutionary center with the following members, Sverdlov, Stalin, Bubnov, Uritsky, and Dzerzhinsky. THIS CENTER IS TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOVIET COMMITTEE."

The Revolutionary Soviet Committee is the Military Revolutionary Committee created by the Petrograd Soviet. No other Soviet organ for the leadership of the insurrection existed. Thus these five comrades, designated by the Central Committee, were required to enter as a supplement into the staff of that same Military Revolutionary Committee of which Trotsky was the president. Superfluous it would seem, for Trotsky to be introduced a second time into the staff of an organization of which he was already president! How hard it is, after all, to correct history after it is finished!

November, 11, 1927.

I wrote at Brest a short outline of the October Revolution. This book went through a great number of editions in various languages. Nobody ever told me that there is a flagrant omission in my book—namely that it nowhere points out the chief guide of the insurrection, "the military revolutionary centre," of which Stalin and Bubnov were members. If I so badly remember-

ed the history of the October insurrection, why did not somebody clear me up? Why was my book studied with impunity in all the party schools in the first years of the revolution?

Even in the year 1922 the Organization Bureau of the party seemed to think that I understood fairly well the history of the October Revolution. Here is a small but eloquent confirmation of that:

Moscow, May 24, 1922.

"No. 14302

To Comrade Trotsky:

"Excerpt from the report of the session of the Organization Bureau of the Central Committee for May 22, 1922, No. 21.

Commission Comrade Yakovlev by the first of October to compose under the editorship of Comrade Trotsky, a textbook on the history of the October Revolution.

"Signed, Secretary of the Sub-Department of Propaganda"

That was in May 1922. And my book about the October Revolution having appeared before that time in many editions, was well known to the Organization Bureau—the head of which, at that period was already Stalin. Nevertheless the Organization Bureau considered it necessary to lay upon me the task of editing the school book of the October Revolution. How does this happen? It happens because the eyes of Stalin and the Stalinists were opened to "Trotskyism" only after the eyes of Lenin were closed forever.

* P. 482

** J. Stalin, "About Trotsky, Trotskyism or Leninism," pp. 68-69.

*** No. 241.

**** This is a mild reference to the fact that Kamenev and Zinoviev opposed the seizure of power in October, held negotiations against it, with the Mensheviks, and even made known in a non-Bolshevik paper the secret resolution of the Bolshevik central committee calling for the insurrection. They were denounced as "traitors", "deserters", "strikebreakers", etc., by Lenin in a long letter which I published in my "Since Lenin Died".

Zinoviev subsequently stated that the two greatest mistakes of his life were this opposition to Lenin in 1917 and his opposition to Trotsky in 1924. "I am working with Trotsky now for long," he said. That was two years ago, and he has since deserted again and is writing anti-Trotskyist articles at the behest of Stalin.—Trans.

The Policy of the Leadership and Party Regime

Continued from Page 4

from the Soviet apparatus into the Party and gave the latter forms and dimensions which are unheeded of, which are indefensible, in view of the role of political leadership the Party has to play.

The Stalinist Bureaucracy

On top of that the Centrist leadership has raised to Communist dogmas ("organizational principles of Leninism") the methods of command and compulsion, refining them to a degree rarely known in the history of bureaucratic virtuosity. With the aid of these demoralizing methods, making machines out of thinking Communists, killing the will, character and human dignity—the Centrist top succeeded in becoming an irreplaceable and inviolable oligarchy, substituting the Party and the class.

The capitulators do not like to talk any longer of the Party regime and Party bureaucracy. This seems to them now to be natural, as if it were part of the proletarian dictatorship. From the moment the capitulators decided to achieve a place under our Soviet bureaucratic sun, the Stalinist regime has become to them the very best of the best; a democratic, a workers, and a Party one. A particularly cynical apologist has become—Radek. With ease he threatens his former comrades with article 58; in his declaration of July 13, he tries to defend the methods of the leadership, which served to decompose the apparatus within the country and has done harm to the dictatorship outside the country. Those who talk about Party democracy (evidently Lenin is to be included) are nothing else but vulgar liberals, struggling for freedom in the abstract! Meantime the struggle with the class enemy, that regenerates and becomes more ugly, in the future too will be hin-

dered by the wrong and extremely abnormal Party regime.

The old methods are already condemned, they top recognize, but as always it tries to throw off responsibility, to throw dust in the eyes, to deceive the masses, to whose justified dissatisfaction, they toss a few scapegoats. It tries to deceive the masses with so-called self-criticism. Everyone is permitted to criticize himself, but those who are chiefly responsible and guilty they do not permit themselves to, but they do not even permit the Party to criticize them. They are gifted with the godly attribute of infallibility.

What Read?

However, they are not able to conceal the conditions from the Party and the working class. The question is put edge-ways and it is necessary to give an answer. This must be done without delay. Before the Party are two roads—either it will be capable to give the proletarian dictatorship a directing organization based on confidence, and about which Lenin spoke, which will be capable to establish a workers' democracy and to restrain an unruly stubborn apparatus, its misuses and mismanagement, the incapabilities of which costs hundreds of millions of rubles, besides the tremendous moral harm it does to the proletarian dictatorship. Either the Party will be sufficiently mature to do all this, or else it will help—against its own will and to the greatest harm to itself, the revolution and Communism—the class enemy which will thus break into our Soviet fortress under the banner of a false, hypocritical, vile, bourgeois democracy in order to pave afterwards the way for unrestrained fascism. Either—or. There is no other way o

THE MILITANT

is the only newspaper in the United States that regularly publishes the writing of L. D. Trotsky, Ch. Rakovsky and other leaders of the Left Opposition of the Communist movement based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In addition it is the only periodical in the English language in any part of the world that prints the correct estimation of world events based upon a Leninist conception.

THE MILITANT is the organ of those who want to reestablish the international Communist movement on the basis it was up till the death of Lenin. Published weekly, it is a powerful factor in mobilizing the working class along the correct ideological lines. Without its regular appearance the Left Opposition not only in America but throughout the world would sustain a severe loss.

In a recent letter, Comrade Trotsky asserted that La Verite the weekly organ of the French Left Opposition and THE MILITANT were the two best organs of the movement that is conducting a campaign for a return to Lenin's teachings. To enable THE MILITANT to continue publication, the immediate support of all its readers is necessary. A donation to its Sustaining Fund will enable it to continue to exist.

FILL OUT THE BLANK BELOW

DO NOT WAIT! ACT TODAY!

AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY AND THEN YOU WILL KNOW YOU HAVE DONE YOUR PART FOR THE REGENERATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

(Tear here or if you want to save this issue of the Militant copy it on another piece of paper.)

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$... for the Militant Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky
Name
Address
City State

A LETTER FROM ENGLAND

Helston, Cornwall, England

The Militant

Dear Comrades:

Many thanks for your letter. Yes, I have had a serious turn for the worse. My heart is now in a state in which it may give out at any moment—the valves being worn out. For this reason I shall not be able to meet a comrade who is proposing to come from Paris to arrange for the distribution of the Russian Bulletin and to organize the Opposition in the Communist Party in England. This needs to be done badly. I have sent an address in North Shields, where a useful helper will be found, who has lived on the Tyne Side for a lifetime...I shall never be able to leave home again, and if the heart does not improve I am likely to be "out of it" very shortly.

The news that Comrade Trotsky's health is improving is the best you could possibly have sent me...I had noticed that his writing was as accurate in detail and as genuine as ever. Also, that the old humour was not wanting. His books and articles have energized me for years. Like most people in feeble health I am inclined to pessimism. Whenever I am at my worst, I invariably turn to some of Trotsky's writings and always with good results.

The workers who get the Militant cannot afford a cent for a copy. I will continue to pay whilst I can. The poverty on Tyneside is ghastly and unemployment is getting worse.

MILICENT SHOOTER

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 11

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 15, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

MARCH 6 AND AFTER

London Naval Debacle

The collapse of the London Naval Conference, coming on the heels of the fall of the French cabinet, bears out all contentions of the impossibility of the imperialists even to pretend at limitation of armaments. The attempt to mask itself as an apostle of peace for the world was a farce; the conference was made up purely of the leading imperialist powers—to the exclusion of all others. The issue of parity strength proved to be not one of reduction, but, on the contrary, one of increased construction of naval armaments.

We have all along pointed out the impossibility of the capitalist powers to attempt to solve and patch up their differences through conferences and negotiations. We said further that the London conference was actually a session of the leading capitalist powers, jockeying for advantages in the world political arena, and preparing their allies in preparation of an impending conflict. Furthermore, it was obvious from the outset that one of the main objectives

of the conference would be to lay the plans for an alliance of the powers against the Soviet Union. In the beginning, it was clear that nothing could be achieved in the way of diminishing construction and reduction of armaments, and that the conference would reach a blind alley in a short while.

These views have been substantiated. For over two weeks, the conference has lapsed. The pacifists and the Conference attempt to lay the blame for this on the collapse of the French cabinet. While this is a factor, it does not eliminate the fact that the whole conference was leading to a point where its further deliberations would be checked.

Issues at the Conference

At the beginning of the conference, the following conditions were the basis for the negotiations: The parity ratio between the United States and England. The demand for increased parity on the part of Japan from the original proposal of 5-5-3 to 10-10-7. The demand of France for a tonnage of 724,000 tons, and Italy's position calling for parity with France. This presented the curious picture of a disarmament conference with a program of increased naval construction.

The various issues during the first month of the conference whether or not battleships should be expunged from naval service, whether submarines were "humane instruments" during war, etc., were only confusing and played their part in delaying the discussion of disarmament. They allowed for time so that the various powers could obtain information on their opponents' strength.

The real obstacle remains unsolved—what shall be the naval ratios of the participants? On this there is unanimous disagreement. While United States and England apparently agree to parity the remaining countries continue to disagree unless their commands are granted. France, which today has taken the place of pre-war Germany as the outstanding militarized nation, insists that her "freedom and interests" demand a naval tonnage of 725,000 tons, to be built for the most part by 1936. This means that France, in a short period, would have one of the largest and most modern navies in the world. Neither the United States, England, nor Japan agree to this. Japan on the other hand refuses, on the basis that she is an "island nation", to reduce her tonnage, and Italy continues to insist on parity with France, to allow protection of her interests in the Mediterranean Sea. Both France and Japan refuse to liquidate their submarine fleets, which are the backbone of their smaller naval strength against both the United States and England. The above was the condition prior to the opening of the conference, and on which the conference today has lapsed because of its failure to even make initial progress.

Each of the naval powers demand "security" and are willing (!) for reduction if the other begins it. That no progress

(Continued on Page 6)

The unemployment demonstrations on March 6th which, particularly in New York, Detroit and other industrial centers, assumed huge proportions, have proved in irrefutable language that unemployment is a living issue in the United States. They smashed the conspiracy of the ruling class to deny or minimize the unemployment crisis and sent them scurrying for measures of amelioration and fear of the coming storm. They proved that issues which directly affect the life interests of the masses are the ones which rouse them. The demonstrations compelled reformists of the socialist party and a section of the trade union movement who up till now have done little but echo the Hoover pronouncements, to come forward with independent proposals in an attempt to take over the leadership of the unemployed masses.

On the other side, the March 6th unemployment demonstrations were the signal for unleashing an unprecedented police brutality against the workers; a new wave of incitement by the capitalist press against the Communist organizers of the movement; an attempt to bury the issue of unemployment under a "Red Scare"; and an attempt to frame up the arrested leaders—in short a general offensive of the ruling class and the government designed to lay the basis for again outlawing the Communist movement. The New York capitalist papers, including the pseudo-liberal *Telegram*, are crying with one voice for the rigorous prosecution of the arrested Communists, who insisted that the right to parade the streets, always enjoyed without question by reactionary elements, should be taken for one day by the workers. The unemployment movement, which on March 6th marked a rise in the militancy of the masses, remains a defensive movement in the face of a continuing and intensified capitalist offensive.

Haitians Demand End of Wall St. Rule

WASHINGTON—In a public statement on the history of the so-called American treaty with Haiti, which never was ratified when secretly negotiated in 1917, the Patriotic Union of Haiti demands that American imperialism shall get out of Haiti and rid the country of military occupation.

"We denounce the Act of 1917," says the Union. "We protest its invocation before the civilized world, before the Congress of the United States, before the Investigating Committee, before President Hoover..."

"To critics who might add 'revolution', we say: 'Let it not be a repetition of the Aux Cayes affair, where innocent men, women and children were slaughtered by United States marines.'"

Hoover has been in office now one year, but military rule in Haiti remains as before. The masses of Haiti are just as determined in their demand for freedom from the economic, political and military bondage of U. S. imperialism. The Hoover Committee "investigates" and of course does nothing. The Haitian masses continue to protest the American occupation through demonstrations and other measures

The March 6th demonstrations which brought a period of preliminary agitation to a point, represent a beginning in the work of organizing the defensive struggle of the masses on issues which go to the very heart of their daily lives. It is necessary now to arrive at a realistic estimation of the actual strength of the unemployment movement, and the influence of the Communists upon it, in preparation for the next stages of the struggle. The spectacular demonstrations, magnificent as they were in many respects, are not, standing by themselves, alone a sufficient guide for this estimation. Scarehead newspaper publicity concentrated public attention on these events in such a way as to insure a big attendance in any case.

The question of how many were demonstrators, how many passive sympathizers, and how many merely curious spectators, cannot be easily answered. It is self-evident that enormous numbers belonged to the latter two categories. To classify all who appeared at the demonstrations as real participants in the movement for relief of the unemployed would be an obvious mistake on which profound illusions would be based. Subsequent stages of development and the various forms it will necessarily take, will provide the criteria for measuring the extent of the actual movement.

This development must now take the form of organizing the forces set into motion, of consolidating and extending their strength. The success of this work depends on the further course of the economic situation in the first place, and on the tactics of the Communists in the second. These questions stand in the center of the revolutionary task.

Unemployment—a Permanent Phenomenon

Unemployment has become a permanent phenomenon of American capitalism. Even such a cautious economic writer as Stuart Chase estimated 3,000,000 unemployed at the height of the Hoover prosperity in 1923. While exact figures on the present situation are not obtainable, there is plenty of ground for the assumption that the figure today stands at twice that number. This is a powerful force undermining the structure of American capitalism. Moreover the effect of unemployment on the workers is cumulative. As the savings and credits of the unemployed workers are exhausted and other resources and devices are used up, they become faced more and more with the stark problem of subsistence. Neither police clubs nor prosperity propaganda can do away with it. It is true that American capitalism has enormous resources at its disposal—a fact which must not be forgotten. These resources give a possibility—if they are fully extended—of ameliorating some of the most acute phases of unemployment, but they cannot reach the essential problem. Unemployment is a permanent cancer gnawing at the vitals of American capitalism.

The ensuing period will give the possibility of gauging the strength and tempo of the movement and of organizing it accordingly. The series of protest meetings against the arrests and police brutality

(Continued on Page 2)

Gold and God United Against Soviets

"Church of Wall St. Shows \$1,462,340 Income Last Year. Trinity reports \$15,000,000 Realty.—Assets \$16,923,956."

With these headlines the Wall St. Journal introduces a story on the increasing capital owned by Trinity Church Corp., of New York. The Episcopal Church of which Wm. T. Manning, now bishop of New York, was formerly rector, is the wealthiest single parish in America. But other organizations in this denomination and in other churches boast of investments, steadily increasing in amount rolling up into millions of dollars. The \$17,000,000 of Trinity parish is only a small fraction of the total.

So when Bishop Manning called upon all religious bodies to join in a day of prayer as a protest against Soviet policy, the Friends of the Soviet Union arranged for the same date a demonstration "against the capitalist preparations for war on the Soviet Union under the guise of a religious campaign." The crusade of the churches against Soviet Russia, according to the friends of the workers' government, is a capitalist crusade against a socialist republic. The pope and Bishop Manning, leading the crusade, not only represent two of the richest religious bodies in the world, but also represent propertied interests—J. P. Morgan, Wall St. and organized capital, the critics say.

That American property holdings of the churches have vastly increased in recent years is revealed by the latest U. S. census figures on religious bodies. Church buildings are now valued at \$3,842,500,000 as compared with \$1,676,600,000 in 1916. These billions pay no taxes.

More than 50 denominations reported property valued at over \$1,000,000,000. Six

(Continued on Page 2)

Amalgamate Engineers and Firemen MARCH 6TH AND AFTER

The course of events is gradually teaching Locomotive Engineers and Firemen the necessity and importance of uniting in one organization, as a preliminary step in the process of amalgamating the present helpless and expensive Railroad Crafts—21 in number—into one union in the Railroad Transportation Industry.

The interests of the locomotive engineers and firemen are identical. Practically every hardship, every difficulty, has to be borne and suffered alike by the two men in the locomotive cab. Poor coal and equipment, heavy trains, added duties without additional pay, poor working conditions and the many known and unknown hardships and dangers of the rail, such as snowdrifts, washouts and defective track, are all mutual problems of both men in the cab.

The old argument of the Grand Lodge Officials that the craft form of organization is the best kind of organization to look after the interests of the membership, no longer holds good, because neither the B. of L. E. or the B. of L. F. & E. are any longer craft organizations. Since its Milwaukee convention in 1906, when the "E" was added to the Firemen's name, the B. of L. F. & E. officials have kept organizers in the field to retain its Engineer members. On the other hand, the B. of L. E. officials have maintained organizers to pull firemen out of the Firemen's organization, as soon as they had passed the examination for engineer. This in spite of the fact that such firemen will have to fire a locomotive for years after they have been examined for engineer. So the B. of L. E. will take all the firemen they can get so soon as they have passed the engineer's examination and the B. of L. F. & E. is fighting to retain as many of its engineer members as it can.

Gold and God United

(Continued from Page 1)
leading church bodies reported immensely increased value of buildings, as follows:
Protestant Episcopal

Church	1926	1916
Roman Catholic	\$837,271,053	\$669,746,780
Methodist Epis.	406,165,659	274,162,895
Presbyterian		
Church in U.S.	338,152,743	275,821,868
Protest. Epis.	314,596,738	277,375,539
No. Baptist	185,370,576	154,894,435
Congregational	164,212,552	82,036,763

But church buildings tell only part of the story. Endowments of church organizations, excluding local churches, are estimated at totalling at least \$575,000,000 and probably much more. Most of the church missionary societies have large trust funds. The Protestant Episcopal church missionary society reports over \$9,000,000; the Presbyterian home and foreign boards about \$3,000,000; the Baptist foreign missionary society over \$7,000,000; and the Methodist home and foreign boards over \$3,900,000.

The church pension fund of the Protestant Episcopal church, with J. P. Morgan as treasurer and chairman of its finance committee, now totals over \$25,500,000. It started in 1917 with less than a third of that amount. The fund is invested in the leading railroad and industrial corporations in the United States—including the Santa Fe, Baltimore and Ohio, New York Central, Pennsylvania, American Telephone and Telegraph, American Radiator, General Motors, International Mach Corp., Standard Oil and U. S. Steel. Practically all have anti-union labor policies, and most of them have broken strikes with gunmen, spies and state and private police.

Other endowment funds of other church organizations now enlisted in the anti-Soviet campaign, are similarly invested in railroad bonds, telephone and telegraph bonds municipal state and government bonds. Investments of the churches also include notes secured by real estate, mortgages and trust deeds.

From the foregoing, then, it can clearly be seen that if there ever were any reasons for two organizations in the locomotive cab, there are no such reasons now.

Bureaucrats Hinder Progress

There is just one thing that keeps us apart now, and that is the high salaried official bureaucrats who control both organizations. In spite of what pressure the rank and file is putting on these officials to amalgamate, they always find some foolish and worthless excuse for not doing it.

As long as the two Enginemen Brotherhoods are controlled by swarms of office holders who draw from \$7,000 to \$15,000 a year, plus a most liberal expense account, it is going to be hard to unite the men in the cab. For years these officials have been busy intrenching themselves in office. They have secured a strangle-hold on the Brotherhood press, such as the Journals and Labor, the railroad weekly. They have gag-laws, like section 84 of the Engineers' Constitution, enacted to stifle all expression by other means. Then we have the notorious "obligation" which constitutes another safeguard for the officials. Every time a working member advocates something to which the bureaucrats are opposed, if they cannot find a law to hang on him, then they will contend that he violated his obligation and out he goes via the expulsion route. But no matter what the officials do, obligations and gag-laws never affect them.

Ridding the two Enginemen's Brotherhoods of excessive salaries, foolish obligations, gag-laws and secret work will go a long way toward clearing the track for the amalgamation of the Engineers and Firemen.

The coming convention of the Engineers, which convenes in Cleveland on the first Monday in June, can do a whole lot toward amalgamation by appointing a rank and file committee consisting of engineers who are known to favor amalgamation and provide this committee with means and full power to prosecute the question of amalgamation to its final conclusion.

The Brotherhood press, circulars and other printed matter, should be employed in the campaign for amalgamation of the Engineers and Firemen and other needed reforms within these two organizations.

—C. R. HEDLUND

NORTHWESTERN SHUTS DOWN ROUNDHOUSE

CLINTON, Ia.—The Northwestern railroad has shut down permanently its East Clinton roundhouse, throwing the employees out of work because the use of larger locomotives makes it unnecessary to service them at this point because of longer runs.

BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE LAYS OFF 1,200

CHESTER, Pa.—(FP)—Baldwin Locomotive works has laid off 1,200 workers. Few factories are operating full time in this important industrial suburb of Philadelphia.

LABOR PARTY IN KENOSHA

KENOSHA—(FP)Continued life for the Kenosha Labor Party, born of the Allen-A hosiery strike, is assured by action of a conference of Kenosha county laborites, which recently met and organized the party on a permanent basis. Representatives of trade unions throughout the county attended the meet and laid plans for a vigorous campaign in April, when municipal elections come around.

If the number on your wrapper is

36

When your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

(Continued from Page 1)

ity will provide, by the attendance at them, one means of ascertaining to what extent the attendance at the open demonstrations was sympathetic and conscious. The attitude of the masses toward the prosecution of the leaders, attendance at meetings, responsiveness to appeals, the circulation of the Communist press, etc., in the coming period will be reliable indicators of the depth and consciousness of the movement. All these factors will have to be noted carefully as a basis for further steps.

The Failure of the "General Strike"

Counter-balancing the apparent response to the demonstrations was the total failure of the call for a general strike, issued by the Communist Party. This call fell flat everywhere and its failure is an ominous proof of the fantastic over-estimation of the movement entertained by the Party leadership, and the falsity of the tactics which flowed from this over-estimation. It is impossible to play with calls for a general strike without discrediting this slogan and those who lightly proclaim it. The general situation gave no ground for such a slogan in connection with March 6th, and it was particularly wrong for the Party to issue it, like a casual phrase, when it has been losing one trade union position after another, and thus losing the possibility to give this slogan life even on a partial scale: Needle Trades, Miners, Boot and Shoe Workers, etc. Every failure to make good with a strike call has the effect of still further weakening the trade union position of the Left wing. This is the inevitable penalty of careless phrase-mongering with great slogans.

A continuance of this policy, after the events of March 6th have clearly revealed its unmistakable falsity, prepares the ground for disastrous defeats and a possible loss of those gains actually realized. This, unfortunately, appears to be the line of the Party leadership. Blinded by the spectacular, and more or less external, aspects of the demonstrations, and overlooking these fundamental factors, they are proceeding with the call to "prepare the political mass strike". Thereby they again misjudge the strength and tempo and consciousness of the movement and open the door for colossal blunders which will facilitate reaction. The capitalists and their reformist agents will be the ultimate gainers from this irresponsible and wholly unfounded perspective of the present movement.

The Reformists Step In

The action of the reformist socialists and sections of the trade union bureaucracy in setting up "An Emergency Conference for Unemployment" on the heels of the March 6th demonstrations is a significant event. On the one hand it is a tribute to the great working class action set in motion under the leadership of the Communists; on the other hand it is an obvious attempt to seize the leadership of this movement in order to strangle it. This represents an important danger to the movement in which the Communists up till now have had a virtual monopoly. The outcome of this attempt, and others of a similar nature which are bound to ensue, depends also to a large extent on the tactics of the revolutionaries. Mere denunciation will not be sufficient to cope successfully with such flank attacks.

Now is the time for the Communists to come forward with united front proposals which, if properly applied, will serve the double purpose of consolidating and broadening the movement of the unemployed and of defeating the aims of the reformists. The failure to utilize united front tactics up to now has been a big mistake which paved the way for this maneuver of the socialists and labor fakers and gives it a certain possibility of success.

The United Front Tactics

The right step now is for the Communists to put concrete proposals for com-

mon action in behalf of the unemployed to all labor organizations. Such proposals should be put directly to this so-called "Relief" in order to call their bluff. The demands should be few and simple, directly to the issue, and centering around a militant fight for work or compensation for the unemployed workers. This includes of course a demand for united defence of those arrested in connection with the demonstrations on March 6th. It is incorrect in this connection, as it is incorrect in general at the present stage of development, to bury the essential concrete and living demands, which really move the workers, under a long list of so-called "political" demands which the workers do not understand and are not prepared to fight for. The challenge to the officials of all labor organizations to join in a united fight for the interests of the unemployed will create the best conditions for effective agitation for the issues in the ranks of these organizations—a work sadly neglected if not actually ignored, up till now. By these means the base of the movement can be broadened and the revolutionary influence extended.

Unite the Left Wing Forces

Above all, in the face of the growing reactionary offensive and the worsening conditions of the workers it is necessary to unite the Communist and Left wing forces for common action. This is the prerequisite for the mobilization of the workers in defense of their interests around the revolutionary standard. This common action of the Communists and Left wing forces has been blocked and sabotaged by the official leadership of the Party, and the working class movement has been thereby weakened. The attacks, slanders and misrepresentation against the Communist Opposition, the attempts to exclude them even from participation in the actions of the Left wing, are blows against the working class. They help to disarm and disorganize the unemployment movement as well as all other working class movements in the face of a growing unity and aggressiveness of reactionary forces.

We speak now as before for the unity of the Communists and the Left wing forces in a common fight for working class interests, and we appeal to the workers in the ranks of the Party and Left wing to compel a course in this direction.

MINERS NOT CONSULTED IN DRAWING UP AGREEMENT

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—(FP)—Anthracite coal diggers will have nothing to say in the framing of the new agreement to replace the 5-year contract expiring Aug. 31. This is the word brought back from Indianapolis by international board members of the United Mine Workers, following the union's board meeting.

The tri-district convention of anthracite miners, usually held before the expiration of agreements in order to lay down demands for the new contract, will not be called, Int'l Pres. John L. Lewis has decided. Instead the miners will be summoned into session after the agreement has been negotiated by Lewis and the operators. Faced with an accomplished fact, they are expected to put their approval on a contract which will merely extend the existing document.

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE

Also

.. A P L A Y ..

"Money Wins"

— by the Militant Players —

on

Saturday, March 22, 1930, at 8 p. m.

at the

MILITANT HALL

25 Third Avenue, (near 8th St.)

ALL WORKERS WELCOME

Admission: 25 Cents

Auspices: New York Branch

Communist League of America (Opposition)

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, No. 11 March 15, 1930. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. (Total No. 36)

The Paris Commune and the Proletarian Revolution

By MAURICE SPECTOR

"... the Franco-German War was the bloody prelude of the great world-holocaust... The French Commune was the lightning-like prophecy of the proletarian world revolution."

—L. D. Trotsky

Out of the last of the great national struggles of a western bourgeoisie for capitalist state unification sprang the first attempt of the modern working class to conquer political power.

Regardless of Bismark's diplomatic machinations and provocations, the Franco-Prussian struggle of 1870 was for Germany a war of national self-defence. The task of national unification which the middle and working classes had failed to solve in 1848 by revolutionary democratic means, history passed on to Bismark to achieve by means of Blood and Iron. The empire of Napoleon III, Marx considered "the only possible form of government in the epoch in which the bourgeoisie has already lost the power of governing the people while the working class has not yet acquired it". The war, he predicted, "would ring the death knell of the Second Empire; it will end as it began—in a parody". The Little Napoleon could only maintain his regime on the basis of the continued feudal particularism and dismemberment of Germany.

The course of the war swiftly revealed the entire rottenness of the Empire. The French armies were outgeneralled and outnumbered; the military demoralization was the measure of the general state of political decay. Sedan was the logical culmination of a series of disastrous adventures in the Crimea, in Italy and Mexico.

On September 4th, the French bourgeoisie hastened to proclaim the Third Republic and to set up a "Government of National Defence". The war now entered on its second phase, the four months siege of Paris. It now ceased to be a war of national defence for the Germans, a "war not against the French people but the French emperor", and had definitely become the instrument of aggression, the "Prussian military camarilla" whom Marx, on behalf of the International, unreservedly denounced, warning that "the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would drive France into the arms of Prussia." Paris capitulated on January 28, 1871. The National Assembly with its reactionary monarchist majority authorized Thiers to conclude peace with Bismark by the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the agreement to an indemnity of five billion francs.

The War and the Misery of the Workers

As usual, the masses had borne the brunt of the suffering and calamity of war; this peace now provoked their deepest resentment as savoring of national betrayal. While the big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the speculators and manufacturers had enriched themselves, the petty bourgeois artisans, peasants and shop-keepers had been ruined and the worker suffered from widespread unemployment. The bourgeois government was aware of the ferment among the people and proceeded to re-establish "law and order" by characteristic means. It pitilessly cancelled the moratorium on rents and other debts, thereby increasing the wholesale misery of the masses; but their cup was full to overflowing, when Thiers attempted to disarm the National Guard, that is to say, the 200,000 armed proletarians. The discontent of the masses broke out into open revolt and on March 18th, the Commune was proclaimed by the Central Committee of the National Guard which constituted itself as the Provisional Government until regular elections could be organized. Thiers and his ministers unfortunately were allowed to remove themselves with impunity to the reactionary Assembly with its headquarters in Versailles.

"France," wrote Engels, "is a country in which the historical struggle of the classes, more than in any other was carried each time to a decisive conclusion..." In the veins of the Parisian masses flowed the tradition of the Commune of 1793-4, of the revolutions of July, 1830 and 1848. Paris was now the scene of the first inde-

pendent proletarian struggle for power, and Versailles the armed camp of the bourgeois coalition supported by Bismark who returned 100,000 French prisoners to help Thiers crush the Commune. The proletarians of a number of other cities (Marseilles, Lyons, etc.) also proclaimed Communes but were smashed by the bourgeoisie before they could render assistance to Paris, which remained isolated.

The Proletariat Struggles for Power

The Commune lasted for seventy-two days, from March 18 to May 29, 1871. The Central Committee of the National Guard, according to its pledge, proceeded to the communal elections on March 26 and transferred its authority to the elected council. These democratic elections on the basis of universal suffrage have rejoiced the heart of Kautsky. But the Commune is great despite and not because of its infirmities. Its democratic forms cannot obscure its real import as an "anticipation of the dictatorship of the proletariat". In that penetrating study of the Commune called the "Civil War in France", Marx writes with unerring genius that "the Commune was essentially the government of the working class, the result of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class; it was the political form discovered at last under which labor could work out its economic emancipation."

This was borne out in his view both by the structure of the Commune and the nature of its practical program of legislation. The Commune was the direct antithesis of the Empire. It was to have been not a parliamentary but a working corporation, legislative and executive at the same time. It should not be misinterpreted as the resurrection of the medieval communes. The communal constitution would have brought the rural producers (peasantry) under the intellectual leadership of the towns. The unity of the nation was to be organized by means of the communal structure. The standing army and the police were abolished and their place taken by the people in arms. A blow was struck at the clerical power by the separation of church and state and the expropriation of church property. The judicial functionaries lost their sham independence and were to be chosen by popular mandate. A further blow was aimed at the bureaucracy by setting the maximum pay at 6,000 francs a year and introducing the right of recall. The schools were thrown open to popular education. Night work was abolished in the bakeries; workshops that had been closed down were seized, with the aim of transferring them to groups of cooperative workers.

The Shortcomings of the Commune

But the Commune was not destined to carry out its program. For a successful social revolution, at least two indispensable conditions are necessary, the sufficient development of the forces of production and the preparation of the proletariat. Unfortunately, both of these necessary pre-requisites were lacking.

To take the latter first. The great misfortune of the Commune was the absence of a centralized single-willed revolutionary Communist party, such as dominated the Russian situation in 1917. The Parisian proletariat was led by the most motley crowd of petty-bourgeois socialists—who did not seem to understand the mission of the Commune and who seemed as anxious as possible to shift responsibility. "They could not understand," wrote Lisagaray, an eye witness, "that the Commune was a barricade and not an administration." As a result, the history of the leadership of the Commune is an incredible series of strategic blunders that played right into the hands of the reactionary camp of Versailles.

The major task of the Commune, if it had been guided by a revolutionary party which understood the meaning of civil war, was to crush the National Assembly at Versailles. But instead of as-

suming the offensive, the Commune waited passively while the Versailles counter-revolution mobilized and organized its forces. Thiers and the rest of the bourgeois executive and bureaucrats were allowed to slip out of Paris under the very noses of the National Guard. The agents of the National Assembly were allowed to carry on their work of sabotage and conspiracy from within the walls of Paris. The Commune suffered from the precipitate transfer of power from the hands of the Central Committee of the Guard to the Council, and then from the lingering division of authority between them. The military work was in a state of confusion. While the bourgeoisie organized its calumny of the Commune on an international scale, the Commune did almost nothing to counteract this poisonous propaganda by popularizing its own true aims. Dissension and disunion prevailed. The Committee of Public Safety that was established, lacked a realization of its true function as an extraordinary commission to protect the revolution.

The Triumph of the Bourgeoisie

The result was that the initiative passed over into the hands of the bourgeoisie, who now had a preponderance of forces. Thiers understood very well what the Commune signified and he suffered no "democratic" and humanitarian illusions in circumventing its destruction. The Versailles entered Paris on May 21st and eight days of fighting and white terror followed. Vae victis! In the course of that bloody week 30,000 communards were massacred and tens of thousands of others were deported or incarcerated. Altogether the Parisian proletariat was bled white of a generation of its elite. The Commune was crushed. France was made safe for the Third Republic, that monument to the fraud of bourgeois democracy, that regime of the Panama scandals, of Millerandism, of the Dreyfus affair, of Poincaré and the alliance with the Tsar, of the press subsidized by the Tsar's minister, Iavolsky, of the murder of Jaures, of Clemenceau and the Treaty of Versailles.

The fall of the Commune spelled the end of the first international also. The French government hounded the internationalists out of France. Bitter dissension

arose among the political emigrants. The anarchist opposition of Bakunin based on the Latin countries of small industry, brought about a split. But the real reason for the decline of the International was the same as for the fall of the Commune—the fact that capitalism had not as yet exhausted its latent possibilities. Stalin had not yet been invented and in the view of Marx, the social revolution could be proclaimed, but not solved, within the limits of national boundaries. Neither on the continent nor in Great Britain was the level of economic development ripe for the finish of capitalist production. The British manufacturers dominating the world market, took advantage of the industrial revival to bribe their labor aristocracy, and the desertion of British labor was another heavy blow to the International.

The Lessons of the Commune

The center of gravity of the international labor movement, as Marx had foreseen, now passed to Germany, which experienced its era of great industrial expansion. In the epoch of the Second International and capitalist imperialism, "there could be no more talk of a premature revolution," wrote Kautsky. It was a period of the preparation of the proletariat. But if the First International disappeared in the glory of the Paris Commune, the Second crashed on the shameful betrayal of the social democracy.

The Lessons of the Commune, its essence as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the necessary role of the revolutionary party as organizer of victory, only became the practical politics of the working class again with the development of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. It was Lenin who brought into brilliant relief the teachings that Marx had derived from the Commune and he made them the material for epoch-making theses in the struggle against the Provisional Government and menshevism. One of the foremost of these lessons he applied was that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes". The slogan—All Power to the Soviets—is the resurrection of the Paris Commune on a gigantic scale, in the epoch of the final struggle between the world proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

AUTO INDUSTRY MOVES SOUTH

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT—Like all other industries, the auto industry is quietly moving south. This has been brought to light within the past week.

The Kelsey Wheel Co., makers of Ford wheels, have reopened their Memphis, Tenn., plant and are now planning extensive development. They are putting out Ford wheels more cheaply than Ford himself. As a result, the Ford wheel plant at Hamilton, Ohio is being shut down.

Southern workers in the Detroit Kelsey plants are being offered jobs "back home" at fair wages—but they fear that after a month or two their wages will be slashed to 35-40 cents per hour. That is the prevailing rate there at present. The Federated Press was warned, however, not to take these figures too seriously. "Just wait until they get the hill people and the southerners back from Detroit and wages will go down to 20-25 cents an hour," your correspondent was informed.

Fisher Body—General Motors unit—is also building in Memphis. It is intended to develop a real manufacturing center there while Detroit will remain merely as a center of distribution for the northern region. Many Fisher plants in Detroit have been permanently closed. "Integration of manufacture" is the reason given by officials. Movement to the low wage south is the real reason.

The notorious sweat shop, Briggs, has also gone south. Reports here tell of plants opening in Memphis and other southern centers. Workers here are being offered opportunities to go "back home" and teach

the "hill billies" at 60 cents an hour. "Yeah, and how long will it last?" is the cynical question which never produces a quite satisfactory reply.

Nevertheless, thousands of southerners have left the city. Penniless and destitute they have gone away, bitter, cynical. Perhaps the auto masters may yet meet their Waterloo, not in world-famed Detroit, but in the unknown towns of the sweated south.

SACCO-VANZETTI CASE REOPENED IN BOSTON

BOSTON—(FP)—The best people in Boston are mortally affronted by a full page advertisement in their morning papers asking, in type two inches high, Were Sacco and Vanzetti Innocent or Guilty? This question solved by Pres. Lowell of Harvard, former Gov. Fuller and other leading dignitaries of the Bay State by sending the two labor men to the electric chair in Charlestown state prison, bobs up again to reopen the famous labor case in an advertisement sponsored by Liberty magazine.

Liberty is offering \$10,000 for the "best solution" to the Sacco-Vanzetti mystery, despite the judgement of the Lowell committee. Another \$10,000 is offered for the solution of the preparedness day bomb explosion for which Tom Mooney is wasting away his life in San Quentin.

The temerity of a leading national magazine, the pet of the reactionaries, in bringing up these labor cases is another source of amazement in Boston, still sullen and resentful because the rest of the world insists on believing in the innocence of Sacco, Vanzetti and Mooney.

THE NEW COURSE IN THE ECONOMY

ADVENTURE IN ECONO

The success of the industrial development of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is of universal significance. The Social Democrats deserve nothing but contempt. They do not even attempt to estimate the tempo which Soviet economy has attained. This tempo is neither stable nor assured. We will discuss that later. But it gives experimental proof of the immeasurable potentialities which are inherent in socialist methods of economy.

If in 1918 Social Democracy in Germany had used the power which had been given to it by the Revolution to establish socialism, (and it had every possibility to do so) it would not be difficult to understand, in view of the experience of Soviet Russia, what economic power the socialist masses in central Europe, eastern Europe and considerable portions of Asia, would now have. All the world would have a different aspect. But now humanity will pay for the betrayal of the German Social Democracy by further wars and revolutions. Never was there a greater crime in all history. However, this question is not the subject of our discussion.

The initial estimation of the possibilities of socialistic industrialization was briefly analyzed by us in the book "Whither Russia? Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism", in the early part of 1925, prior to the end of the reconstruction period. Then we proved that even after all the equipment inherited by the bourgeoisie was exhausted, i. e., after the transition to increased independent reproduction on the basis of socialistic accumulation, Soviet industry would be able to give a coefficient of growth absolutely unattainable by capitalism. After every consideration, we counted on a fifteen to twenty percent annual growth. Philistines of the type of Stalin and Molotov derided these hypothetical figures as though they were a dream of "super-industrialization". Reality left our calculations far behind. But after this there occurred what has often happened before. These empirical Philistines, overwhelmed by the success, decided that from now on everything was possible.

The Meaning of the Stalinist Zig-zag

During recent months it finally became apparent that the Stalin faction has, in the question of domestic economy of the Soviet Union as well as in the policy of the Comintern, transformed its Left zig-zag into an ultra-Left course*. This ultra-Left course is a negation and adventurous addition of that opportunism which has controlled since 1923, and especially from 1926 to 1928. The present day policy represents no less a danger and in certain aspects a greater danger than the policy of yesterday.

The ultra-Leftism in the economic policy of the Soviet Union is now developing along two lines: Industrialization and Collectivism.

Since the beginning of 1923 the Opposition has demanded a quicker tempo of industrialization. It based its demands not only upon the necessities but upon the actual economic possibilities.

The dominating faction (Zinoviev, Stalin, Bucharin, and later Stalin and Bucharin without Zinoviev), accused the Opposition of the intention, in the name of super-industrialization, to "rob the peasants" and

thus to break the economic and political connection between town and country.

Experience showed that the Opposition was correct. The opportunistic leadership systematically underestimated the resources of nationalized industry. The actual development of industry, impelled by markets and the pressure of the Opposition, left the official figures from year to year far behind.

The struggle between the central leadership and the Opposition became especially acute, just at that moment when the stand of the Opposition was confirmed along all lines. The leadership was compelled within a few months to forsake their old minimum five-year plan, which had been criticised in the platform of the Opposition, and to replace it with a new and incomparably bolder plan. When the first year demonstrated the possibility of realizing the projected tempo, evidently to the surprise of the leadership itself, the latter at once abandoned their petty doubts and rushed to the opposite extreme. Now, the slogan is: "Forward, without stopping, forward!" The plan is being constantly revised in the direction of its extension.

From passive possibilism the opportunists have turned to unlimited subjectivism. A reference by an economist or a worker to actual obstacles—as for instance, poor equipment, lack of raw material or its poor quality—is considered a betrayal of the revolution. The government demands: speed, action, offensive! Never mind the rest.

How Stalin Handles the Five Year Plan

The first quarter of the present economic year, the second year of the five year plan (October-February), in spite of the significant progress in comparison with the first quarter of the preceding year (about 26% of the growth) missed fire. For the first time during the epigonean leadership, industry remained behind the outlined plan. Especially lagging was the heavy industry. Something was wrong with the cost prices. To lessen or to disguise their straggling, the mills of the heavy industry took recourse through the deterioration of the quality of the products. The amount of "brak" (imperfect products) dangerously increased. The Central Committee answered with the categorical demand not only to fulfill the program, but to surpass it.

The objective data began to testify more and more convincingly, as could have been also foreseen theoretically, that the start was bigger than the strength. The industrialization is upheld more and more by means of the administrative whip. The equipment and the labor-power are being forced. Disproportions of production in different fields of industry are accumulating. Retardation in the following quarters of the year, might prove more threatening than in the first. The government, on its part, sees itself compelled to patch up the newly opened industrial gaps by new budget or credit assignments. This leads to paper money inflation, which becomes, in its turn, a source for the artificial increase of the demand for goods, and consequently makes individual branches of industry surpass the calculations of the plan, and thus increases the accumulation of new disproportions.

The Soviet economy depends on the world economy. This dependence expresses itself by import and export. The foreign trade is the narrowest point of the whole system of the Soviet economy. The difficulties of foreign trade are fundamentally the difficulties of our backwardness. At present, an important fact of conjunctural character must be added to it. The symptoms of crisis of world economy already affect the Soviet export through the decrease of the demand and the lowering of the prices of the exported products. If the world industrial and commercial crisis deepens and prolongs itself, the further narrowing of our, even now, insufficient export, will affect the import, i. e., the import of machines and of the most important kinds of technical raw material. This

danger does not, of course, depend on the will of the Soviet leadership. But the leadership can and must take it into consideration. Hazardous speeding up of industrialization, without coordinating the activities of its different branches, runs an obvious risk of finding itself, through its foreign trade, in the midst of the world crisis: the import of the necessary means of production will be cut off, and a new factor of disorganization will enter as a wedge into the five year plan.

It is true that the industrial crisis in America and Europe might open a possibility of commercial and industrial credit for the Soviet Union. But this knife has also two blades: when the economic development has a correct rhythm, the foreign credits are able to ease and speed the progress of industrialization. In the face of the accumulated contradictions, they can only postpone the crisis, giving it later a double force.

However, we mention here the dangers that come from world economy, only in passing, and as a hypothesis. The central question of today is not in them, of course. Immeasurably greater and more direct are the dangers concentrated along the most important line of Soviet policy: the line of the relation between the town and the village.

The Bureaucracy and the Kulaks

For several years the Opposition has demanded the more decisive taxation of the rich layer of the peasantry in the interest of the industrial development. The official leadership denied the fact of accumulation of the rich peasants (Kulaks), and accused the Opposition of the intention of "robbing the peasant". Meanwhile, the Kulaks had developed into a considerable figure, and, leading behind them the middle peasant, subjected the cities and industry to a starvation blockade. The height of the demonstration of the Kulak's strength coincided with the moment of police dispersal of the Opposition (the beginning of 1928). The bureaucracy had to change its policy abruptly. A crusade was declared against the Kulaks. The measures for the limitation of tendencies of exploitation by the Kulaks which the Opposition had proposed the day before, were found insufficient, immediately after the beginning of the struggle with the Kulaks for grain.

The Kulaks, however, are not separated from the middle peasants by an impenetrable partition. In a setting of goods (trade) economy, the middle peasants automatically bring out from their midst a Kulak. The hail of administrative blows, inconsistent and panicky, directed against the Kulaks (and not against them only) cut short the way for the further development for the top layer of the middle peasantry. So-called disagreements with the peasantry became apparent. The peasantry, after the experience of the revolution, does not easily resort to the method of civil war. It rushes around agitatedly looking for another way out. Thus the "wholesale collectivism" was born.

The Soviet government patronizes, in full accord with its main purpose, the cooperative methods, both in trade and industry. Up to the very recent time, however, the productive cooperation in the country (collective farms) has occupied a very insignificant place in the agricultural economy. Only two years ago, the present Commissar of Agriculture, Jakovlev, wrote that collective farming, in view of the technical and cultural backwardness of our peasantry and its scattered character, will remain yet for a long period of time, "little islands in a sea of peasant private farms". Meanwhile, unexpectedly for the leadership, at the very last period, collectivism developed a grandiose speed. It is enough to say that, according to the Five Year plan, the collective economy was supposed to include at the end of the five year period, about 20% of the peasant farms. Meanwhile, the collectivism already, i. e., at the

beginning of the second year, includes more than 50% of them. With this speed kept up, collectivism will cover all peasant farms in a year or two. It seems a great success. In actual fact—a great danger.

The Basis for Collective Agricultural Economy

A productive collectivism of agriculture presupposes a definite technical basis. Collective agricultural economy is first of all, a large economy. The rational use of this economy is determined, however, by the character of the applied means and methods of production. With the aid of peasant plows and peasant nags, even all of them put together, it is not possible to create a large agricultural economy, even as it is not possible to build a ship out of a flock of fishing boats. The collectivization of agricultural economy can be achieved only through its mechanization. From this follows that a general development of the industrialization of a country determines the possible speed of the collectivization of its agricultural economy.

But in reality these two processes turned out to be separated. In spite of its fast development, the Soviet industry still is, and will for a long time yet, remain extremely backward. The high coefficients of its growth are to be considered in relation to the general low level. We must not forget for a moment that, even in case the intended plan should be fully carried out, the Soviet industry would be able to supply with tractors and other kinds of machinery only 20-25% of the peasant farms. And that only at the end of the five year period. That is the real scale of the collectivization.

While the Soviet Union remains isolated, the industrialization (that is, the mechanization and electrification, etc.) of agriculture could be thought of only as a prospect of a number of consecutive Five Year plans. The present leadership itself so looked at this matter till yesterday. But now it appears that the collectivization has already fulfilled itself by 50%, and that during the next year it will be completed to 100% in a number of the most important agricultural regions.

It is perfectly clear that the present tempo of collectivization is defined not by the productive but by the administrative factors. The sharp, and, as a matter of fact, panicky, change of the policy toward the Kulaks, as well as toward the middle peasant resulted, during the last year, in an almost complete liquidation of the NEP.

A peasant represents a small productive unit and as such cannot exist without a market. The liquidation of the NEP presented for the middle peasants the following alternatives: either to go back to the natural consuming economy, i. e., to disappear, or to become involved in a civil war for the market; or to try his hand at the new way in the collective economy.

In collectivization the peasant finds not persecution but advantages: lesser taxes, supply of agricultural machinery on easy terms, loans etc. If at present the peasantry is crowding into collective economy, it is not because the collective economy has already shown its advantages. It is not because the State has already proved to the peasant (or at least to itself) that it has the possibility to reconstitute the peasant economy on the collective basis in the near future. It is because the peasantry, and first of all, its top layer, which was during a number of years of the liberal Stalin-Ustrialov policy, getting more and more into a mood of a capitalistic farmer, suddenly found itself in an impasse. The gate of the market was padlocked. The peasants stood frightened in front of it a while, and then rushed to the only open gate, that of collectivization.

The leadership itself was not less surprised by the sudden rush of the peasants into the collective economy than the peasants were surprised by the liquidation of

* We state with great satisfaction, the fact that our friends in the Soviet Union do not in the least deceive themselves about the Stalinist "ultra-Leftism", which Right Mensheviks and Liberals call "Trotskyism", realized by Stalin. We succeeded during recent months in exchanging a number of letters with our friends in different parts of the Soviet Union and found a common agreement on the attitude toward the new course. Some of the letters received by us are being published in extracts in the present number of the Bulletin of the Opposition (In Russian).

(The Militant will shortly publish a number of the letters here referred to by comrade Trotsky.—Editors.)

OF THE SOVIET UNION :--: by L. D. Trotsky

MICS AND ITS DANGER

the NEP. But getting over its astonishment, the leadership created a new theory: the building of socialism—it enters its “third” stage: there is no more need for a market; in the near future the Kulak as a class will be liquidated.

The Bureaucrats About-Face

Essentially it is not a new theory. It is the old theory of socialism in one country; only the gears are shifted to the “third speed”. Formerly we have been taught that the building of socialism will go with a “snail’s pace” (Bucharin) and the Kulak will be painlessly “growing in” to socialism. Now the “snail’s pace” is replaced with a speed almost that of aviation. The Kulak does not “grow in” any more—not a chance at such a speed—the Kulak is simply being liquidated through the order of an administration.

The liquidation of the Kulak, seriously taken, is unquestionably the liquidation of the last capitalistic class. Without the basis of the Kulak, a jobber, a speculator, a city Nepman, cannot exist economically. It is even more so since the official program of the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class, includes in it the petty bourgeois elements of the city.

To include the entire peasantry in the socialistic economy means to transform the Soviet Union into a society without classes in two or three years. The society which has no classes does not need a government, especially such a concentrated form of government as a dictatorship. No wonder that some of the young “theoreticians” of the new course expressed an idea that it would be advisable to liquidate the Soviets, at least in the villages, and to replace them with the merely productive organizations, namely, with the administration of the local collective economy. These “theoreticians” were, however, brought to their senses by a declaration, from the top, that the dictatorship will be necessary for a long time yet. But why and what for it will be necessary to have a dictatorship after a complete liquidation of the Kulaks—that is to come in a year—the leaders did not explain. And it is not an accident either. Otherwise, they themselves would have to admit that the program of the speedy liquidation of the Kulaks, with the aid of peasant ploughs and old mares and wagons, is a bureaucratic adventure, spiced with theoretical charlatanism.

The Kulaks and Industrialization

In practice, the liquidation of the Kulaks led to merely administrative methods of the confiscation of the Kulak’s property, his house, his lot and to his exile. This policy has been carried out in a way which regards the Kulak as an entirely foreign body among the peasants, some kind of invader, like a nomad or a Tartar. As a matter of fact, the Kulak represents only one of the stages of the development of the middle peasants. It is possible, of course, to liquidate every individual Kulak. It can be achieved with the aid of two well-armed policemen. But to prevent the re-appearance of Kulaks, at least in the collective economies, is much more difficult. For that, industrialization and the cultural revolution are necessary.

There are three types of collective economies in the Soviet Union, depending on the degree to which the means of production are in common use. These kinds are: the Partnerships, the Guilds and the Communes. In a Partnership the work in the fields is being done by private equipment: the labor is common, but the means of production belong to the individuals. In Guilds the most expensive machinery is the common property. And, finally, in Communes all means of production are the common property. The ways of dividing profits among the members of these types of economies differ according to the forms of ownership: from the capitalistic to the near-communistic way.

These three types of collective economies represent the three stages of the progress of collectivisation. The highest type demonstrates to the lower one its tomorrow.

The transition from one stage to another—its volume and its tempo—is fundamentally determined by the technical conditions of production. Therefore it is perfectly clear, that the wider is the scale of the present collectivisation, the more primitive form it will have to take, thus opening the way to capitalistic tendencies. But the last order of the Central Committee demands as far as possible, full common ownership of the means of production from the very beginning. In other words wholesale collectivisation, supported mainly by peasant equipment, must occur in a form approximately between a Guild and a Commune. The contradiction is striking: the wider the scale of forced collectivisation, and consequently, the lower its technical basis, the higher is the type of social relations that the utopian-bureaucratic leadership is trying to impose.

At the same time the question of intra-relation of the collective economies is not discussed in the press. To avoid the decisive social question concerning the distribution of profits, the leaders and the executors replace the Marxian analysis with an unbearable propagandistic noise.

The Class Character of the Collectives

It goes without saying, that if the state industry could supply the collective economies with state means of production, it would soon remove the difference between these collective economies and the state farms. It would transform the peasants into regular socialistic workmen for state wheat factories, and would once and forever, take the ground from under the feet of the Kulaks. But from such a regime we are as yet separated by many years. The prevailing majority of collective economies will be compelled, for several years, to fall back upon the live-stock and other equipment of the peasants themselves.

Let us admit, however, that even under these conditions, collectivisation will show serious and direct advantages, capable of overcoming the individualistic tendencies of the peasants. Immediately, a new difficulty arises; not one of an administrative but of a social nature; not the difficulty inherent in methods of collective economy, but the class character of small producers: namely, the problem of distributing profits. Would a peasant who gave to the collective economy two horses, have a right to more profit than a farm-hand who brought with him only his two arms? If the percentage on the “capital” should not be credited, nobody would want to supply his own property for nothing. Then the state will meet with an insurmountable task: to equip anew all the collective economies with necessary machinery. Should the percentage on the “capital” be allowed, an economic differentiation of individuals within the collective economies will inevitably follow. And in case collective economies prove to have considerable advantages in comparison with individual farming, differentiation through them will develop faster than it did before.

The problem is not, however, exhausted by the matter of equipment alone. A family which has three workers, would want to receive more than a family with only one grown-up worker. Should a collective economy want to use the unexpended part of the earnings of its members as a loan to buy new machinery, or for a turn-over of capital, again it would have to pay a percentage. This in turn opens the way to more differentiation within the economy, and thus, to its possible transformation into a petty bourgeois cooperation, with the concentration of leadership in the hands of the well-off, and the majority of its members in a position close to that of a mere farm-hand

Such phenomena have already been observed in the past, when collective economies remained, with rare exceptions, entirely selective. They are even more inevitable in face of the wholesale collectivisation, which, by retaining the practical basis of a small farm, brings with it all the contradictions inherent in the small productive unit, and thus the inevitable re-appearance of the Kulaks within the collective economies.

The Kulaks in Masquerade

It means that the next day after the official “liquidation of the Kulaks as a class” i. e., after the confiscation of the property of “named Kulaks”, and their exile, the Stalinist bureaucracy will declare the Kulaks within the collective economies to be progressive or “civilized co-operators”, falsely quoting, of course, Lenin’s formula (“Concerning Cooperation”). The collective economy may become, in this case, only a new form of social and political disguise for the Kulaks. As director of such a masquerade, the present Commissar of Agriculture, Jakovlev, is perfect. Not in vain did he occupy himself for several years with statistical equilibristics to prove that the Kulak was invented by the Opposition. Not in vain was he, till yesterday, together with other officials, declaring that the Platform of the Opposition was a counter-revolutionary document—the Platform which demanded the speeding up of collectivisation on the basis of planned industrialization.

In the meantime the peasants react to the contradictions between the collectivisation and its insufficient technical basis in advance, by selling their live-stock right and left before joining the collective economies. The official press is full of alarming reports of the mass destruction of working live-stock and its sale to slaughter houses. The leadership reacts to this with orders, telegrams and threats. But it is obviously insufficient. A peasant does not know whether he will get credit for his horse or his cow, or in what way. He hopes that a collective economy will get a tractor from the state. In any case he does not see any reason why he should give his cow to the collective economy for nothing. A peasant is still a narrow realist. Seeing himself compelled to join the collective economy, he hurries to get the advantages from the liquidation of his individual property. The working live-stock decreases. Meanwhile the state has no possibility to replace it with mechanical power, or at least with other stock of better quality. This prepares the exceptionally acute difficulties for the collective economies at the very beginning of their activities.

The Panicky Retreat of Stalin

It is not difficult to foresee that after the present insecure offensive, the panicky retreat will follow, elemental down below, and pretending to be a “maneuvering” policy above. The collective economies hastily built up, will either simply fall apart, or will begin their degradation. In a cruel internal struggle, the individual means of production will be liberated, thus opening the way to capitalistic tendencies. Irreproachable leadership will blame, of course, the executors of being “Trotskyists”, and will bring out from some hidden corner Stalin’s capitalistic-farmer’s formulae of 1924-25, in case the party will give the bureaucratic fourflushers the necessary time.

What the Bureaucrats Will Say

It is not difficult to foresee what reaction our analysis will arouse in the official circles. The government officials will say that we are gambling on a crisis. Scoundrels will add that we desire the fall of the Soviet government. People of Yaroslavsky’s type will explain that we write in the interest of Chamberlain. It is possible that the Mensheviks and liberals will drag out a score of sentences to prove that it is indispensable for Russia

to come back to capitalism. The Communist officials will again establish the “solidarity between the Opposition and the Mensheviks”. So it happened before, so it will happen again. But that will not stop us. Intrigues pass, but facts remain. The Stalinist bureaucracy, after several years of opportunistic policy, is going through a period of short-lasting but acute madness of ultra-Leftism. The theory and practice of the “Third Period” carry with them equally destructive consequences within the Soviet Union as well as outside its borders.

Some people will say: the Opposition has changed places with the Apparatus. The Opposition accuses the Apparatus of super-industrialization while it itself pulls to the Right. Other thoughtful souls will add: the Right wing that used to accuse the Stalinists of super-industrialization and of “Trotskyism” has capitulated to Stalin, while the Left Opposition, it seems, is taking the point of view of the Right wing.

All such reasonings, comparisons and approximations can be foreseen beforehand. And it is possible to write in advance all articles and speeches that will be written and said on the subject. It is not difficult to disclose the superficiality of these reasonings.

The Opposition has never undertaken “to catch up and pass in quick time” the capitalist world. We demanded the speeding up of industrialization, because it is the only way to secure a leading position for the cities in their relation to the country, and thus to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Estimates for Industrialization

Our estimation of the possibilities of industrialization was immeasurably broader and bolder than that of the bureaucrats during all the time till 1928. But we never regarded the resources of industrialization as inexhaustible. We never thought that its tempo could be regulated by the administrative whip alone. We have always advanced, as a basic condition of industrialization, the idea of the necessity of a systematic improvement of the conditions of the working class. We have always considered collectivisation as dependent upon industrialization. We saw the socialist reconstruction of peasant economy only as a prospect of many years to come. We never closed our eyes to the inevitability of internal conflicts during the socialistic reconstruction of a single nation. To remove contradictions in country life is possible only by removing contradictions between the city and the country. This can be realized only through the world revolution. We never demanded, therefore, the liquidation of classes within the scope of the Five Year plan of Stalin and Krzhizhanovskiy. We demanded the limitation of the exploiting tendencies of the Kulaks, and the systematic cutting off of his accumulation in the interest of industrialization. For that we were exiled on the strength of article 58 of the Criminal Code.

The Marxian Opposition was denounced by the bloc of the Right and the Center. They separated for a while. But now they are united again. They have a common basis: nationalistic-socialism. Together they made a curve of 180 degrees over our heads. They transform more and more the problem of industrialization into a hazardous bureaucratic super-industrialization. They abolished the NEP, i. e., committed the very “crime” of which they falsely accused the Opposition and for which our friends are still filling up the prisons and places of exile. The limitations of the Kulaks they replace with the official “liquidation”, which yesterday they have been ascribing to us and which we denied with clear Marxian conscience.

The Rights, who were afraid to take the most necessary steps ahead, now joined with the Center in a frantic rush “forward”. The bloc is restored and the snail’s pace is replaced by the speed of an airplane.

(Continued on Page 3)

Next Steps of the American Workers

By ARNE SWABECK

Arising largely out of the present conditions of a deep depression and widespread unemployment, working class forces are now being set into motion. The most pressing question of the moment before the American revolutionary movement therefore, is a correct orientation as a base for formulation of its strategy and tactics among the masses.

It is not yet possible to estimate the extent, the depth and the duration of the present deep depression of American capitalist economy; but certain characteristic features are clearly visible. Financial experts, when speaking seriously and not for mere public consumption, acknowledge the depression but stress every production increase in single industries, particularly the recent gains in steel output in some quarters, as signs of an early recovery. This, of course, is a deliberate policy, which does not alter the actual situation in the least. However, there is today a noticeable difference from the various pre-war crises. The latter were distinct symptoms of growth which were chiefly stoppages in the violent growth of productive machinery and the expansion of markets to make possible certain adjustments necessitated by this rapid process.

Today the United States has reached the stage of large scale structural unemployment, which, in other words, means a standing army of unemployed. This is not merely of those cast out from some industries to be quickly absorbed into other or new developing ones, but "superfluous" workers eliminated by the rapid development of machinery and immensely increased labor productivity in practically every sphere. This is sufficiently borne out by all available reliable statistics.

Unemployment—A Spur to Class Action

The spectre of the standing army of unemployed will hence be haunting the exploiters and become a mighty spur moving the workers toward class action. The direction and the speed this will take in its first stage depends, however, a great deal on the present level of development. Unfortunately it cannot be expected, or even hoped, that the workers will as a mass move with one leap to the Communist party or the "revolutionary unions". Any orientation based upon such hopes will surely come to grief. On the contrary, it is the duty of Communists to be with the masses set in motion and to show the proper direction through such steps that the workers are now ready to take.

With the lines of those seeking work growing longer in front of factory gates, it cannot be expected that the working class will engage in widespread offensive battles. But we know, from what is inherent in the capitalist system, that precisely in this situation the capitalists seek to get out of economic difficulties by increased pressure upon the workers through further reduction of their standard of living and conditions of work. This added pressure leaves no way open for the workers but one of resistance. The logic of this deduction leads to the conclusion of a coming period of defensive battles. The history of the American workers throughout the various crises of capitalist production is replete with defensive battles, before the offensive could again be assumed during the period of recovery. It is also one filled with many attempts to seek a solution in political reform activities, as the most immediate outgrowth of the crisis. This suggests another conclusion that this is the trend of development we face at this moment.

Some Labor History and Struggles

A cursory glance at labor's history from the beginning of trades unionism in the thirties, through the various periods of cyclic crises, shows with almost unvarying regularity the same phenomenon. During times of "prosperity", with its labor shortage and the cost of living invariably out-leaping raises in wages, aggressive strike offensives and expansion of trade unions were on the order of the day. These just as surely changed when a new crisis set in. While these were often accompanied with desperate and violent revolts, the character

and often repeated defeats of the defensive strikes turned the workers' attention toward struggle for political reforms which were often expressed through various forms of labor or middle class parties. This may be said to have been particularly marked up until the "great upheaval" in '85 and '86; but a similar recurrence of developments of more recent date can be noticed. As an example a few facts from the last industrial depression at the end of 1921 and beginning of 1922 will prove very instructive.

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the following figures on the character and cause of disputes during the depression. We quote from the years 1919 to 1923, which, although incomplete, are very suggestive. Disputes for wage increases (offensive character) reached in the year 1919 a total of 1,074; for the year 1920 a total of 1,323; 1921 a total of 120; 1922 a total of 133; 1923 (first six months) a total of 310. Disputes in resistance of wage decreases (defensive character) were as follows: Year 1919 a total of 86; year 1920 a total of 147; year 1921 a total of 895; 1922 a total of 255; 1923 (first six months) a total of 20. This is sufficient to show clearly the large extent of disputes of a defensive character, to ward off wage decreases, during the depression, to be immediately reversed and become offensive struggles, for wage increases, during the period of recovery. Similarly, the disputes around demands for union recognition reached their highest during these years with a total of 350 in 1919 and its lowest with only 53 in 1921. The employers' offensive netted them the highest number of direct victories in these disputes in 1921 with a total of 701.

The Political Action of Labor

How does the matter stand, then, with labor political action? One can, of course, speak only of labor political reformist action since the American workers as a mass have not yet learned the necessity of revolutionary action. The more recent labor and farmer-labor party developments arose in 1919 with the formation of the National Farmer-Labor Party at Chicago. In 1920 there was the first appearance of the Farmer-Labor Party of the state of Washington. In some other states there were labor activities within non-partisan political leagues. But in 1922 this movement received a pronounced impetus. During the summer the American Labor Party of New York City was organized; the Minnesota non-partisan political league became re-organized to the Farmer-Labor Party, while a similar reorganization took place in South Dakota. The same year saw the organization of the Progressive Party (farmer-labor) in Idaho and one year later the Farmer-Labor Party of West Virginia. At the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" conference in Cleveland in 1922, at which a number of international unions and central bodies were represented, a motion made by the Chicago Federation of Labor group to "declare for independent political action by the agricultural and industrial workers through a party of their own" was defeated with a vote of only 64 to 52.

It is significant that these were the developments following right upon the heels of the last industrial depression. The culmination and beginning of the decline of this movement were reached at the July, 1923 convention in Chicago at which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was formed, but alas—on paper. From the last gasp at the Farmer-Labor Party convention at St. Paul the following year, there have been but little actual signs since in this direction.

The Rising Struggles

The present depression finds the vast gulf of class distinctions greater than ever in the United States. According to government reports the total net profits of all corporations in 1929 after all deductions were made have almost doubled since 1922, rising to an estimated amount of \$9,900,000,000. While profits thus soared, wages paid to workers in manufacturing industries during the same period advanced but 19

per cent, not to speak of the level of the cost of living. From December, 1928 to September, 1929 the Labor Bureau, Inc. estimates that the average wage in the country decreased 2 percent.

It is a foregone conclusion that American imperialism will make efforts abroad to get out of its economic difficulties, through war and otherwise, while simultaneously strengthening its world hegemony. The first steps are already being put into operation. Leaving aside here the matter of the effects of these efforts abroad, American capitalism of course likewise tries to make the workers at home bear the increased burden. The results will almost surely lead to a repetition of past history. But this will take place now, however, under conditions of a higher development of capitalism and also on a higher plane for the working class. The crushing capitalist offensive during the present heavy unemployment, with the aim to reduce wages, increase speed-up and to cripple the unions, will bring forth resistance through workers' defensive struggles. It will certainly involve workers organized in the existing trades unions. The necessarily accompanying despotic use of the capitalist machinery of the state, to carry the offensive through more effectively, points to the workers' resistance in this field taking a direction towards political reformist activities, most likely to be expressed in a labor political party.

The Labor Party and the Communists

Under such conditions would a labor party spring forth as a full fledged instrument of imperialism? Reactionary labor "leaders" would surely become part of its composition and strive for "leadership" there the same as they do in all other broad non-revolutionary workers' organizations. They will, of course, continue in their role as tools of imperialism. Very consciously American imperialism will learn to utilize them as "saviours" of their system and privileges fully as well as in the case of the McDonald government in England today. The American McDonalds in turn will exert all energies to subject the labor party as a whole to further this aim. But their success in this endeavor depends precisely upon their ability to keep Communist influence isolated on the outside. Nevertheless, as a means of helping to separate the working masses from their political bondage to the historical capitalist parties, the labor party would serve as well today as in the past and would occupy the same place in history as previously assigned to it. In that sense it will be one step toward the logical revolutionary position that the American working class must finally assume.

So far, this working class, as its history shows, has only reached the point of more or less localized and sporadic attempts in reformist politics. It is still completely bound within the capitalist political party system which thereby serves as a mighty brake upon the essential character of any economic struggles of the workers. That is today decisive, and the problem is to break through this barrier. Increased pressure upon the workers will lead to finding the forms for breaking through. What road will the first steps take? The road of the revolution with the Communist Party? That is quite inconceivable, even with a rapid tempo of development. Can we in America avoid the stage of a national scale of labor political reformist activities? That is the way to put the question, and to also add, that even though it can hardly be avoided, it will of necessity be of short duration in the present epoch of rapid development. It then becomes pertinent to ask, how can the working class best and most speedily draw the correct conclusion from such political reformist experiences, and how can it best be helped on the further road to a revolutionary position?

Upon the Communist movement devolves the duty of giving a correct answer to this question as well as to employ the tactics which will really be a help in the right direction. This we intend to discuss further in another article.

HOOVER SPEEDS POSTAL CLERKS

BUFFALO—Hoover has issued his cry "Efficiency". The Buffalo postal employees have already been "efficiency-ized" so much that they carried their complaint to Congress. An investigator was sent to Buffalo. He investigated—the clerks sweated; and now the report has been handed in. The official report admits the truth of the complaints that the new system is "nerve-wracking and a slave-driving one", and undoubtedly "showing a lack of consideration for the clerks", but, continues the report, "the mail service comes before the clerk".

In short, the present speed-up helps business and decreases the money necessary for clerks (thus leaving more for the politicians in the form of supervisors and inspectors.) So the speed-up is approved and continued.

The Post Office clerks appealed to Congress and now they are left holding the bag. Thus far they have been afraid to resort to any but congressional action for the improvement of their conditions. The Post Office speed-up is recognized by all connected with the service. Since 1921, according to government reports, the output per man has increased over 32%. Nor has this been due to increased use of machinery. It is due to the system, to the foreman at your side ready to jump on you and "write you up" the minute you turn your head.

A long fight is ahead of the postal clerks before this speed-up is eliminated. No amount of Congressional appeal will ever do away with the constant riding of the "efficiency administrators". The clerks will have to initiate a movement for a bona fide and strong union.

The London Debacle

(Continued from Page 1)

will be achieved is obvious from the whole viewpoint of capitalist diplomacy, which can only try to solve its differences in the arena of war.

The Lineup against the Soviet Union

The question of the relations of the powers to the Soviet Union received special consideration during one of the sessions in which there appeared no possible solution to the conference negotiations. Japan opened with a defense of its naval program on the basis that her position off the coast of Siberia demanded that she be fully prepared to take part in a general offensive against the Workers Republic. This set a precedent which was followed by the other powers. France and Italy in particular emphasized this as one of the main reasons for their naval program. It goes without saying that all of the powers have in mind an attack against the Soviet Union and that this conference has already posed the question of the relation of forces between these imperialist wolves in that event. The problem of the defense of the Soviet Union grows greater and greater and becomes one of the chief tasks of the international proletariat.

Conference Can Offer No Solution

It is clear that the London conference will arrive at nothing definite regarding naval limitation. The disappointment of Social Democracy and Pacifism is a great one. Their hopes have been shattered through the miserable collapse of the conference in which they planned such exalted hopes. Along with this destroyed hope, the open betrayal of McDonald has become so much the more clear in his resignation from the Independent Labor Party—and his complete solidification with British Imperialism.

The much heralded London conference has collapsed. Attempts to revive it will fall exceedingly short of their mark.

The problem of war remains as ever the problem of the international proletariat irrespective of sham conferences, utilized only to mislead the workingclass and put them in a state of false security. Its solution lies in the destruction of this system of exploitation and war.

—ALBERT GLOTZER

Throughout the World of Labor

From Moscow

At Moscow, political work is carried on principally in a disorganized fashion. A dull and apathetic discontent pervades the workers. At present it is difficult to obtain food even. Manufactured goods are rationed. The lowering of the cost prices, if achieved, will be entirely through increased speed-up. Living expenses not only do not decrease, but, in fact, generally increase. If anyone shows signs of discontent—"the workers demand the discharge of the class enemy". It is thus that the competition and enthusiasm of the masses is assured.

For example: A worker, overcome by exhaustion, is refused permission to leave by the factory manager. In order not to be charged with ill-will, and in order not to incur the consequences of a "fraudulent leave", she continues working until she collapses. Then the workers carry her to the ambulance where it appears that instant medical attention is necessary. Similar occurrences are not rare.

At Solomichino (in the Urals), a place of deportation one of our deported comrades, Ikanevsky, was wounded at night, while asleep, by a shot through the window. He was struck in both hands, the bones of the right hand being broken. Despite the fact that the wound, although dressed by the doctor, became infected, he was not permitted, for two weeks, to go to Guralak for necessary surgical attention. They even attempted to make this appear faked. But they were finally forced to admit the reality of the criminal attack.

Another example: one of our comrades, deported to the Urals, was refused necessary succor for three months (since all work is forbidden). His demands were met with the taunts, "Go get it in Moscow". (The deportees who leave the town are exposed to imprisonment.—N. D. L. R.) Unable to provide for his wants he had to request incarceration.

The administration resorts to the most despotic and frightful measures toward our deported comrades. The infraction of any arbitrary rule of the G. P. U. (for example, the ban against telephoning) carries with it the menace: "Narim or the convict prison". (Narim is a place of deportation in Siberia, notorious for the hardships which the deportees suffer there.—N. D. L. R.)

Recently I had the opportunity to speak to a sympathizer who is a member in the management of a factory. I give his words briefly: "It is difficult to characterize the attitude in the circles of economic administration except as confusion and uncertainty. Very seldom does someone rise up against the five year plan. Yet none is convinced of its possibilities, mainly on account of the successive modifications of the plan. The last time, when we made modifications involving the reduction of costs and the increase in wages, we warned the Supreme Economic Council that their figures were delusive. They replied, 'Do as you are told', and we obeyed."

The masses are silent. We are in a period of stagnation despite the indisputable progress of industry. There is no real growth in proletarian initiative. It is no mistake to say that this period reminds one in many respects of the one following the reaction after 1905. They stay away, they do not attend meetings, or they arrive in time for the motion picture. (Many political meetings make use of motion pictures.—N. D. L. R.) When six hundred are expected at a meeting, only two hundred show up. If the worker is asked, "Why don't you come?" he answers: "They won't tell anything new. It's all right, I won't be missed."

At workers' meetings numerous written demands come to the committee: "Where is Trotsky? What is Trotsky doing?" etc.

Many workers do not come to meetings except for renewing their contracts with the cooperatives. The appeals in the pa-

per reach only a small upper strata of the working class and then not for long.

This year should see vast reorganizations in the factories and shops. Under the present conditions of the regime and of the Party, the system of individual management cannot but worsen the already difficult situation.

January.

—R. R.

Φ

The Struggle Against Unemployment in Europe and Its Conduct

The bureau of the C. I. for western Europe—the organization created for action on a set date and on a world scale—has launched an appeal for "powerful demonstrations" which will bring together workers, employed and unemployed, in all countries. Certainly we should rejoice over the fact that the strategists of the new line have, in these last months, discovered the problem of unemployment. But what is less heartening is that they do not consider the problem of unemployment in its relation to the concrete situation in each country, but handle it in that ridiculously mechanical fashion, the failure of which we have already seen on August 1st, the first day of international struggle.

Since the Sixth World Congress it has become customary with the C. I. to discover from time to time a "central problem" which, to conform to the "revolutionary rise" in the entire planet, is thereupon proclaimed a "central problem" for all countries.

Last summer and fall it was the international strike movement being transformed into political mass strikes—if not in actuality, at least in the theses of the Executive; now it is from the supposed revolutionary movement among the unemployed the whole world over that the E.C.C.I. awaits the destruction of the very foundations of capitalism.

Tomorrow it will doubtlessly be the revolutionary peasants who will embark on a revolutionary movement in honor of the international peasant congress which will be held about March 15. It seems that the bureau for western Europe with its wise foresight of this "next higher step in the revolutionary rise", has advanced the day for the world-wide struggle against unemployment from February 26 to March 6—no doubt in order that there may be a somewhat greater interval from one step to the other.

That kind of display, with "great days of struggle", has clearly nothing in common with the need for bringing the mass of unemployed to the general front of working class struggle. Some of the slogans given out by the bureau for western Europe for the day of struggle, such as "creation of organizations of unemployed", are, as a matter of fact dangerous.

If there is any sense to this slogan—that is, if it is less stupid than the one, "unemployment aid equivalent to full wages"—it can mean only the creation of organizations of unemployed, or unions of unemployed.

This slogan alone, reveals the complete lack of seriousness and the extreme ignorance of the phrase-slugging bureaucrats who are now discrediting communism.

What can be the significance of unions of unemployed? At most, to strengthen, in organized form, the isolation from the factory workers which already characterizes the unemployed. This means that they will be playing the game of the trade union bureaucrats; since the latter in most countries lend support to this isolation (which is, to a certain extent, the inevitable result of the removal of the worker from the productive process) by expelling unemployed members from the unions.

The formula of separate unions for unemployed takes for its point of departure the dangerous delusion that organized masses of unemployed can better their miserable conditions without the aid of the workers in the factories and trade unions. Of all the delusions of the third period that are growing with such speed, there is none as dangerous as this one.

Unemployment and the Workers' Morale

Permanent unemployment, such as exists in Germany, Austria, England, Poland, etc., places upon the Communists in these countries the task of preventing, with all their power, the artificial stirring up of tension and disputes between unemployed and employed workers which the reformists are systematically attempting. Unemployment is not, in general, a factor which strengthens the revolutionary current in the working class movement. On the contrary, it allows reformism to reinforce its position in the factories—the fear of unemployment being one of its best allies. In addition, it makes it possible for reformism to throw out of the factories the most conscientious and revolutionary elements. And lastly, there is no doubt that the longer unemployment lasts, the more it demoralizes and paralyzes the workers.

In order that the great dangers which are created by unemployment are not entirely ruinous, all separation between employed and unemployed workers, as far as organization is concerned, must be avoided; therefore: no separate union for unemployed but active struggle in the unions against the exclusion of unemployed and for recognition of the unemployed by the union.

But we have not yet come to the essential question. It is not the form of organization of the movement of unemployed that is decisive, but the methods of struggle against unemployment. On this depends the question of organization.

If the purely union struggle is extremely restricted in the present period, the struggle for serious reforms in favor of the unemployed has absolutely no chance of succeeding. Only great mass actions can wrest temporarily certain concessions from capitalism; only struggles of determined masses, including unemployed and employed workers can teach them that they will achieve lasting betterment of their situation only by overthrowing the existing capitalist regime.

Is there anyone in the C. I. who questions this elementary truth? Even the bureau for western Europe calls for "united revolutionary action of unemployed and employed workers".

Now we come to the point. The appeal for solidarity will never get the mass of employed workers into the streets beside the unemployed. And neither will this appeal for solidarity prevent the masses of desperate unemployed from countenancing wage reductions. The art of a revolutionary party consists, not in launching these appeals with an abundance of gigantic posters and noisy speeches, but in the act of concentrating the struggle on the questions which affect the self-interest of employed and unemployed workers equally. But this plainly goes beyond the limits of a schema valid for five continents, and it would be necessary for the different parties to adapt the struggle to the concrete circumstances of their own countries. The situation in Germany is special: there the party should direct all its action on the basis of the struggle against the Young plan; with which, as the central action, should be connected the struggle of employed workers against the financial, tariff and social policies of the government. The situation in Austria is again different: here the party should turn the struggle of the unemployed into a central action against fascism, for a proletarian program of immediate demands.

One thing only is valid in a general way for all countries: the struggle cannot be conducted in the manner imagined by

the bureaucrats of the Stalin apparatus—by means of big displays and high-sounding articles and speeches.

Berlin, February 14.

K. L.

Φ

LABOR FAKERS ATTACK ALIEN WORKERS

DETROIT—(FP)—Over 1,600 aliens employed by the city of Detroit stand to lose their jobs by the mayor's approval of a resolution just passed by the council providing for the immediate dismissal of all employees not citizens of the United States. Those with first papers are also to be unconditionally fired.

Last week 748 laborers were fired because they had not yet become citizens. Most of the latest group to be fired are also manual workers, although a considerable percentage comes from the hospitals.

The resolution to fire was introduced by Councilman Ewald, president of the city. Pres. F. X. Martel of the Detroit bricklayers' union and was actively supported by the Federation of Labor.

Φ

THE MILITANT

is the only newspaper in the United States that regularly publishes the writing of L. D. Trotsky, Ch. Rakovsky and other leaders of the Left Opposition of the Communist movement based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In addition it is the only periodical in the English language in any part of the world that prints the correct estimation of world events based upon a Leninist conception.

The Militant is the organ of those who want to reestablish the international Communist movement on the basis it was up till the death of Lenin. Published weekly, it is a powerful factor in mobilizing the working class along the correct ideological lines. Without its regular appearance the Left Opposition not only in America but throughout the world would sustain a severe loss.

In a recent letter, comrade Trotsky asserted that *La Verite* the weekly organ of the French Left Opposition and *The Militant* were the two best organs of the movement that is conducting a campaign for a return to Lenin's teachings. To enable *The Militant* to continue publication, the immediate support of all its readers is necessary. A donation to its Sustaining Fund will enable it to continue to exist.

**FILL OUT THE BLANK BELOW
DO NOT WAIT! ACT TODAY!**

MAIL IMMEDIATELY AND THEN YOU WILL KNOW YOU HAVE DONE YOUR PART FOR THE REGENERATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

(Tear here or if you want to save this issue of the Militant copy it on another piece of paper.)

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$... for the Militant Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky
Name
Address
City State

The New Course in Economy of Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 5)

The Restoration of the Right-Center Bloc

For how many months will the present leadership whip up the Party on the road of ultra-Leftism? We think not for very long. The more frenzied the character of the present course, the sooner and more acutely its contradictions will come out. Then to the former 180 degrees, the leadership will add another curve, coming near to its starting point from another end. So it has been, so it will be again.

The tempo of industrialization must guarantee not the building of national socialism, but the reinforcement of the basis under the proletarian dictatorship, as well as the improvement of the conditions of the working masses of city and country. This is an entirely realistic task. It demands a combination of courage and prudence. It excludes both over-caution and wild recklessness.

It would be absurd to pretend that the Opposition has ready a priori a plan for a painless way out of the new dangers created by a combination of adventurism and opportunism. Having the best directions for following the road with a line of motor-cars will not help, if the head of the line has already succeeded in getting off the road into the mud. Then a whole system of measures ad hoc is necessary to bring the column back on the right road. We can assert that even the best driver staying at the wheel, would not be able to solve the problem. The collective effort of the Party and the class are necessary, with help from below, which presupposes the right and the possibility of collective, creative initiative.

At present, this measure seems most immediate and imperative: the strictest financial discipline. It is absolutely necessary to tighten as strong as possible the strings of the state's purse, along both the budget and the credit lines. There is no doubt that this measure will prove painful from the start, as it will inevitably stop half-way a whole list of undertakings and enterprises. But this measure is unavoidable. Financial discipline must become the first step of a general economic discipline.

What To Do?

The problems briefly outlined in the present article will constitute the object of an extensive work which we hope to bring out in a few weeks. Therefore our treatment of the subject here is in the nature of a synopsis. In the same way we briefly answer the question: what to do?

The industry is racing towards a crisis, first of all on account of the monstrously bureaucratic methods used in the construction of the Plan. A Five Year plan can be constructed with the necessary proportions and guarantees only on condition of a free discussion of its tempos and terms; only with the participation in these discussions by all interested industries and by the working class; with all its organizations and first of all of the Party itself; only with an evaluation of the whole experiment of the Soviet economy of the last period, including the monstrous faults of the leadership.

The most important element of the Plan is not a question of what it is that the peasants want and are able to consume immediately, but what it is that they can save and accumulate. The question of the tempo of industrialization is not a matter of bureaucratic imagination, but one of the life and culture of the masses.

Therefore the Plan for building socialism can not be issued as an a priori bureaucratic order. It must be worked out and corrected in the same way in which the construction of socialism itself can only be realized, i. e., through the broad Soviet democracy. The decision, for instance, of what place should be given to the chemical industry in the plan for the near future, can be established only through a open discussion between different econ-

omical groups and branches of industry interested in chemical products. The Soviet democracy is not an abstract political demand and still less a moral one. It has become an economic necessity.

Save the Party and the Proletarian Dictatorship

The first condition for the success of socialism is, for us to conserve, or what is more correct, to save the Party. Without this basic historical instrument the proletariat is powerless. In the meantime the Stalinist bureaucracy is killing the Party. To the wholesale collectivization in the country, it adds the wholesale admittance to the Party of whole plants and guilds. The vanguard is disappearing in the mass. The thought and the will of the Party is crushed underfoot. The bureaucracy has its hands completely free. The leadership is blind and uncontrollable. The Party will not be able to create a far-seeing leadership until it becomes the Party again. What must be done, then? Take from the usurpers' apparatus the power which has been usurped from the Party. Who can do that? The proletarian nucleus of the Party, relying on the working class.

The second conditions is to conserve, or, what is more true, to restore the proletarian dictatorship. This is possible only in case the proletariat shows from year to year an improvement of its economic and cultural level, and the growth of its importance in the state and country, and if simultaneously the scissors of agricultural and industrial prices draw together, offering the peasants real advantages from the October revolution.

If the road to these swollen and insurmountable undertakings is not immediately barred, if the tempo is not brought back to reality, the overinflation might easily enlarge them in the future to a perilous size, with consequences from which not only the false reputation of the ignorant leadership will suffer, the reputation which is founded on moral inflation, but also the values of immeasurably greater importance—the October revolution.

Restore the Comintern

Again and again we decidedly refused the task of building "in quick time" a national socialist society. Collectivization as well as industrialization we bind by an unbreakable tie with the problems of world revolution. The problems of our economy are decided in the last account in the international arena. It is necessary to restore the Comintern. It is necessary to go over the revolutionary strategy of the post-Leninist period and to condemn all three of its stages: Zinoviev's, Bucharin-Stalin's and Stalin-Molotov's stage. It is necessary to remove the present leadership, because it is precisely in the realm of international questions where the Stalinist faction reaches such limits of theoretical cynicism and practical licenses (laissez-faire) which are threatening the proletarian vanguard with numberless disasters. To refute the theory of national socialism and the practice of bureaucratic adventures, is the elementary premise for the renaissance of the Communist International.

Φ

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) will speak at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the League on Saturday, March 15th, 1930 at 8 p. m. His subject will be: "WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?" Admission is free and all interested workers are invited to attend.

* * *

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Four hundred workers of the Arcadia rayon mills of Allentown are out on strike under Nat'l. Textile Workers Union leadership, in protest against doubling up knitters' work from eight to sixteen machines.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION CHARTS LABOR DANGER ZONES

NEW YORK—(FP)—Black spots on the union organizers map as drawn by the American Civil Liberties Union include North Carolina textile towns, Pennsylvania coal and steel towns, Ohio mining towns and Southern California. North Carolina is worst of all, with seven killed, 24 wounded, seven kidnapped and seven condemned to prison in 1929, according to the Union's survey of civil liberties—or the lack of them—last year.

Strikers, Communists and Negroes suffered the most frequent violations of civil rights; Socialists and I. W. W.'s escaped prosecutions and injunctions, asserts the liberties report. Three Communists, sent to prison in Pennsylvania under the criminal syndicalism act, were the first political prisoners committed in the entire country since 1924.

Boston, Philadelphia and New York are listed as the cities in which police most frequently interfere with public meetings. Boston remains the hub of censorship, Pennsylvania leads in the number of attacks on free speech press and assemblage while New York City police broke up 43 of the 52 meetings interfered with in 1929.

Φ

HOSIERY SCABS KILL STRIKER, WOUND TWO

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Carl Mackley, 22, was killed and William Zimmerman and John Cooper wounded when a carload of Aberle hosiery mill strikebreakers fired a volley into a union auto which grazed theirs in traffic. The three men shot are union knitters, members of the Hosiery Workers Union. They carried no weapons.

Four scabs arrested with smoking automatics admitted firing into the union car and regret missing the fourth occupant who escaped unhurt. They are held without bail. Eight unionists were held as material witnesses and released under \$1,000 bail each.

Although no scab in the Aberle mill has been shot or seriously injured in the hosiery workers' strike, they have threatened gunplay from the start. An Aberle official drew a gun on a striker 15 minutes after the tragedy.

Labor in Philadelphia lays the responsibility for the murder on Judge Jay Gordon who ruled in the court of common pleas two weeks ago that scabs may carry guns if they feel that their lives are endangered.

Φ

OPEN SHOP PAPER APPROVES A.F. OF L.

NEW YORK—The American Federation of Labor's policy of cooperating with employers is bearing fruit in unexpected quarters. The Iron Age, trade paper of the open shop steel industry, in the course of a diatribe against progressivism in general, comments: "The American Federation of Labor will agree that there is no contest between toilers and capitalists."

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 8

The Bulletin of the Opposition

(IN RUSSIAN)

CONTAINS

The Articles on the

"THIRD PERIOD" OF THE MISTAKES OF THE COMINTERN

BY

L. D. Trotsky

25c each 18c in Bundles
Order From

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

ELLA MAY LYNCHING O.K.'D

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—(FP)—North Carolina's unwritten law that union agitators go to the penitentiary while lynchers of unionists go home has been upheld once more in the freeing of five of the members of the Loray mill mob who were in the murder of Ella May Wiggins, the Bessemer City union woman shot to death Sept. 14 while on the way to a Nat'l. Textile Workers Union meeting in Gastonia.

Well-drilled witnesses marshalled by the Loray defense counsel testified monotonously to fake alibis; those at the scene of the murder where the union truck was surrounded by a score or more of autos filled with mobsters recited stories of "happening" to be passing by and stopping to see an auto accident.

The jury ignored evidence from a score of occupants of the union truck that they were surrounded by a mob which opened fire on the open highway. A shot from Horace Wheelus' gun found its way to Ella May's heart they testified, while other workers were fleeing across the open fields, followed by a rain of bullets.

The prosecution was crippled from the start by the unwillingness of Solicitor John C. Carpenter of Gaston county to prosecute his friends, the Loray mill boss-men. A corps of Loray attorneys conducted the defense.

North Carolina's record of "justice" in labor disputes shows seven organizers condemned to prison for terms of 5 to 20 year for defending the Loray mill strikers' tent colony from an unwarranted attack by drunken police, during which Police Chief Aderholt was killed. Mobs composed of Gastonia business men carried on a reign of terror, which resulted in a few indictments for kidnapping and flogging, but no convictions. On the other hand many strikers were framed on various counts and sentenced to jail.

The verdict in the Wiggins case practically sets the state's seal of approval on murder and other violence against union organizers.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C.: Gale's Book Shop 700 Tent St. N. W.
PITTSBURGH, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britschke's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wealey St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 12

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 22, 1930.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Unite For the Unemployed!

Resist Attack of Bosses and Government

The activity of the Communists and Left wing in presenting the facts about the unemployment crisis in the United States and in making demands upon the bosses and the government for work or compensation for the unemployed workers, have drawn the fire and wrath of the capitalist class and various governmental agencies upon the Communists. Hoover and Wall Street, Tammany Hall and Whalen, Mathew Woll and Secretary of Labor Davis, et al, are endeavoring to screen the acute misery of millions of unemployed workers by raising the cry of "RED" around the burning issue of unemployment.

Close upon the heels of the unemployment demonstrations on March 6th, a vicious campaign against the radical groups, particularly focusing upon the Communists has begun. For the moment it takes its most violent and vicious form in New York City under the leadership of Commissioner of Police Whalen and his official thugs, promptly endorsed by Mayor James Walker and the business men of the city. This campaign against the Communists is taking numerous forms. Among these are:

The Proposed Frameups and Police Brutality

1. The arrest of Communist leaders and an endeavor to railroad them to prison for their activity among the unemployed. Every known obstacle was utilized to prevent the release on bail of the New York arrested. Only after repeated efforts and after exorbitant bail (\$12,500 each) had been placed, were they released, to stand trial on charges of felonious assault and provoking an unlawful assembly at the March 6th Union Square demonstration in New York City. The outcome of the New York trials will to an extent determine the scale of repression and terror against the Communist movement and labor in general in other sections of the country. But already in many parts of the country efforts are made to railroad the Communists.

2. A wave of terror, brutality and provocation against the radicals and Communists and any rising militancy by the workers. Every form of weapon—club and blackjack, gun and horses, machine guns and tear gas—is either brought into play or held ready for use against the unemployed and those leading the struggle on their behalf. Almost every capitalist paper in the country reports the extremes to which the loud-mouthed Whalen and others like him went in their brutality against men, women and children gathered at the unemployment meetings and demonstrations.

The Labor Spy and Blacklist of Militants

3. The method of OPEN LABOR SPYING and BLACKLISTING on behalf of the employers by police and other governmental agents, thus plainly showing that government and law are instruments of the capitalist class. Police Commissioner Whalen of New York has declared that he has turned over the names of alleged Communists to employers that they may be dismissed and deprived of a livelihood because of the opinions they hold; and that he favors and will pursue such a blacklisting policy in the future. Whalen admits that he maintains stool-pigeons in radical organizations, particularly among the Communists, to frame evidence against the radicals; and that, further, he instructs his stool-pigeons to provoke violence and

riots. He thereby admits responsibility for the trouble and brutality at the Union Square demonstration. What Whalen boasts about (until such time as the business men and higher-ups told him to be more discreet) is also done more quietly by police, Federal men, etc. throughout the country. The use of the Labor Spy

(Continued on Page 3)

Heavy Unemployment Among Clothing Workers

NEW YORK—Unemployment has sharply affected the members in the clothing industry, according to reports of officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. The busy season, which usually starts about November 15th in the bigger shops, has failed to absorb thousands of union members. It is estimated that 5 to 10% of the union membership is totally unemployed during the present season, which will end about May 1; that another 20% have been able to get in only two to six weeks' work; and another 30% have had only part time employment, three days out of five. Half of the New York membership has been totally or partially unemployed during the season.

The Aberle Mill Strike in Philly

by M. K. Whitten

The greatest labor demonstration in this city since the Battle of Broad Street in 1910 between the police and thousands of striking street car men, took place on March 9th, when a crowd estimated by the capitalist papers at 35,000, met at the open air funeral of Carl Mackley, 23 year old textile worker of Kensington. In McPherson Square, in the heart of that great working class district, this vast crowd gathered to pay its last respects to the murdered strike picket. His death occurred on March 6th when he was shot by a strikebreaker employed in the Aberle Mill, where a strike involving more than a thousand workers has been stubbornly fought for over a month. Despite the vicious injunction issued by Judge McDevitt, which prohibited more than 4 pickets, despite the utmost brutality of the police who arrested persons living in the neighborhood, merely for being on their own steps when ordered to go indoors, and who have even stopped school children from passing the mill, the strike has been fought with all the vigor and courage that the workers of Kensington are noted for.

Since the demonstration before the bier of Carl Mackley, the striking workers have maintained their militant fighting spirit. Within a week another shooting has taken place. A strikebreaker, Peter Marpone, fired three times into a crowd about his home to protest his scabbing. Fourteen persons were wounded.

Militancy of Strikers Outstanding

Fighting took place also at the Rogers Hosiery Mill in Germantown where nearly a hundred strikers, half of them girls, were arrested. The Rogers strike is called in sympathy with the Aberle strike. The Aberle Mill textile strike is led by the A. F. of L. The militancy of the strikers has had the A. F. of L. officials worried. The bureaucrats are cooperating with the politicians in every way to get the strike

The Springfield and Indianapolis Miners Conventions

The deep crisis in the Miners Union, for years the backbone of the organized labor movement in America, was dramatized during the past week by the simultaneous holding of two conventions. One convention met in Indianapolis under the chairmanship of John L. Lewis and put the stamp of approval on his reactionary policy. The other convention met in Springfield, Ill., with Alex Howat of Kansas presiding. The Springfield convention which represented a bloc between the Illinois organization, controlled by Fishwick, the Howat-Brophy Progressive group and the long-dormant Socialist elements, proclaimed the formal split with the Lewis organization on a national scale and announced itself as the "reorganized" U. M. W. of A.

About one thousand delegates attended the Lewis convention at Indianapolis. Of these the only solid bloc came from the anthracite, the great majority of the bituminous "delegates" being payroll agents representing defunct local unions in the disrupted districts. The bulk of the soft coal miners who retain organization in the U. M. W. of A. were represented at Springfield. 475 delegates attended this convention. Of these, Illinois, the largest remaining

district organization of the U. M. W. of A. sent 313 delegates. The Kansas district, which broke from the Lewis organization in a body, sent 45, Ohio 28, Arkansas 19, Oklahoma 15, Iowa 13, Pennsylvania 7, Indiana 6, Missouri 5, Wyoming 3, and Kentucky 1.

The Springfield convention concluded its sessions Saturday, March 15, with the election of National Officers for the "reorganized" U. M. W. of A. Alex Howat, famous leader of the Kansas miners, was elected President by acclamation. Adolph Germer, former national secretary of the Socialist party and prior to that a National Executive Board member of the U. M. W. of A., was elected vice-president, defeating Powers Haggood. John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, was elected secretary-treasurer. The Indianapolis convention adjourned its sessions over the week-end awaiting the address of President Green of the A. F. of L. scheduled for Monday. The appearance of Green at this convention indicates the decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to support the Lewis faction against the Springfield insurgent body.

Split in Miners Deepens

The holding of the rival conventions and the actions taken by them have the effect of deepening and confirming the split which has been long brewing in the miners' organization and reduce the prospects of an early re-unification to the minimum. The action of the Springfield convention in appealing to Green to call a "unity" convention under A. F. of L. auspices is construed as a diplomatic gesture to aid the fight of the new union for A. F. of L. support. The Lewis convention declared war on the Springfield gathering and demanded action of the A. F. of L. against its participants. The events of the week are the undoubted prelude to a long-drawn-out struggle between the two organizations for supremacy in which court action, appeals to the A. F. of L. and open battle in the coal fields will all be resorted to. A duplication of the historic United Garment Workers-Amalgamated Clothing Workers contest is to be anticipated in its many aspects.

The depth of the rank and file revolt against corruption and reactionary leadership in the United Mine Workers, despite the absence of the Communistic Left wing which is split off in the National Miners Union, was graphically revealed at Springfield. This revolt is directed against the Fishwick-Farrington machine as well as against Lewis. It rose like a tornado on the very first day of the Springfield convention, sweeping Fishwick out of the chair and installing Howat in his place and sending the credentials of Farrington back to the credentials committee after a savage attack on him from the floor led by Brophy and the Progressive bloc. It was further shown in the bitter and angry assault on the Illinois officials, whose policies and actions have been in no way different from those of Lewis, as "crooks and cheaters", which accompanied the demand for their removal; in the inability to hold the entire Illinois delegation in line for the seating of Farrington; in a number of progressive amendments to the constitution, and in various other proposals which got the support of a majority or of a strong minority of the convention.

(Continued on Page 8)

Monarchist Spain Refuses Entry to Trotsky

Monarchist Spain has added itself to the list of capitalist states that refuses admission to L. D. Trotsky for necessary medical attention. So Trotsky, exiled by the bureaucrat Stalin, remains at Constantinople, where thousands of Russian White Guards infest the city and are a constant menace to the life of Trotsky.

The imperialist powers and the Stalinist bureaucracy alike reject Trotsky, the organizer and leader of the Red Army, the leader of the victorious Petrograd Soviet and Lenin's comrade and co-worker. The workers of the world will yet seal their condemnation of Stalin and his bureaucracy that persecute, imprison and even shoot the Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the standard bearers of the international proletarian revolution

Business Men Jeer COLD COMFORT FOR WORKERS IN Parade of Jobless

LOAN SOCIETY REPORT

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—About 250 jobless workers, augmented at the City Hall by a crowd of several thousand, have marched again to demand "work or wages" from the city authorities of San Francisco. Once more they were fobbed off by vague promises of municipal work when \$5,000,000 city bonds are sold.

It was a pitiful procession, nearly all men in overalls and worn working clothes, one man on crutches, a handful of women, one with a baby in her arms. As they trudged down Market St., preceded and followed by a row of mounted police, well dressed people on the sidewalk jeered and booed at them.

The workless, headed by Harold Harvey, demanded unemployment insurance, emergency relief, a 7-hour day and 5-day week, no overtime so that jobless men could have a chance, no eviction for non-payment of rent, abolition of the vagrancy law. The supervisors met them on the city hall steps, and the mayor made another ingratiating speech which did not sit well with the workers. "We didn't expect anything when we came here," said Harvey, "and we are not disappointed. When we come again it will be to take what rightfully belongs to us. We don't want sympathy; we want relief."

Saidichi Kenmotsu, arrested Dec. 14, has been ordered deported to Japan as a Communist. He is out on \$3,000 bond and will appeal to the federal court. Four other radicals are held in San Francisco for deportation, three Russians and a Greek.

As an indication of the unemployment situation in San Francisco, a recent statement made in a private conversation by an official of the Industrial Assn. is significant. The association, father of the "American plan" in central California, conducts an employment agency for skilled workers, particularly in the building trades—non-union men, but still workers. Normally about 500 apply every month, and are placed anywhere in the west where jobs are open. Last month 1,500 applied, and just 18 men were given jobs.

DESTITUTION FALL OVER NORTHEAST PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA—Destitution is wide spread in northeast Philadelphia, seat of the city's textile industry. More than 2,500 are on strike against wage reductions in hosiery and carpet mills. Welfare associations are unable to cope with demands for relief and appeals are being made for private charity, but the big dailies refuse to notice the situation.

CHESTER, Pa.—Two workers, Ray Peltz and Charles Holmes, have been charged with sedition as the result of speeches they made to the unemployed before the Ford plant gates in Chester. George Carter, a Gastonia defendant, was given 10 days in jail for speaking to the Ford job-hunters.

Cold comfort is held out to the nation's millions of underpaid and unemployed workers by the yearly report just issued of the Provident Loan Society. After announcing 498,537 loans made last year, the amount of which, \$44,032,832, "was greater than in any previous year," the report predicts "another year of increased activity and usefulness". Apparently the society, which makes its money out of the want of the workers, does not look forward to any improvement in employment or wage rates.

Incidentally the report throws light on the enormous profits made in the money-lending game, even when on a "respectable" and "legitimate" basis. Nicknamed the "Philanthropic Pawnshop", the Provident Loan Society was organized in 1894 to lend money to needy persons at no "greater rate than 1% per month or fraction thereof", or 12% a year. The supposed legal rate of interest in New York state is 6% annually, but this does not apply to pawnbrokers.

Big Profits for Loan Sharks

The 12% per year which the society charges the unfortunates who come to it for loans resulted last year in net "earnings" of nearly \$2,275,000. Of this amount, nearly \$1,000,000 went to pay 6% interest to the holders of nearly \$20,000,000 worth of gilt-edged "certificates of contribution", which are practically bonds on the misery of the borrowers. "It is also interesting to note," states the society, "that over \$6,000,000 of the outstanding certificates of contribution are held by 120 educational, religious, charitable and philanthropic institutions".

In its 35 years of business the "Philanthropic Pawnshop" has grown from one rent-free room on the ground floor of the United Charities Building, to 15 offices, 13 of them in buildings owned by itself. From 20,804 loans in its first full year of operation, it has increased to 498,537 in 1929. In the whole 35 years it has made 11,253,932 loans, totaling \$599,271,213. "Earnings" on these loans amounted to \$26,988,036. In addition to paying regular interest to certificate holders, a handsome surplus of \$10,626,071 has been accumulated, of which nearly \$2,000,000 is invested in real estate.

Reveals Workers Extreme Poverty

As in any pawnshop, would-be borrowers are compelled to leave "pledges" in the form of clothing, furniture, watches, or other goods that can be sold if the loan is not repaid. Increasing hard times are shown in the rise in number of cases where the pledges are sold at auction, from less than 1% in 1927 to slightly over 1% in 1928 and 1929. The same trend is shown by the drop in surplus realized for borrowers in these sales from \$85,000 three years ago to only \$70,000 last year, while losses from sales falling on the society went up from \$20,000 to \$35,000 in the same time.

One appalling feature of the society's

report is the smallness of the sums, lack of which drives workers into the arms of the pawnshop fraternity. Of the nearly 500,000 loans made last year, almost 18,000 were for \$1 to \$4; 38,000 were for \$5 to \$9; 46,000 were for \$10 to \$14; about 35,000 were for \$15 to \$19; and nearly as many were for \$20 to \$24. Fifty-three per cent of all loans were for \$49 and under.

A final touch of grim humor is added to the society's report by the announcement that among its "ex-officio members" are Mayor Walker and Police Commissioner Whalen of New York, who sent police armed with tear-gas and machine guns to break up demonstrations of the city's unemployed.

PITTSBURG PAPERS INCOMPLETE ON WESTINGHOUSE RECORDS

PITTSBURG—Westinghouse broke all records in sales billed, orders booked and earnings in 1929, was the glad news in the financial columns of the Pittsburgh papers. Profits were \$27,062,611, equivalent to a dividend of \$10.15 a share.

Other Westinghouse records broken during the year, which the Pittsburgh press did not see fit to print, include: Record uncertainty of employment; record wage cuts, and record speed-up.

N. Y. STATE JOB FIGURES CONTINUE DECLINE

NEW YORK—Despite every effort of Pres. Hoover and Sec. Davis to pump life into the Hoover prosperity corpse, the figures continue to give them the lie. Employment is still on the downgrade in New York state, according to the state labor department. The index number of employment in Empire State factories—a reliable barometer of industrial activity—slumped 5%, contrary to the usual seasonal gain of 1% between January and February. In only two other years since 1914 have factories cut forces in this period—in 1919 and 1920.

The decline since November has pulled employment down 9% from the fall peak, announces Comm. Frances Perkins so that February was lower than any other February since 1914. The index of employment now stands at 92.1 compared with 100 for 1925-27.

SAYS MUSIC WASTED ON FUTURE WAGE SLAVES

MONESSEN, Pa.—(FP)—This suburb of Pittsburgh and fief of the steel trust through its subsidiary, the American Steel Wire Co. will no longer waste its taxes on providing an acquaintance with art and music for children designed to be mere wage slaves.

Presumably under pressure of the American Steel Wire, the school board has installed an efficiency expert who has promptly fired 26 teachers as an economy measure and eliminated the art and music training meagerly granted in the public school system. These subjects have no "practical" value, he explained.

In protest the school superintendent has resigned. This school district has a rule that no teacher is allowed pay during sickness unless she reports to a physician.

WORKERS HELP JOBLESS

LOS ANGELES—Two hundred jobless union printers were given work when members of Typographical Local 174 voted to give up one day's work every two weeks. The 200 will get in four days each week, according to Pres. John Dalton.

ALBANY, N. Y.—A new threat to the already crippled 48-hour law for women is offered by the Miller Bill providing for the 5-day, 10-hour shift. Under various exemptions, women can now be worked 49 1-2 hours a week in New York state on the 9-hour basis.

RAIL CLERKS ASK SIX HOUR DAY IN NEW PACT

CHICAGO—Workers on the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, represented by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, are demanding a 6-hour day in the new agreement to follow the one that expired March 14. They also demand eight hours pay for six hours work and in addition want an increase of 8 cents an hour on the 8-hour basis. The largest classification of workers now get \$7 for eight hours, according to system chairman J. J. Hallihan of the Brotherhood.

SEATTLE—One unemployed demonstrator was given 60 days in jail, 32 were fined and three released when cases arising from the March demonstration were heard in court.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C.: Gale's Book Shop 725 Tent St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britske's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We'ley St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St., near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
DETROIT, MICH.: Aldas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West
In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 8

The Bulletin of the Opposition

(IN RUSSIAN)

CONTAINS

The Articles on the

"THIRD PERIOD" OF THE MISTAKES OF THE COMINTERN

BY

L. D. Trotsky

25c each

18c in Bundles

Order From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue,

New York, N. Y.

Entertainment and Dance

also

"Money Wins"

Presented by The Militant Players

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1930 at 8 p. m.

at the

MILITANT HALL

25 THIRD AVENUE (Near 8th Street)

Admission 25c

All Welcome

Audiences: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, No. 12 March 22, 1930 Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. (Total No. 22)

Unite for the Unemployed!

(Continued from Page 1)

by the employers is well known; now it is openly acknowledged and permitted that this be done "legally".

The Drive Against the Foreign Born

4. The revival by the reactionaries of the campaign to compel the registration of aliens and for the deportations of aliens who are not satisfactory to the Bourbons of Wall St. Bills have been again introduced into the United States Congress for the registration of aliens. In effect it will establish a vast espionage system over the millions of foreign born workers; by means of persecuting them, driving them out of their jobs if need be, jailing and deporting them. The bills are aimed at the alien radicals, and typically enough, are supported by that arch labor faker, now an open tool of Wall St., namely, Secretary of Labor Davis. The foreign-born workers, who are in the basic industries are the ones most sharply affected by the mass unemployment. These alien registration bills have in mind to stifle their protest against capitalist exploitation and oppression, and to take whatever measures are needed to do so, including deportation.

Workers and Civil Liberties

5. A drive to deprive aliens and American radicals of so-called civil and constitutional rights. The campaign is going on all the time, but now the 100 per centers, the Pay-Triots of every description are coming out of their holes and beginning to bark for greater suppression of radical labor and for withdrawal of so-called liberties and rights from them. Where successful, it will be labeled "Americanization work" (that is, good results in breaking up union organizations, lowering wages, increasing hours of labor, speed-up, etc.); where unsuccessful in "Americanization", then there will be the policy of revocation of citizenship of alien radicals, refusal to grant citizenship, to permit radical gatherings, indoor and outdoor meetings, attempts to persecute Red students and school-children, etc. In New York a college youth has been suspended from City College by the Dean for so-called "violation of a city ordinance". He had the audacity to distribute handbills for the New York demonstration of the unemployed! Others in public schools are to be dealt with by the educational authorities who will work hand in hand with the employers and the police.

Revival of Criminal Syndicalism Laws

6. The attempted revival of Criminal Syndicalism laws in an effort to drive the Communists and other labor organizations into illegality. The reaction of 1919-20, the period of the vicious Attorney-General Palmer, is raising its head. Nothing serious of course is done with the gunmen, racketeers and murderers who infest society, products of the capitalist system. Indeed, these gangsters and racketeers are regularly brought into service by the officially recognized thugs—the police—against workers on strike, against unions, against the radical workers, etc. The Mathew Wolls and William Greens, the labor agents of Wall Street, chime in to endorse any movements aiming to check the progress of the workers and to smash the "Reds".

The Bosses Organize

7. The organization of the capitalist groups themselves to give organized direction and policy to all campaigns against labor, organized and unorganized. The New York Chamber of Commerce has formed a special committee to launch a "militant fight" against the Communist movement. They hope thus to hide or obscure the burning problem of unemployment. New York wealth and plutocracy have given the lead and expect the other Chambers of Commerce and business groups to take the cue. It has a Committee on Deportation; Committee on Communism in Business and Industry; Committee on Publicity, etc. Every agency, governmental, business, religious, etc. is to be enlisted to raise the "Red Scare" so that the misery of the workers under capitalism and particularly severe because of mass unemployment, shall be passed by.

Mass Unemployment Remains

What needs to be done to stem the

rising tide of reaction and to bring again to the forefront the problems that affect sharply the daily lives of the working men and women of this country? It is largely up to the Communists and Left wing, and in particular the official Communist party, to answer this question and to make possible effective work, agitation and organization among the masses. The tactics to pursue have been proposed before by The Militant. The basic problem and issues remain as before.

1. Mass unemployment, estimated at over 6,000,000 at the present time, remains the outstanding phenomenon and cancer of American capitalism. There has been much bally-hoo otherwise, but mass unemployment remains and mounts higher. Cleverness, advertising and now a "Red Scare" have not gone over; Hoover and capitalism are seeking other means to cover up the acute situation. The figures of the Hoover administration, of the U. S. Labor Dept. on unemployment and an alleged rise in industry and business have been challenged from various sources, and have been shown up as valueless, unreliable and untrustworthy.

In New York State, where figures by the State Dept. of Labor have been issued monthly, F. Perkins, State Industrial Commissioner, reports a further increase in unemployment and at the same time challenges the accuracy of the Hoover figures. Reports from other regions are similar, varying in totality of numbers, but revealing essentially the same situation throughout the United States. The need to defend the interests of the unemployed, to unite the organized and unorganized, to get the unions to enter the fight on behalf of the unemployed, to bring together the employed and unemployed, white and colored workers, in common action for demands upon the employers and the government for work or compensation, less hours of labor and speed-up is yet paramount. The Communists remain the main instruments that can give such a movement vitality, purpose and direction, and develop the consciousness of the worker regarding his social position in capitalist society. The basic tasks of the Communists and class-conscious workers remain to explain the causes of unemployment; the failure and inability of capitalism to solve the problem and the Communist solution thereof.

Create United Front Defense Movement

2. Organize a broad UNITED FRONT DEFENSE MOVEMENT to defend the leaders and workers arrested in the unemployment demonstrations and meetings, and in order to make an effective campaign to smash the anti-Communist and anti-labor offensive of the Bosses, the A. F. of L. labor fakers, Woll, Green & Co., and the Government. A sectarian defense movement, limited largely to the Communist party and the I. L. D. with its present narrow line, will defeat its own purpose. Large sections of the labor and liberal movement can be mobilized in such a campaign, if only the official Communist party will permit and not cut such a movement to pieces, as it did, for instance, in the Gastonia textile case. Already liberal elements—professors, scientists, etc.—have protested the Black List and red-baiting campaign of Whalen, et al. The Socialist party has been compelled to declare against the forms of the drive against the Communist movement. The Socialists find it necessary to present a liberal front against reaction, while they at the same time wish to stave off oppressive measures against themselves. Wide circles of labor can be brought into action for a broad UNITED FRONT DEFENSE MOVEMENT, can be made to see that a blow against the Communists by the capitalist reactionaries is a blow against the whole labor movement and the working class. We demand that the Communist party shall discontinue its sectarian policy and make possible the creation of such a movement.

United Front for the Unemployed

3. The unemployed movement under the direction of the Communist must likewise be given room to breathe, must be developed into a United Front movement. In such a movement, the Communists can

easily hold their own and make gains among the workers at the expense of the reformists and labor elements that come into it, provided the Communists use intelligent tactics.

In New York, the Socialists and A. F. of L. unions have organized an Emergency Conference for the Unemployed. We have recommended that the Communists propose a United Front movement to them. It is conceivable that the social-reformist movement will attract the unemployed, albeit they have only reluctantly and under pressure begun such a movement. The Communists will have to find ways and means to penetrate the masses wherever they are. The United Front remains yet in this period the best tactic to achieve contact with the masses and to influence their thought and direction. For the Communist party to continue its ostrich policy, to reject the tactic of the United Front, will result in a number of defeats for itself and the Communist movement in the future; moreover, it will directly affect the adequate defense of the arrested Communists, the attempted frame-ups and the progress of the unemployment movement.

In any case, if the unemployment movement is not to be diverted into channels of reformist illusions, or even directly into capitalist grooves; if there is to be a genuine defense movement; if there is to be an energetic campaign against the efforts of the employers and government to smash the Communist movement, to drive it into illegality, the rank and file of the Communist party must make possible the unity of the Communists in these common needs, and demand at the same time a broad united front movement on the issue of unemployment. —M. A.

Φ

Salvation Army Bread Line Long

NEW YORK—(FP)—Unemployment is from 30 to 35% greater now in New York than it was a year ago, according to a survey conducted by the Salvation Army. Every department maintained by the army for the relief of jobless men is taxed to capacity, its Bowery Hotel has a daily breadline of 1,800 men and all its employment bureaus are swamped with appeals for work.

"Our capacity of 611 beds in the Bowery hotel," said Capt. Paul Brown, "has long been overtaxed and to accommodate homeless men we permit them to sleep on the floor. About 400 of them crowd each night into one large room where they 'flop' on the floor with their clothes on and so close together they can scarcely turn over. Hundreds of others who can find no shelter wander the streets all night."

"From 1,800 to 2,000 men daily stand in the noon breadline. Each man is given a ticket for a free meal, consisting of bread and soup or stew. Each meal costs from 5 to 10 cents."

Φ

THE NEXT ISSUE

1. By L. D. Trotsky—"An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund (Germany)". An article of the utmost importance to all Communists, dealing with the causes of the split in the Leninbund developed by Urbahns. Those who read comrade Trotsky's booklet on the Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition which appeared in the Militant serially, (Vol. II, No. 21-Vol. III, No. 4 inc.), will especially find the "Open Letter" of interest.
2. Another article by Arne Swabeck dealing with phases of American Labor development, the Labor Party, Communist party history and policy, etc.
3. Letters from the Soviet Union, and many other articles on events of the labor and Communist movement.

To make sure to get the next issue, as well as succeeding numbers SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT \$2.00 per year.

Fight Registration of the Foreign-Born

Attempts are again being made by reactionary forces to compel the registration of all non-citizen foreign-born living in the United States. Bills are again before Congress, supported by the Department of Labor, which, if their passage is not prevented by the united efforts of all labor, will establish a vast espionage system primarily aimed to harass and persecute all radical workers and especially the Communists. Advocates of compulsory alien registration who appeared on March 12 before the Senate Immigration Committee were the red-baiter, Capt. Trevor, spokesman for the New York Chamber of Commerce, and Assistant Secretary of Labor Husband, speaking for Secretary of Labor Davis.

The registration of the alien worker, which would be a forerunner for registration of all people in the United States, makes it easy for the employers to persecute and oppress the foreign-born worker particularly. The threat of discrimination, arrest and deportation would always be held as a whip by the employer over the alien worker who fought for betterment of his conditions, wage increases, decrease of hours, for unionization, etc. The employing class and government forces endeavor to sow further division between the native or citizen-workers and the aliens whose interests as exploited workingmen and women are identical and whose actual enemies are the bosses and the government that persecute them on any and every opportunity.

Capitalists Aim to Establish Spy System

Government snoopers, private detective agencies, employers' dicks would be used to intimidate, spy upon and blackmail the alien worker. The Pay-Triots would be given an additional weapon in their hands to fight any progress of labor and would intensify their ranting and violent activities particularly against the revolutionary minded workers. There would develop a vast espionage system over the entire country whose primary task would be the persecution of radically minded workers.

Among the most vicious of the Bills before Congress is the Aswell Bill, H. R. 9101, introduced by Congressman Aswell of Louisiana. It is approved by the Department of Labor, and among its proposals are:

1. Every alien 21 years of age and over must register annually. Failure to register is a crime. Failure to register for 2 years subjects an alien to deportation. The fees are \$2.00 for the first year and \$1.00 for each year thereafter.

2. The certificate must bear the alien's photograph and signature. It must be shown any time on demand to any public officer. All changes in name or physical appearance, together with the record of all arrests and convictions, must be reported to the Commissioner of Naturalization, who is charged with enforcing the law. Violations of the law are made serious crimes.

The movement of the capitalists to put over such measures against labor has been defeated in the past through the strenuous efforts of liberal and labor forces. The reactionaries look to every opportunity to revive and put over registration laws, and all labor must be continually on guard to prevent such attempts. Protests, meetings, resolutions, etc. at union meetings and gatherings, fraternal organizations, to Congress, etc. are among the methods of publicity to be used to protest against any kind of registration bills.

Φ

If the number on your wrapper is

37

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

A Letter To The Italian Left Communists By L. D. TROTSKY

Dear Comrades!

I have just become acquainted with the contents of the document, "Platform of the Left" which, though issued in 1926, has just come into my hands. I have also read your letter addressed to me in No. 20 of *Prometeo*, as well as several leading articles in this paper, this having given me the opportunity, after a very long interruption, to refresh my meager knowledge of the Italian language. This document, as well as the articles and speeches of comrade Bordiga, aside from my personal acquaintance with him, permit me, to a certain extent, to pass judgement upon your basic idea as well as on the degree of your solidarity with us. Although, in order to reply to this last question, not only are the principle theses of importance, but your political orientation towards the events of the day as well. (The Sino-Russian conflict has brought this home clearly to us once again.) Yet I believe that our solidarity at least, goes quite far. If I do not express myself categorically at the present time, it is solely because I wish to permit time and the course of events to substantiate our ideological closeness and our mutual understanding. I hope that they will be completely and lastingly confirmed.

"The Platform of the Left" (1926) made a great impression on me. I believe that it is one of the best documents of the International Opposition, and which, in many points, retains its importance yet.

Particularly important, especially for France, is that the platform lays the most stress, in respect to the revolutionary politics of the proletariat, on the question of the nature of the party and the basic principles of its strategy and tactics. During the past few years we have seen how, in France, the Opposition has served, for a number of well-known revolutionaries, merely as a stage in the evolution from Marxism to Syndicalism, to Trade Unionism, or simply to scepticism. Almost all of them stumbled on the question of the party.

The Nature of the Party

You are evidently familiar with the brochure of Loriot wherein he demonstrates his complete lack of understanding of the nature of the Party and its historic function in relation to the class and falls into the theory of passive trade unionism, which has nothing in common with the ideas of the proletarian revolution. Unfortunately, this brochure, which represents a distinctly backward step in the working class movement is today still being propagated by the *Revolutions Proletarienne* group.

The decline in the ideological level of the revolutionary movement during the past five or six years has left its mark on the *Monatte* group. This group, which, between 1917 and 1923, approached close to Marxism and Bolshevism, has since taken a series of backward steps towards syndicalism. All this is no longer the aggressive syndicalism of the beginning of this century which constituted a step forward in the French working class movement. No, this is a relatively waiting syndicalism, negatively passive, which almost always degenerates into pure trade unionism. And this is not surprising. Whatever progressivism was present in pre-war syndicalism has now been absorbed into Communism. *Monatte's* chief shortcoming is his false attitude towards the Party, and connected with that, his fetishism of the "trade union organization", which he takes as an end in itself, independent of its directing concepts. Nevertheless, if the two French "General Trade Unions" would unite today, and even if tomorrow they would draw into their ranks the entire French working class, that would not for one instant do away with the question of the directing ideas of the syndicalist struggles, its methods, the linking up of the immediate tasks with those of a general character, i. e., the question of the Party.

(To the Adherents of Comrade Bordiga)

The Syndicalist League, led by *Monatte* is in itself an embryo party; it recruits its members, not on a trade union basis, but on an ideological basis, on the basis of a particular platform, and seeks to influence the trade unions from without or, when possible, to subordinate them to its ideological influence. These are the indices of a party. But the Syndicalist League is a party without a finished constitution, having no definite form, which is clear in neither theory nor program, which has not become conscious of itself, which hides its true nature, and so deprives itself of all possibility for development.

Souvarine, in the course of the struggle against the bureaucracy and disloyalty of the apparatus of the C. I., has likewise come to a denial of the political action of the Party itself, though by a different route. While proclaiming the death of the International and its French section, he at the same time considers the existence of the Opposition to be useless since, according to him, the political conditions are unsuitable. In other words, he denies the necessity for the existence of the Party—which always, and under all circumstances, represents the revolutionary interests of the proletariat.

These are the reasons why I attach such importance to our solidarity on the questions of the Party, its historic role, its unceasing activity, its duty to struggle in order to insure its influence in all phases of the working class movement. On this question a Bolshevik, i. e., a revolutionary Marxist trained in the school of Lenin, can make no concessions.

Theoretical Perversions of Stalinism

On several points, the Platform, of 1926 gives some excellent formulations which still hold true today. It states with absolute clearness that the so-called "autonomous peasant parties inevitably fall under the influence of the counter-revolution" (p. 36). One can fearlessly say, that in the present epoch, there have been and can be no exceptions to this rule. Where the peasantry does not follow the proletariat, they follow the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Despite the experiences of Russia and China, *Radek*, *Smilga* and *Preobrazhensky* have not yet realized that it is on just this point that they tripped up. Your platform reproaches *Radek* for "open concessions to the German nationalists". To that must be added the indefensible concessions to the Chinese nationalists, the idealization of *Sun-Yat-Senism*, and the justification of the subordination of the Communist party to a bourgeois party. Your platform correctly stresses, in connection with the struggle of colonial peoples, the necessity for the absolute independence of the Communist party. Failure to keep sight of this essential rule leads to the most disastrous consequences as was demonstrated in the criminal subordination of the Chinese Communist party to the Kuomintang.

The disastrous tactics of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which, it goes without saying, has received the complete support of the present leadership of the Italian Communist party, resulted from the desire to rapidly pass from the insignificant Communist party into the large trade unions. *Zinoviev* openly expressed this idea at the Fifth Congress of the International. *Stalin*, *Bucharin*, *Tomsky* have sustained these same illusions. With what results? The British reformists were strengthened, and the British Communist party was extremely weakened. That is what results from playing with the concept of the Party. Such a game does not remain forever unpunished.

Within the Soviet Republic we note another form of weakening and destruction of the Communist party: in order to divest it of its proper individuality and independence, it is artificially diluted into the large spiritless mass who are terror-

ized by the governmental apparatus. This explains why the Opposition which has gathered and educated new revolutionary cadres numbered only in the thousands is in actuality the Bolshevik party, while the *Stalin* faction which carries on formally in the name of a Party of 1,500,000 members, and of a Communist youth of 2,000,000 strong, in reality undermines and destroys the Party.

The Class Character of the U. S. S. R.

I note with satisfaction, on the basis of your letter published in *Prometeo* that you are in complete accord with the Opposition on the question of the definition of the social nature of the Soviet State. On this question, the ultra-Leftists (see *L'Ouvrier Communiste*, No. 1) reveal with absolute clearness their complete break with the fundamentals of Marxism.

The question of the class character of a social regime rests on the question of its political structure which in turn falls back on the degree of bureaucracy and administration. As far as they are concerned, the question of the ownership of the means of production does not exist. In democratic America, as well as in Fascist Italy, those who are accused of preparing the expropriation of the factories, the shops and mines of the capitalists—are shot or fastened to the electric chair. In the Soviet Republic even today—under the *Stalinist* bureaucracy—the engineers who attempt to prepare the restitution of the shops, the factories and the mines to their former owners are shot. How can one fail to distinguish this fundamental difference which actually defines the class character of the social regime? Nevertheless, I shall not expound too lengthily upon this question, to which I devoted my recent brochure (*The Defense of the U. S. S. R. and the Opposition*) (Published serially in the *Militant*, Vol. II, No. 21, Vol. III, No. 4, Incl.—Eds.) directed against certain French and German ultra-Leftists who, it is true, do not go as far as your Italian sectarians, but who, for just this reason, can be more dangerous.

The Analogy of Thermidor

On the question of Thermidor, you make certain reservations as regards the correctness of the analogy between the Russian Revolution and the French Revolution. I believe that this observation rests on a misunderstanding. In order to judge of the correctness of historic analogy, we must clearly determine its content and limits. Not to have recourse to analogies with revolutions of the past, would be to completely abandon the historical experience of mankind. The experiences of today are always different from those of yesterday. Nevertheless, one cannot learn from yesterday's experiences except through analogies.

The remarkable brochure of *Engels* on the Peasant War is based completely upon an analogy between the Reformation of the Sixteenth century and the Revolution of 1848. In order to temper the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *Marx* heated his iron in the fire of 1793. In 1903 *Lenin* defined the Social-democratic revolutionary as a Jacobin loosely tied with the mass movements. At that time I objected to him in an academic manner that Jacobinism and scientific socialism rest on different classes and make use of different methods. Considered in itself this is evidently correct. But *Lenin* did not identify the plebeians of Paris with the modern proletariat and *Rousseau's* theory with that of *Marx*.

He laid down as conclusive only the general features of the two revolutions: the most oppressed masses who had nothing to lose but their chains; the most revolutionary organizations which supported themselves on the masses and which, in the struggle against the forces of the former society, set up a revolutionary dic-

tatorship. Was this analogy correct? Completely. Historically, it has proven very fruitful. Within the same limits, the analogy with Thermidor is fruitful and justifiable. What was the distinctive feature of the French Thermidor? It was the first stage of the victorious counter-revolution. After the Thermidor, the Jacobins could no longer have (if they could have in a general manner) regained power except by means of their own uprising. Thus, the stage of Thermidor has, in a certain sense, a distinctive character. But the counter-revolution was not yet completed that is, the real masters of the situation were not yet in power; for that the next stage was necessary.

What is Thermidor?

Finally, the complete victory of the counter-revolution, bringing with it the restoration of the monarchy, the indemnification of feudal landlords, etc., was assured by the foreign intervention and the victory over Napoleon. In Hungary, after a short period of Soviet power, the counter-revolution was established completely after a single armed blow. Are we to expect a similar danger in the U. S. S. R.? Certainly not. But anyone can recognize open counter-revolution; it does not require any commentaries.

When we speak of Thermidor, we have in mind an underhand counter-revolution, clandestinely prepared, and which is accomplished in several stages. The first stage, which we call conditionally Thermidor, would signify the transfer of power to the hands of new "soviet" rulers—disguised factions within the leading party, as was the case with the Jacobins. The reign of these rulers, especially if they be weak, could not long prevail. Either, under favorable international conditions the revolution would return to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably necessitate the use of revolutionary force; or, the victory of the big bourgeoisie, of finance capital, or even of monarchy would be achieved, the latter necessitating a supplementary revolution, or perhaps even two.

This is the substance of the analogy with Thermidor. Naturally, if we go beyond the permissible limitations of the analogy, if we orientate ourselves purely on the mechanical externals of events, on dramatic episodes, we can easily become lost and mislead others. But if we consider the class relationships, the analogy is no less profitable than, for example, the analogy which *Engels* drew between the Reformation and the Revolution of 1848.

The Stalinist Leadership of Italy

I have read recently the first issue of the publication which I have already mentioned—the *Communist Worker* (*L'Ouvrier Communiste*), obviously published by a group of Italian ultra-Leftists who have separated from your organization. Without other indications, this issue by itself would be sufficient proof that we are in a period of decadence and ideological confusion—the result that always follows major revolutionary defeats. The group publishing this paper seems to have undertaken to unite in one whole all the faults of out-of-date syndicalism, adventurism, left phrases, sectarianism and theoretical confusionism, while stamping it all with the mark of student carelessness and trouble-breeding quarrels. Two columns from this publication suffice to make it clear why this group broke with your organization, a Marxist organization; although it is rather amusing to see how they exert themselves to cover themselves with *Marx* and *Engels*.

As far as the official leadership of the Italian party is concerned, I had no opportunity to observe them except at the E. C. C. I. in the person of *Ercoli*. Of a relatively yielding temper and with a well-oiled tongue, *Ercoli* is fitted, above all others, to prepare an attorney's speech made to order on any subject, and is of

(Continued on Page 6)

Letters from the Soviet Union

The Five Year Plan And the Kulaks

At double pace the voids caused by the unfitness of the 5 year plan are being filled in haphazard and uncertainly. Suddenly half a million rubles are withdrawn from the food cooperatives; now, a figure of such magnitude has never been so easily conjured with in any plan. Wholesale prices are being increased. (You recall this was "a Trotskyist fraud", according to the Stalinist theory). What is more, this increase is retroactive. For all selling organizations, a revision of accounts is being made. Speed was ordered for those two measures and at the same time the press was kept quiet. How much ink was poured out against the rise in wholesale prices when it had been proposed by the Opposition not as a panic measure but in the name of economic foresight. All the symptoms of instability are clearly present...

Here is an extract of the leading article of a country newspaper of a hundred percent collectivized district: "The Kulaks and the middle peasants fraudulently kill their cattle..."

"The Kulak spirit has penetrated all departments of the local government (all this in hundred percent collectivized districts). They kill the horses of their own volition, cattle are chased into the forests and the valleys where they die of cold. In the forest of ... there are two hundred abandoned horses". And yet Pravda, full of authority, shows that if the middle peasant strangles his cattle, it is because he is firmly decided to enter the cooperative and this is why, before leaving, he liquidates his cattle! The base for the new adventurist bond of centrism is a break with the middle peasantry. Instead of squarely facing this difficulty, the Centrists think that a theory, scholastically elaborated and administratively applied, that is, collectivization, can strike from the order of the day the fundamental question of irregular relations of the classes in the country. With this new formula they expect to exorcise the truth.

As I already said, the class relations in the country are disturbed. I believe that the offensive of classes hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, under the guise of civil war supported by external intervention. Actually great confusion reigns in the circles of the Party base. This brings in a new stage in our work. It is necessary to leave home for free air. Some prefer to remain in waiting—because it is more dignified and more peaceful. We must break with them because passivity becomes a chronic disease. It is a serious danger. To enter the new activity a very precise and pointed appeal must be written. The country is being led towards catastrophe with bandaged eyes. The working class must take the fate of the U. S. S. R. in its own hands. The appeal must be made not only to Russia but to the international proletariat. The dictatorship is in danger. It can be saved only by bringing it to the Leninist path. Now, many signs show that interest in Leninism and the proposals of the Opposition are rapidly growing. Our appeal can and must play an enormous role.

As in one of Andersen's fairy tales (The Emperor's New Clothes), at the most solemn moment of the imperial procession our appeal must shout: "But Centrism is completely naked!" In Stalin's speeches it is stated that a completely new course is being instituted, that is, the liquidation of the NEP. That which interests me, above all, is to know whether this course is the product of an unavoidable necessity, of a blind alley which does not permit of maneuvering with respect to the peasant class, or whether it is a product of the theory of socialism in one country.

If one holds to the official ideas, to the phraseology of the leaders, it appears to originate from a "voluntary desire". Thus it is an adventure which allows of the catastrophes being foreseen. But many signs indicate that it is the result of the

precedent "no snail". (Allusion to "We shall construct socialism, even at a snail's pace" of Bucharin—N. D. L. R.) The verification of the theory of socialism in one country, whose hour is close, will show its complete failure.

Φ

Stalin Endangers the Proletarian Dictatorship

January 25

I am sending you some bits of news. First, the oldest: at the October celebrations about a thousand of our comrades were "withdrawn from circulation" throughout the Union. This is very gladdening, isn't it? This shows the good feeling that still prevails. You certainly know that a short while ago the two musketeers (Zinoviev and Kamenev) issued a declaration whereby they once again (how many times already?) rejoined the Party. This is what took place. When Zinoviev had to present his statement at the purging of his nucleus, a great number of members showed up; he was given 20 minutes. He started out in this manner. "To narrate my autobiography would be to give the entire history of the Party." This introduction was greeted with applause. After 20 minutes he had not yet reached the Third Party Congress. His time for speaking was extended. He harangued for three hours. His speech was often interrupted by applause. At the end of his speech, he made it clear, with carefully chosen phrases, that the Opposition, although it had made some mistakes, had in general been correct. "Thus," he concluded, "we were fighting not against the Party but against the Right wing." The next day he was called before the powers above who washed his head, black soap being necessary. Then he entered his declaration. The secretary of his nucleus was designated as conciliator.

With Kamenev, matters were entirely different. During the purging, he was given six minutes to state his position and not a second longer. But a private paper was stolen from his house in some unknown manner (he has certainly no luck with private papers). In this paper, among other things appeared this phrase: "L. D. (Trotsky) was right in saying 'In the Party nothing can really be achieved.'" The matter of this paper was brought up in the Political Bureau. They even wished to expel Kamenev. But he had opportunely written his statement, and the tempest subsided. This is how the "sages" of the Party conduct themselves. Their life is droll indeed. It is enough to drive one to drink.

Morale of Opposition Excellent

As for ourselves, our morale is excellent. We are following the advice of old Spinoza which you suggested to us: "Not to weep; not to laugh; but to understand." As for weeping, we don't weep. As for laughing, at times we do laugh. One cannot help laughing, however much it may be mixed with bitterness, when one reads in Pravda that the middle peasant is killing his cattle and liquidating his possessions because he firmly intends to join the Collective. He sacrifices his cattle because of enthusiasm. Seized with the sacred fervor of "socialist construction" and the "general line" he sells everything in order to prepare himself for complete collectivization. One cannot help laughing at the "Marxist explanation" given to these disturbing phenomena. As for what concerns the "to understand" of Spinoza, we understand the situation thus:

The plan to appeal to the Party and to the working class must be realized in the quickest possible time. This appeal must be in as brief form as possible in order that it may affect the entire working class, the entire Party. We must tell the "Chief" (the Central Committee) not only the objective causes but also those who are directly responsible, denouncing them by name.

In this appeal light must be thrown

upon the following: the Party regime, the situation of the working class, the industrialization, the complete collectivization, the situation in the country, the command to wipe out the Kulak and the Nepman as a class at a time when, thanks to the Centrist policies, the middle and poor peasants are lined up against us and when, still thanks to these same policies, the ties with the working class are beginning to weaken. We must shout at the top of our voices that Centrism is on the road to cutting down the branch on which rests the entire Soviet regime.

The Slogans of the Opposition

In a word we must say that Stalin is destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat. It seems to me that in this appeal, we must also point out in what manner it will be possible to get out of the impasse into which Centrism has led the Party and the country. The issues will concern the betterment of the position of the working class in the political and economic field, workers democracy, secret ballot in the Party and possibly in the trade unions, and a Leninist course in the country. As for the administrative introduction of socialism into the country on a very weak technical base, a sharp end must be put to this stupidity. The order for the complete collectivization must be abandoned. We could break our heads on this course. The order for the liquidation of the Kulak through orders from above, when the

with the poor and middle peasantry is being weakened and when the working class is undergoing increased pressure from the apparatus, must be condemned as adventurist. The slogans "Long live the 5-day week; down with uninterrupted work; long live the collective rest of the workers;" must be put forward. We must warn the working class that after the present ultra-Leftist course, Centrism can, with the same facility, introduce a new NEP.

It is certainly necessary to stress the fact that events are confirming our Plat form.

The putchist tactics of Molotov result in the decomposition of the Eastern Parties. A great deal of attention must be given to the questions concerning the Communist International, as they deserve. The Opposition must be reintegrated. The Party must be left to its own course. We must appeal to all the workers to drive out the stranglers of proletarian democracy. We must appeal to the workers to purge, without waiting for authorization from above, the Party, the trade unions and the Soviets, of the Thermidorian bureaucratic scum. We must state openly that the present leadership is leading the country and the dictatorship of the proletariat towards destruction, and that their policies are paving the way for counter-revolution in the country.

Yours,

S.

Employment Sharks Exposed

Ry Federated Press

Admissions in the United States Senate that "known unemployment is now 3,100,000," while "the actual unemployment is twice that amount," give tragic emphasis to a report on fraudulent practices of private employment agencies just issued by the American Assn. for Labor Legislation, in New York.

The report, prepared by George H. Trafton, summarizes hundreds of pages of information buried in the unpublished proceedings of the New York State Industrial Survey Commission. "Witness after witness testifying under oath," says Trafton "described flagrant abuses practiced by some of these commercial enterprises, conclusively demonstrating that the fee-charging employment agency business is still infested with unscrupulous characters who do not hesitate to mulct the helpless, and who find the jobless worker an easy victim."

One of the most common complaints before the commission was misrepresentation of jobs. "Witnesses testified," says Trafton, "that after paying fees they had been sent to jobs which obviously they could not fill and for which they had not applied." Others swore that they had been sent off to temporary positions which had been represented to them as "permanent." Some told of going to distant cities for jobs which did not even exist. Still others testified that "the wages paid on the job were much lower than the agency had represented."

Theft of fees, collected in advance for jobs, but not returned as the law requires when no job was found, was also charged against the private agencies. Sometimes the employment sharks flatly refused to return the fees. At other times they would send the disappointed workers off on other wild goose chases. In this way, one witness stated "they would keep the men going back and forth until they got tired so that they would not come any more and they would not go back for their fee." Another witness reported having "seen fellows thrown down the stairs," when seeking return of their money.

Employers in on Gypping Game

Charges of fee-splitting with employers or foremen, repeatedly made against the private employment sharks in the past, are confirmed by this latest report. Under the fee-splitting system, the boss fires the worker after a few days, and asks the

labor-agent for another man. From each man who is sent to the job the agent collects a fee, which he divides with the employer who obligingly makes the vacancy for him. Thus, as one expert has put it, the employment shark "has three men for each job—one on the way to the job, one on the job and one on the way home from the job". An investigator in Buffalo testified before the commission that in one case he had "affidavits of the man who saw the actual payment of money by the fee-charging agent to the employer".

During the investigation, the United States Supreme Court handed down the typically capitalist-minded decision that the fees charged by private employment agents are not subject to regulation by law. Hence the agencies can charge the workers their very eye-teeth for a short-lived chance to be exploited. One instance is cited of a "woman who paid \$18 for a job which lasted only two weeks; so that her job cost her half of the total wages received. She returned to the agency, but received neither another position nor a refund."

Sending of girls or women to immoral resorts is also a standing grievance against the private agents investigated in the report.

Φ

HALF MILLION STRIKERS IN INDIA IN 1929

WASHINGTON—Half a million workers in India went on strike in 1929, in some 140 industrial disputes, according to a report cabled to the Department of Commerce from its agent at Calcutta.

"The unsettled labor situation is not expected to improve materially in the near future," this agent reported, "as the growing demand of labor for higher wages to improve living conditions will no doubt continue to make for protracted strikes."

Φ

JOBLESS COSTS ON CHARITY MOUNT

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—Unemployment is responsible for 60 cents of every dollar the Provident Assn., local family case work society, is spending for relief nowadays. One third, or 33 cents, of each relief dollar is the average spent the two-year period 1928-29 on families whose need was caused by the wage earner's lack of a job. Each winter the proportion chargeable to joblessness rises sharply, but this winter it has climbed to unprecedented heights.

PITTSBURGH CABMEN FIGHT TRAITORS

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—Unable to smash the solidarity of the striking taxi drivers' ranks by a frontal offensive, the Parmelee Transportation Co. is resorting to innuendoes aimed at the strike leaders. Letters have been mailed to all the cabmen with photostats of correspondence between organizers and officials of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs union.

One letter, signed by Pres. Daniel J. Tobin of the Teamsters Intl. criticizes the Pittsburgh teamsters' secretary for admitting the taxi men into a teamsters' local. "I advise you now that you had no business to admit those taxicab drivers into your local union, as this is in direct violation of your charter rights," warns Tobin. "Such action on your part without the consent and approval of the international executive board is a violation of the laws of the international union. It is not the policy of the international union to admit to membership men while they are on strike as I told you in our conversation over the long distance phone."

This letter carries the Parmelee caption: Proof of How Your Are Being Misled! Another letter, intercepted by Parmelee spies, refers to the payment of \$500 by the teamsters' local secretary to the strike committee. It carries the unwarranted Parmelee caption: These men Eat Whether You Do or Not!

The company's extensive undercover department, working incessantly to corrupt individual strikers, has been able to reach only five so far. These five were disciplined by the union for counterfeiting tickets for a benefit. Thereupon Parmelee took them openly on the payroll, opened office and installed the five Judases as a "Back to Work Committee."

The Hearst Sun-Telegraph, anxious to discredit the strikers at every turn, has hailed this committee as indicative of the early end of the strike. The strikers' answer was to order the arrest of the quintet on embezzlement charges. Their own solidarity against the company's insidious efforts was shown recently when a company settlement was turned down with only one dissenting vote.

Φ

ATLANTA—The Georgia Federation of Labor will hold its annual convention April 16 at Waycross.

Naval Conference Talks On

New attempts at the revival of the London Naval Conference, after its sudden collapse in recent weeks, continue to make little or no headway. Almost two months of sessions find the conference today no further than when it began. The dispatch of Balderston, in the New York World (3-14-36) makes the following characterization: "The London Naval Conference still lives tonight, although it is fighting for its life."

Realizing this condition, the capitalist powers are trying in every conceivable manner to adjust things so that the failures of the conference shall not be too glaring. The attitude prevails that "at least something ought to be done."

The various powers distrust one another. This was evident in refusals to entertain political pacts among themselves. The French proposals for a political pact between her and England on the one hand, and with the United States on the other, netted nothing. Neither the United States nor Great Britain are ready to accept such political alignments at this stage, and declare by their actions that at this juncture of the war preparations, such steps are premature. The failure of political pacts, while adding to the further crisis in the conference, reopened again the "discussions" on limitations.

In the meantime the conference sessions have been postponed in favor of preliminary discussions between the individual powers with the hope of arriving at some minimum agreements with which to continue with the conference proper. These too, have made no progress.

The main handicap continues to be the failure of the Italians to put their cards on the table, giving figures as to what the Mussolini government considers essential to the security of Italy, it is said. So far, the Italians continue to insist on parity with France as the first essential to an agreement on the Mediterranean. In this manner the N. Y. Times pictures the present situation. The French refuse to budge from their original proposal calling for a 725,000 naval tonnage. Neither will Italy accept any reduction from parity with France. A condition for France's reduction would be a similar decrease on the part of England and the

United States, which is a very unlikely change.

With the apparent impossibility to attain a 5-power treaty, steps have already been taken to arrive at a three party agreement between the United States, Great Britain and Japan. At this writing negotiations on this basis have proceeded and brought with it a renewed attempt to bring about agreement between France and Italy. A three-power treaty would result in an increase of antagonisms. This would mean that France and Italy, without feeling the atmosphere of the conference, would enter into a heated rave in construction which would in turn be counteracted by increased building on the part of the members of the three-power treaty.

It is becoming more and more evident that the outcome of the conference will fail to hit its intended mark. Neither of the powers will budge from their demands of sufficient "security". Edwin James in the New York Times (3-14-36) says, "Looking at the conference broadly, there still exists a possibility of making a limitation treaty here, but there seems no chance at all of registering any reduction in the sum total of the world's war craft."

The conference has thus far failed to make any progress; on the contrary it sustains the contentions of the Communists that such conferences of the capitalist powers, are held to bring confusion in the ranks of the working class and to cover the war plans of the imperialists. The unmasking of these attempts at deluding the masses is the task of the Communists.

Φ

MILWAUKEE COPS ABUSE CHILDREN IN JAIL

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Police beat and abused eight children, arrested with 60 adults in the unemployment demonstration March 6, it was revealed when the demonstrators were released from the Milwaukee jail. Twenty five of the adults were charged with rioting and 35 with vagrancy, presumably because of their unemployment. Six were given six months in jail as one way out of solving their individual unemployment problems and 18 got three months each.

THE ABERLE MILL STRIKE IN PHILLY

(Continued from Page 1)

dustrial Philadelphia, but the Communist party here has never discovered this.

Lovestone and Foster yesmen, who as District Organizers, have so gallantly paraded through this city—Bentall, Tallentire, Weisbord, Jakira, Bail, Benjamin and now Gardos, never penetrated into this vast unknown hinterland. Yet, every nationally known Philadelphia product, except Baldwin Locomotives, Kirschbaum Clothes and Scott's Sanitissue, is manufactured in Kensington. Miles of streets are lined with textile mills and the homes of textile workers. Here Stetson Hats are made which are carried around the world by ships built in Cramps Shipyard. The vast coal and grain piers of the Reading R. R. and the world-known Disston Saw works are both manned by Kensington workers. There is probably no larger nor more fully proletarian unit in America.

Kensington is very largely populated by the descendants of Scotch, Irish and English textile emigrants, for, before the Southward movement, it was the greatest textile center in the country. There is a scattering of other nationalities, but it is typically American in its entirety. It is the proper base for the working class movement in the Philadelphia industrial area.

Philadelphia's Labor Record

It is generally believed outside of Philadelphia that it is a city of scabs. Whatever truth there may be in this, certainly does not apply to Kensington. It has always been strongly union. When the textile industry was in its prime there were probably 75,000 organized workers in that industry most of whom lived and

worked in Kensington. This had its natural reflex in helping other workers, such as barbers, bartenders, store clerks to unite. During the great car strike, Kensington was an armed camp. Police, state constabulary, National Guard, occupied the streets of the section, and riots were continuous. Ashwagons drivers dumped their loads upon the tracks while women from nearby houses brought oil and gasoline out to burn the stalled cars to the ground. The Cumberland Street carbarn was only comparable to a Belgian fortress on the German frontier. IF THE A. F. OF L. HAD HAD A CLASS VIEW INSTEAD OF A CRAFT OUTLOOK, Kensington could have been organized 100%. Hundreds of lesser struggles attest the fighting qualities of these workers. The outlaw railway strike closed the Reading shops in Kensington, while the last strike at Cramps is a labor classic.

The pitifully inadequate leadership and the wrong policies of the Communist party are here most clearly shown. After ten years of existence in Philadelphia they have absolutely no connection with its most militant workers. Hand picked D. O.s sent here to keep in order political fences have never troubled themselves with little things like this. The handful who did realize the importance of Kensington were given no aid or encouragement. In fact some who were too insistent in demanding that real work be done were driven from the Party.

Left Wing Isolated; Fakery Pleaded

Where is the National Textile Union in a situation of such magnitude? If it has any existence, except on paper, in this great textile city, the writer is unaware of it. It has not appeared in the Aberle

It has doubtless been a great relief to the A. F. of L. fatboys, McMahon and Co, that the Communists have so kindly withdrawn from the field. It's tough enough to try to keep in hand a bunch like these Kensington workers, who, despite all the advice of their officials, have insisted on making this strike real, who, in defiance of injunctions have made mass demonstrations around the mill, 60 of them being arrested recently at one time. It's worth a \$10,000 yearly salary to work that hard, without having a lot of Communists in the union counteracting every effort toward peaceful class collaboration. One can almost hear them breathe, "Thank thee, oh God, for the blessed third period."

Of course, if one reads the Daily Worker, another impression might be gotten. At first the Party press virtually ignored the strike. Now, to cover up the inactivity of the Party and the N. T. W., stupid and lying stories are carried. This gets nobody anywhere. For instance, the Daily Worker captioned, "Thousands led by N. T. W. U. fight Aberle scabs." An untruth out of the whole cloth, concocted presumably by the Party to cover up the failure of the N. T. W. textile organizer, Murdock. On a few occasions, Party members, not textile workers, have made futile gestures by distributing denunciatory leaflets. The capitalist press has not even mentioned them, and the capitalist is not likely to overlook any bet to scare up a RED issue in the strike. Of the 92 strikers arrested, none are reported as being members of the Party or N. T. W. U. The funeral demonstration, sadly enough, was an A. F. of L. affair entirely. The Mayor, the police and the A. F. of L. fatboys realize the volcano underlying the situation and cooperate in every way to provide a safety valve that would harmlessly—for them—let off steam. The rest

Marion Workers Discuss New Strike

MARION, N. C.—(FP)—This mill town is seething with excitement, both among the blacklisted strikers of last summer and the workers employed in the Marion and Clinchfield mills. Announcement by the mill managements that the stretchout system is to be put back into effect has caused threats of a strike. Before and after work the workers are seen knotted in small groups discussing the new order.

One hundred and thirty families numbering 735 men, women and children are facing starvation here. They are the victims of strikes at the two scab mills. Evicted from company owned shacks, they are now living in dugouts, barns and abandoned shacks, as many as 14 adults and children in two rooms.

Φ

A Letter to the Italian Left Communists

(Continued from Page 4)

the type to carry out orders. The sterile quibbling of his speeches, always definitively directed to the defense of opportunism, is the exact opposite of the vigorous, strongly-marked and fruitful revolutionary thought of Amedeo Bordiga. By the way, is it not Ercoli who tried to adapt to Italy the idea of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" under the slogan of the Italian Constituent Assembly supported by a "worker-peasant body"?

On the questions of the U. S. S. R., the Chinese revolution, the British general strike, the revolution in Poland, or the struggle against Italian fascism, Ercoli, as well as the other leaders in the bureaucratic machine, invariably began by adopting an opportunist line and eventually rectified it by means of ultra-Left adventure. It appears that at present, that variety is again in season.

Having thus on the one side Centrists of the Ercoli type, and on the other side ultra-Left confusionists, you are called upon, comrades, under the difficult conditions of the fascist dictatorship, to defend the historic interests of the Italian proletariat and of the international proletariat. With all my heart I wish you good luck and success.

Yours,

L. Trotsky

Constantinople, September 25, 1929.

of the Daily Worker reports are in line with the above quotation. As for an occasional leaflet distribution, this is not the equivalent or substitute for persistent, solid, systematic work among the workers.

Establish Roots among the Workers

What's to be done? There is but one possible course. The Party must be re-orientated. Its roots must be firmly planted in Kensington. The work that should have been done years ago, must be begun at this time. The policy of working also within the A. F. of L. must be revived.

If the Party in Philadelphia had adopted a correct attitude years ago, it would have established bases in Kensington and picked up the broken threads of the S. P. It would have built an influence, that, by the time of the Passaic textile strike would have enabled it to have reached masses of Philadelphia textile workers, and have secured their hearty cooperation, both organizationally and financially. The Party today would be in a position to have occupied a leading position in the recent great demonstration. When Weisbord finally came to Philly, he spent his time in factional politics, as did all the other apparatus men who followed him.

If such preparatory work had been properly carried out during the past years, so-called unemployment demonstrations staged here lately at the City Hall, could have been real. There are tens of thousands of unemployed in Kensington. Whole families are unemployed and starving. Thousands of them have lost the equities they had in homes sold out at sheriff's sales.

Will the value of this lesson be lost? It is for the Communist and the Left wing to turn seriously to the task of obtaining a base among the most exploited sections of the Philadelphia working class, especially in the Kensington area.

WITH LENIN AGAINST STALIN WOMEN SUFFER IN PRESENT ERA

By L. D. TROTSKY

(The following is a chapter from a large work, "THE REVOLUTION DISFIGURED" by L. D. Trotsky. This book will shortly be published by The MILITANT in an inexpensive edition, and will include documents from the archives of the Comintern, speeches of L. D. Trotsky, Lenin and other valuable material never as yet published by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. The book will shed a penetrating light on the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution perpetrated by Stalin and his scribblers, Yaroslavsky, et al. The section here printed is addressed by comrade Trotsky to the Bureau of Party History of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party: Concerning the Falsification of the History of the October Insurrection, the History of the Revolution and the History of the Party"—Ed.)

I will not quote here Lenin's principal letter against Stalin on the national question. It is printed in the stenographic reports of the plenum of July 26, and moreover, it is being passed around in separate leaflets. They will fail to conceal that letter. But there are other documents on the same theme, completely unknown to the Party. Arkhivarius and the historians of the Stalin school are taking every measure to prevent those documents from appearing. They will continue to do so. They are quite capable, in fact, of simply destroying them.

For that reason I think it is necessary to quote here the most important excerpts from the early letter of Lenin, and the answer of Stalin, on the question of the structure of the Soviet Union. Lenin's letter, dated September 27, 1922, was addressed to comrade Kamenev, a copy being sent to all the members of the Politburo. Here is the beginning of the letter:

"You probably have received already from Stalin the resolution of his commission on the admission of the independent republics into the Soviet Union.

"If you have not received it, get it from the secretary and please read it immediately. I spoke about it yesterday with Sokolnikov, today with Stalin, tomorrow I will see Mdivani (a Georgian Communist suspected of advocating 'independence').

"In my opinion the question is supremely important. Stalin has a slight aspiration toward hurry. You must think it over well. Zinoviev too. (You once had the intention to take this matter up and did so to some extent.)

"Stalin has already agreed to one concession, in Section I, instead of saying 'entry' into the R. S. F. S. R. to say 'formal unification' with the R. S. F. S. R. in a union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia. I trust the spirit of this concession is obvious. We acknowledge ourselves on an equal basis with the Ukrainian Republic and other Republics, and together with them on the basis of equality we enter into a new union, a new federation, the Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia."

There follows a whole series of Lenin's corrections made in the same spirit. In the concluding part of his letter Lenin says:

"Stalin agrees to postpone introducing the resolution in the Politburo until my arrival. I arrive Monday, October 2. I should like to have an interview with you and Rykov for a couple of hours—in the morning, say from one to two, and, if necessary in the evening, say five to seven, or six to eight.

"Here is my preliminary project. On the basis of a conversation with Mdivani and other comrades I will fight for it and change it. I urge you to do the same and answer me.

"Yours,
"Lenin

"P. S. Send copies to ALL members of the Politburo."

Stalin sent his answer to Lenin to the members of the Politburo on the same day, September 27, 1922. I quote from his answer two important passages:

"Lenin's corrections to paragraph 2, proposing to create along with the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Republic, a Central Executive Committee of the Federation, should not, in my opinion, be adopted. The existence of two Central Executive Committees in Moscow, one of which will obviously represent a 'lower house' and the other an 'upper house' will give us nothing but conflict and debate."

And further:

"4. On the subject of paragraph 4, in my opinion, comrade Lenin himself 'hurried' a little, demanding a fusion of the commissariats of finance, food supply, labor and people's economy with the commissariats of the Federation. There is hardly a doubt that this 'hurriedness' will supply fuel to the advocates of 'independence' to the detriment of the national liberalism of Lenin.

5. Lenin's correction to paragraph 5, is in my opinion superfluous.

"J. Stalin"

This extraordinarily illuminating correspondence, concealed from the Party, like many other documents, preceded the famous letter of Lenin on the national question. In his remarks upon Stalin's draft, Lenin is exceptionally reserved and gentle in his expression. Lenin still hoped, in that period, to adjust the matter without a big conflict. He gently accuses Stalin of "hurrying". Stalin's accusation against Mdivani of "independence" Lenin places in quotation marks, obviously disassociating himself from that accusation. Moreover, Lenin especially emphasizes the fact that he will introduce his accusation on the basis of conversations with Mdivani and other comrades.

Stalin's answer, on the contrary, is marked by rudeness; the concluding phrases of the fourth point, is especially worthy of attention:

"There is hardly a doubt that this 'hurriedness' will supply fuel to the advocates of 'independence' to the detriment of the national liberalism (!) of Lenin."

Thus Lenin had arrived to the point of being accused of national liberalism.

The further course of the struggle about the national question showed Lenin that he could not straighten things out by means of inside and, so to speak, family methods of influencing Stalin, that it was necessary to appeal to the congress and to the Party. With this purpose, Lenin wrote in several installments, his letters on the national question.

Vladimir Illych attributed enormous importance to the "Georgian" question, not only because he feared the consequences of a false national policy in Georgia—a fear which has been wholly confirmed—but also because upon that question was revealed to him the falseness of Stalin's whole course on the national question, and not only the national question. The big fundamental letter of Lenin on the national question is concealed from the Party to this day. The pretence that Lenin did not intend his letter to be read to the Party is false to the bottom. Did Lenin intend his remarks in notebooks and on the borders of the books he read to be published? The fact is that you publish everything whatever which directly or indirectly strikes at the Opposition, but you hide the letter of Lenin giving his fundamental program on the national question.

Here are two quotations from this letter:

"I think that here the hastiness and administrative impulsiveness of Stalin played a fatal role, and also his spite against the notorious 'social chauvinism'. Spitefulness in general plays the worst

possible role in politics." (From Lenin's note of December 30, 1922.)

And here in more exact terms:

"It is of course necessary to hold Stalin and Dzerzhinsky responsible for all this really Great Russian nationalistic campaign" (from Lenin's letter of December 31, 1922).

Vladimir Illych sent me this letter at the moment when he felt that he would hardly be able to appear at the Twelfth Congress. Here is the note which I received from him in the two last days of his participation in political life:

"Strictly secret. Personal.

"Esteemed comrade Trotsky:

"I earnestly ask you to undertake the defense of the Georgian affair at the Central Committee of the Party. That affair is now under 'prosecution' at the hands of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Indeed, quite the contrary. If you would agree to undertake its defense, I could be at rest. If for some reason you do not agree, send me back all the papers. I will consider that a sign of your disagreement.

"With the very best comradely greetings,

"Lenin

"Dictated to M. V.

"March 5, 1923."

"To comrade Trotsky:

"To his letter, sent to you by telephone, Vladimir Illych asks me to add for your information that comrade Kamenev is going to Georgia Wednesday, and Vladimir Illych asks me to find out whether you do not want to send something there from you.

"Signed, M. Volodichiva.

"March 5, 1923"

"To comrades Mdivani, Makharadze, and others (copy to comrades Trotsky and Kamenev):

"Esteemed Comrades:

"I am working in your behalf with all my heart. I am outraged at the rudeness of Ordjonikidze and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I am preparing for you notes and a speech.

"With esteem,

"Lenin

March 6, 1923."

"To comrade Kamenev (copy to comrade Trotsky):

Leon Borisovich:

"Supplementing our telephone conversation, I communicate to you as acting president of the Politburo, the following:

"As I have already told you Dec. 31, 1922, Vladimir Illych has dictated an article on the national question.

"This question has worried him extremely and he was preparing to speak on it at the Party conference. Not long before his last illness, he told me that he would publish the article, but later. After that he got sick, without giving final directions.

"Vladimir Illych considered this article to be a guiding one and extremely important. At his direction it was communicated to comrade Trotsky, whom Vladimir Illych authorized to defend his point of view upon the given question at the Party conference, in view of their solidarity upon it.

The only copy of the article in my possession is preserved at the direction of Vladimir Illych in his secret archive.

"I bring the above facts to your attention.

"I could not do it earlier since I returned to work only today after a sickness.

"L. Fotevia,

Personal secretary of comrade Lenin

"March 16, 1923.

After all the slanders with which they have surrounded the question of Lenin's attitude to me, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the signature of his first letter—"with the very best comradely

WASHINGTON—Half a million worker women falls the heaviest burden of the struggle for existence as wage earners. A study made for the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor by Agnes L. Peterson shows that women, formerly held responsible for keeping the home, are now compelled in a large proportion of cases to share the family bread-winning while keeping the home and bringing up children. When disaster meets the man of the family, they step forth as sole wage-earner for the family, besides being home-keeper and nurse. And this burden is carried despite the wage discrimination against women.

Information was secured from almost 60,000 women as to their share in family support. More than half of them turned over all their wages to their families. Of 455 working mothers, among immigrant workers in Pennsylvania, only 108 reported that their husbands made as much as \$30 a week. "Sickness and unemployment as possible causes of reduction of the meager income hung over the women like an awful dread."

One woman, a cigar maker, has been supporting her husband and two children for more than six months because the man was unable to get work for more than a few days at a time. In another family the mother was compelled to work for wages to support herself and three children because her husband, disabled by an injury for five months, received only \$12.50 a week as compensation.

Marriage Increases Burden

Among 17,000 unmarried women, 1 out of every 5 was taking care of a family without the help of male relatives. Another phase of the inquiry showed that sons do not forego marriage in order to give needed support to their parents, in any such proportion as daughters sacrifice themselves to this duty.

"In many cases," says the report, "marriage fails to bring to women the economic security considered formerly to be one of its chief advantages. Nowadays marriage may mean new financial responsibilities for wife as well as for husband."

Of 74,000 Rochester women reported by the 1920 census as married, widowed or divorced, 28 percent were gainfully employed. Even in the 59,000 cases where the husband lived with the family, almost 9 percent of the wives were employed away from home; and of 2,300 cases where the husband was absent, 48 percent of the wives had outside employment. In about 4,300 families the wife or widow was the only bread winner.

⊠

A LECTURE ON

Communism and Syndicalism

by

JAMES P. CANNON

at the

Labor Temple
242 East 14th Street

on

Saturday, March 29, 1930 at 8 p. m.

Admission 15 cents

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)

greetings". Whoever knows Lenin's parsimony with words and his manner of conversation and correspondence, will realize that Lenin did not sign these words to his letter, accidentally. It was not accidental either, that Stalin, when he was compelled to read this correspondence at the plenum of July, 1926, substituted for the words "with the very best comradely greetings" the official phrase "with Communist greetings". Here again Stalin was true to

A Seaman on Conditions

The Militant
Dear Comrades:

Shipping today isn't what it was. It never is. The man who comes before the board in the Seamen's Institute with his discharge in his hand and his heart in his mouth, every time the high priest comes out to chalk up a job, vowing that if he gets a ship that's half decent, he will never be on the beach again, had better get wise to himself. There isn't any such animal today as a half decent ship and the average seaman knows that.

To meet competition in this industry and to carve himself a good hunk of profit the ship owner in American, as elsewhere, builds his ships so that they can be loaded and discharged faster and cheaper, builds them with Diesel Engines and oil burners instead of coal burners. Iron mike and pneumatic chippers and spray painting outfits are installed. But he cuts his crew down to a skeleton (and some of them look like skeletons after a month or two on some wagons I know). They are cutting below the level demanded by ordinary safety. In a word, he overloads his ships and overworks his crew. Hence we have Vestris disasters, which will become more common in the future. Ramsay MacDonald who is chief spokesman and lord high juggler for the British capitalists now has demanded a raising of the load line and what the British ship owners says, goes in the marine industry.

What does it matter to this high-souled blatherskite, if thousands of seamen are condemned to certain death, so long as it means an extra margin of profit to the class he supports?

America, as a great imperialist nation, feels the need of a merchant marine, not only for peaceful trade, but as an useful auxiliary to the fleet in case of war. The Jones-White Pact passed last year grants subsidies to American shipowners to build ships in accordance with the plans of the Naval Board, and shows which way the wind blows. Already shipowners are getting into action with the full support of the U. S. government and are preparing to fight a stiff battle for mercantile supremacy with Great Britain.

Seamen Disorganized

If the events in the marine industry since the war are any criterion, one can see the ship owners have driven seamen back all over the world. The I. S. U. and I. W. W., once proud and powerful organizations, now exist as a mere shadow of their former selves, pale ghosts who haunt the waterfront. The N. S. U. of Great Britain with its PC 5 is in reality under the control of the shipowners. Everywhere, with one or two exceptions, seamen are demoralized, conditions aboard the ships are utterly barbarous. Bulldozing and hazing with blackjacks by the officers take place. The 2 watch system is practically universal, with all kinds of dodges to get unpaid overtime work.

As for improvement in these conditions, look at what is happening. The new ships Europa and Bremen of the Nord Deutscher Lloyd symbolize the increasing tempo of competition for trade, fanning to a white heat the already intense struggle. The freight market has continually been dropping for years.

American finance capital intends to build a merchant fleet, and the cost-price, with a profit attached, will be paid for by the blood and sweat and suffering of American seamen. For \$50 per month meantime and later for less. The ship owners stand well organized, well prepared for the battle.

What leadership does the Party offer the seamen?

The policy of the Communist party in the Seamen's League, has been a duplicate of that followed in the coal miners' union and elsewhere. All non-Party elements of any standing among the seamen are ousted or kept submerged. Anyone, even Party members who oppose or differ from secretary Mink are likewise ousted and attempts made to discredit them. While in paper the outfit struggles to build a

union which the rank and file will control through ship committees, the reality of the situation was expressed by Hines, the New York secretary. He told at a membership meeting, which was in revolt against the bureaucratic methods and lack of initiative of the League officers, that "the T. U. U. L. would run the League and not the seamen". Mind you, I had to ask several who were present at the meeting before I could believe it. That seamen are willing to organize and fight the hellish ship conditions afloat is obvious.

A Narrow Policy

The Longshoremen are likewise disgusted with the grafting and sellout tactics of Joe Ryan and company. The Marine Workers League has made a little progress, in spite of its leadership rather than because of it. Right here are workers prepared to struggle. Drop the monkey business, and backstairs "third period" diplomacy. Encourage the rank and file to

look after their welfare in the organization.

A broadening of the leadership is necessary. Seamen will certainly fight for better conditions. More attention to the everyday struggles of the seamen and less prominence to the latest contortions of the third period.

It is not enough to line up a member and then let him drift away. A man becomes a member in a haphazard and lackadaisical manner and then he is of no further interest or else he is informed that so and so are a bunch of saboteurs. This causes him to quit. Why not try to put some of the paper resolutions into practice?

Two years have passed and still no union, and unless the Party's throttling grip is relaxed, then the new union will die. The situation demands action. Either the Party means business, in which event the bureaucratic methods now adopted will have to be dropped or else the Party and League will get nowhere. Seamen demand a showdown, as they say on the waterfront.

—JAMES RUSSELL

Miners' Conventions

(Continued from Page 1)

Farrington was finally seated, after a stormy debate which consumed the greater part of two days, by a vote of 225 to 145. The fight over the credentials of this reactionary crook and grafter became the dominating issue of the convention. It symbolized the elements of corruption and reaction in the new union and the determination of the rank and file to uproot them. The vote was, to a certain extent, a measure of comparative strength of the two forces on a show-down issue, a measure that was weighted in favor of the reactionaries by the Left wing boycott of the convention.

Farrington, formerly president of the Illinois district and long a bitter enemy of all progressive tendencies in the union, was exposed in 1926 as the paid employee of the Peabody Coal Company under contract at \$25,000 per year. He was expelled in 1926 and re-admitted recently into the union after the break of the Illinois District with the Lewis organization. The case against Farrington is clear and undisputable. At the time of his expulsion a letter written to him by Peabody was made public by Lewis in which Farrington, protesting against Peabody's instructions not to run again for the office of district president, said: "I feel that I can serve you better as an official of the Miners' union". Despite this clear proof of his perfidy, Fishwick, who had been Farrington's henchman and an accomplice in his evil deeds, backed his credentials and jammed them through with the weight of the Illinois district machine.

What effect this action and the battle which centered around it will have on the fortunes of the new union remains to be seen. Farrington hailed the result as a "vindication of his honor", but he followed it with the announcement that he would take his seat and participate no further in the convention. Nevertheless, he remains a power behind the scenes in the Illinois district organization, the strongest body in the union, and the issue remains. The progressive rank and file forces consolidated themselves in the struggle to unseat Farrington and an expansion of the new union in the coal fields will create the conditions to broaden these forces and increase their strength.

Progressives Measures Brought Forward

The power developed in the fight over this question forced a number of progressive measures through the convention. Among them were the following: the amendment of the preamble to replace the demand for "an equitable share of the fruits of their labor" with the demand for "the full social value of their product"; the five-day week and six-hour day from bank to bank; the advocacy of unemployment insurance; the reduction of officers salaries by 50 per cent and restrictions of their powers.

One measure, pushed through on the

wave of sentiment for union democracy—the provision for greater autonomy of the district organizations—which was promoted as a safeguard against the autocracy of national officials made so odious by Lewis, opens the door for trouble from another quarter. Such decentralization is, at bottom, a step backward. In practice it will weaken the national battle-front of the union and provide justification for strike-breaking separate agreements by treacherous District officials of the Fishwick type. Moreover, while it will tend to protect a progressive district against the disruptive interference of a Lewis, it will also shield a reactionary and corrupt district machine from the corrective influence of the national organization. The Fishwick-Farrington elements undoubtedly supported district autonomy with such considerations in mind.

Already at the Springfield convention the principle of autonomy—on its face a step forward—was invoked in defense of Fishwick and Nesbit against the proposal from the floor for their removal. John Hindmarsh, speaking on these proposals, said that "for the convention to meddle in the internal affairs of a district would mean giving the new union's officers the power we are seeking to wrest from Lewis". It was this argument that shielded them from the demand for an accounting of their administration of the district organization. It also helped to squeeze through the credentials of Farrington. It will have similar implications in the future if Howat, as president of the national organization, disappoints their calculations to use him as a harmless decoration of progress and militancy for their reactionary designs.

Communists Adopt Isolation Policy

An interesting feature of the Springfield convention was the re-emergence of the socialist elements and the assertion of socialist influence in the new union. The Socialist party, once a power in the United Mine Workers, has had no influence whatever in recent years. Its place was taken by the rising Communist party which, fighting aggressively and employing skillful tactics, gained influence over a big progressive movement of the rank and file. The Communists have lately maneuvered themselves onto a side track by ill-advised tactics ("boycott the Springfield convention!") and made no effort to assert themselves in this new movement. The Socialists, who are no doubt grateful to the "third period" for this opportunity, made the most of it to edge into a strong position at Springfield. The election of Germer as vice president of the new union is the symbol of a formidable socialist advance in one of the most important sectors of the American labor movement.

Next week's Militant will contain further detailed reports of the Springfield convention and the first of a series of analytical articles on the miners' union and the tasks of the Left wing.

The MILITANT

we believe, has fulfilled a vital role in the best interests of the working class and Communist movement in the United States. It gives a true picture of the situation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The MILITANT

prints the original and incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, the leader of the Left Bolshevik Opposition, now exiled in Turkey by the Stalin bureaucracy. In so doing, it makes clear to all intelligent and honest revolutionary workers, the revisionist policies of the present leadership of the International Communist movement as directed, since Lenin's death, by Stalin and Bucharin and their Centrist and Right wing supporters in the various countries.

The MILITANT

presents the views and policies of the Left Opposition in the United States, the Communist League of America (Opposition), on the labor and political problems before the American working class.

The MILITANT

has printed and will continue to print material on the events and issues in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the writings of L. D. Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution, that are found in no other English publication.

The MILITANT

fights for the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin and against the Stalin-Bucharin revisionists, and thereby best serves the cause of international Communism.

We call upon our readers to help maintain the Militant by giving financial support to ensure its continued existence as a fighting weekly for the cause of Bolshevism.

We ask and count upon your help.

Make your donation today!

ACT NOW!

Fill in the blank below for the MILITANT SUSTAINING FUND.

The Militant

25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the Militant Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

CityState

SIX MONTHS FOR REFUSAL TO SALUTE FLAG

SAN FRANCISCO—It will cost Henry Keister six months of his life because he refused to salute the American flag at a Washington's birthday parade. He was jailed under the open charge of vagrancy later turned to contempt of court when Keister maintained his refusal to salute the flag in Police Judge Steiger's court and denounced labor conditions. He is held in jail under \$250 bail pending appeal.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 13

Telephone: DRYdock 1856 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 29, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

CUBANS STRIKE

Defy Machado Rule - Demand Unemployment Relief

Growing out of the acute unemployment situation prevalent throughout Cuba and which has thrown 200,000 out of jobs, Cuban workers struck on March 20 in protest against unemployment and against the suppression of the labor unions and other organizations of the workers by the Machado government. The strike, called by the National Federation of Labor of Cuba, was widely supported, despite the intimidation and terror of Machado's spies, police and troops. It indicates the readiness of the masses to struggle against their severe exploitation by native and American capitalists. The strike, among others, brought out the workers of the streetcars, omnibuses, breweries, cigar factories, cafe employees, bakeries printshops, longshoremen, etc.

Delegates representing the Workers' Association called upon President Machado, the Dictator of Cuba, and among other demands called for: Recognition of the right to organize and strike; an end to police intervention in the unions and labor struggles; free speech and press; a seven hour day; payment of wages to the unemployed by the employers and the State; no eviction of unemployed from their homes for non-payment of rent; free transportation for the unemployed and their families while seeking work and free night restaurants and shelter for the unemployed.

The Bloody Rule of Machado

Under President Machado, the willing hickspittle of Wall street, the labor and revolutionary movement in Cuba has been viciously suppressed. The bloody Machado has been responsible for the murder, imprisonment and deportation of thousands of Cuban labor leaders and revolutionaries, among them, Julio Mella, the Cuban Communist, who was murdered in Mexico after his exile by Machado from his native country.

Now the acute conditions of misery and starvation of the Cuban masses is bringing forth their resistance despite every terror of the Wall Street-controlled government.

American capital has invaded entire Cuba and has particularly gained control of the sugar plantations and refineries and has subjugated the workers to long hours of toil at low wages. The acute economic conditions give the background to the strike. Sugar forms the main base for the prosperity of the American investors and the starvation and degradation of the Cuban masses. The price of raw sugar is now 1.59 cents a pound, compared with 2.40 cents in 1928 and 2.82 in 1927.

Semi-starvation and destitution prevail. (Continued on Page 7)

A LECTURE

on

Communism and Syndicalism

by

JAMES P. CANNON

Saturday, March 29, 1930 at 8 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE
242 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)
Admission 15 cents

Mass Unemployment Continues

Reports from throughout the country give the lie to the propaganda of the bosses and the government that unemployment is on the decrease. The employment service of the U. S. Department of Labor itself is forced to acknowledge, in its report for the month of February, that "industry made no substantial gains" during the month, while "in some industries a slight recession was noted." Yet but a few days prior President Hoover had declared that the "recovery" from industrial depression had been the most rapid in American history!

Before the Senate Committee, Senator Wagner of New York declared that the unemployment situation is the worst that has ever existed in the United States. Investigations and statistical reports from all sections of the country confirm the fact of mass unemployment. For the millions of working men and women it has brought the most dire need and acute misery. There is nothing to indicate any substantial improvement in the economic situation in the near future. Every city and hamlet in the country counts its toll of unemployed and misery. To mention any is to describe all. Distress from unemployment in Chicago, states Professor B. M. Squires of the University of Chicago and who is also director of the Illinois State employment agency, "has been the most acute in ten years."

Iron and Steel Production Slow

The steel industry, the barometer of industry in general, remains low, according to iron and steel publications which report that no definite upturn is yet apparent, and that this situation prevails also in the foreign markets. The Iron Trade Review comments that "Continental and British iron and steel markets generally are dull, some British plants having gone on short time as a result. World trade in iron and steel is low, and restricted inquiry forecasts continuation of this condition." In virtually all trades, manufactures, industry and agriculture fields there is described a condition of wide-spread unemployment. Hoover and the employing class continue to hand out hokum for consumption by the jobless, but they themselves know the reality and find no capitalist remedy for the situation. Any other kind of solution is of course to them unthinkable.

As never before, public and charitable institutions have been utilized as a sop, but the breadlines grow longer and increase in number. The U. S. government has declined to do anything directly to provide work or compensation for the unemployed, but instead continues to talk of industrial revival, while jobs become scarcer each day. All sorts of proposals have been forthcoming from capitalist politicians for public works, etc., but all remain on paper.

Bosses Cutting Wages

The bosses have naturally ignored Hoovers "request" at the conference consisting of Hoover, the employers and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, not to reduce wages. Henry Ford, the "high wage" boss and "philanthropist" has been outstanding in speeding men out of work and then cutting wages still further on one pretext or another. On the other hand, Wm. Green, the labor faker and agent of the bosses in the ranks of labor, continues to advise the workers not to resist the attacks of the bosses through strikes, etc.—all in the name of

the "national welfare", that is, for the bosses. Not all workers who still have jobs take this "advice". By a vote of four to one, to the surprise of the reactionary officials of the United Textile Workers Union, the company-union workers employed in the notorious Amoskeag Manufacturing firm of Manchester, N. H. in the manufacture of printcloth refused to accept a 10 per cent reduction in wages. Here and there (Pitts- (Continued on Page 3)

Φ

TROTSKY SERIOUSLY ILL

The Militant is informed of the serious illness of comrade L. D. Trotsky, the leader of the International Opposition of the Left Bolsheviks. Exiled to Constantinople by Stalin, Trotsky has suffered from many maladies, engendered during his years of service to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the international revolutionary movement. Now his condition is exceptionally aggravated by heart trouble, following recent illnesses. Trotsky has made efforts to be permitted to go to one of the West European countries for medical attention and treatment. But the imperialist nations have apparently accepted wholeheartedly the desire of Stalin that Trotsky shall remain isolated in Constantinople where lack of proper medical attention can easily result in his death. Stalin and the imperialists are as one in their enmity of Trotsky, the organizer and leader of the Red Army and the co-worker and comrade of Lenin.

We have spoken before of the illness of comrade Trotsky. In the past months, an unfavorable change has set in. He and his wife and son are located on Prinkipo Island in the Sea of Marmora. The climate there is unsatisfactory for one of his condition and a different climate is needed in addition to special treatment that is not available there nor in the country at large.

The arch-bureaucrat Stalin is to be held fully responsible for the exile of comrade Trotsky from the Soviet Union and for his connivance with the bourgeois government to prevent Trotsky from obtaining access to a West European country. The proletariat of the Soviet Union and the whole world will yet deal with Stalin, who persecutes, imprisons, exiles and even shoots Bolsheviks and undermines the cause of Communism.

Φ

KANSAS CITY BUILDING TRADES WIN FIVE-DAY WEEK

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(FP)—Building trades of Kansas City have won the 5-day week and an increase as a result of a 3-week strike which tied up construction activity. The struggle was a bitter one for a time, but the backbone of the Builders' Assn. opposition was broken when several independent employers signed the new agreement and resumed work.

According to the peace pact, the 44-hour week will continue until July 1, when the 5-day week becomes effective, supplemented by wage increases ranging from 22 1-2 to 50 cents a day. On Jan. 1, 1931, another wage boost, a flat 50 cents a day, is ordered. The agreement expires March 1, 1932.

HAITI STRUGGLES

Demands Independence From Wall Street Rule

The killing of five Haitians on December 7 by a detachment of United States marines, forced into the open the serious nature of the protest of the Haitian masses against United States occupation, and also against its puppet president, Borno. Since then the movement for Haitian independence, although curtailed and misguided by a bourgeois and liberal leadership, showed the increased temper of the mass of Haitian peasants, whose protests were set forth under such slogans as, "Long live Independent Haiti!", "Down with the Council of State". They culminated during the past number of weeks in a demand for an end to the occupation of Haiti by the United States marines and the National City Bank of New York.

The past history of the occupation of Haiti by the United States, is a record of bloody extermination of the peasant masses. From a period of the occupation in July, 1915, the "peaceful guardianship" by the marines has resulted in the slaughter of over 3,000 Haitians, who dared to protest against the military dictatorship and exploitation of United States capitalism. The state of affairs brought about by American occupation finds the Haitian masses in a virtual state of peonage. The old Haitian laws against the ownership of land by foreigners resulted, since 1915, in the dispossession of the peasantry and allowed for large holdings by the United States and other foreign imperialists. Dr. Dalencour, head of the Haitian Medical Journal, characterizes the situation in the following manner: The Haitian peasant sees his future endangered by the entry of American capitalism. This necessarily results from the creation of large estates which would cause the subjugation of the peasants into a servile peon class." The peasantry of Haiti are actually in such a state today, which accounts for the vigorous struggle they are making for an "independent republic of Haiti".

(Continued on Page 2)

Φ

St. Louis Bus Drivers on Strike For Union

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—Five days after their first meeting to unionize and 48 hours after their demand for union recognition had been tossed in the wastebasket by the traction monopoly, organized bus drivers and conductors of St. Louis walked out in a spontaneous unexpected strike. Bus operation has been completely tied up.

The company, with an ugly anti-union background, was taken completely unawares. The meeting, held at 2 a. m., authorized the strike by unanimous vote and the next morning not a bus rolled out of the big barns.

These raw recruits to unionism are picketing the garages like seasoned veterans and intended strikebreakers have been enrolled in the union about as rapidly as the company has been able to hire them. Not even the skeleton of a crew has been recruited. The strikers belong to the street carmen's union and the fight bears the endorsement of the St. Louis central body and the Missouri Federation of Labor. A sympathetic strike by 5,000 union street car men is not considered unlikely.

The National Textile Union

Sectarian Policy Hindering Organization

At the present time with the exception of New Bedford, where several thousand workers are members, the National Textile Workers Union is almost completely isolated from the textile workers. In the South the N. T. W. has continued to lose ground since the end of the Gastonia strike so that now it has practically no organized base to speak of. The N. T. W. leadership and the official Communist Party are responsible for this situation. After the end of the strike almost all of the union organizers were withdrawn from the South and no serious attempt made to bring the workers into the union. To cover its lack of real organizational activities the Party is now preparing to publish a weekly paper in the South. By itself, unless part of a campaign to unionize the workers, it is only a gesture for the records. Bombastic action and statements can never be substituted for the daily struggle and as soon as the Stalinists realize it, the better it will be for the future of the N. T. W.

Several weeks ago the Daily Worker was full of proclamations asserting that a strike of the Paterson silk workers would be called within several weeks. In fact, the International Labor Defense in its appeals for funds at that time included the coming Paterson strike as among the situations for which funds would be needed.

In the March 8 issue of the Militant we pointed out that to call a strike in Paterson at the present time without adequate preparations, would result in the strike being still-born. We urged that careful plans be made so that when the strike is called it can have a chance of being successful.

As typical centrists without any set policy, the Stalinist leadership of the Party and union have not only suddenly stopped all talk about the strike but have decided to end all organizational activities indefinitely. Thus we see a good example of what kind of "leadership" the union is giving the workers in the industries under the direction of such apparatus men as Clarence Miller, who is now the national secretary of the N. T. W.

Role of the Reactionaries

At first they were ready to call a strike without any preparations whatsoever; practically no mass meetings and almost no distribution of leaflets or other preparations. Suddenly a change is made: all "preparations" cease and the idea of a strike is entirely forgotten. It is this kind of misleadership that plays into the hands of such organizations as the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers Union.

In fact, while the N. T. W. union is standing still and not participating in the struggle to organize the workers, the United Textile Workers Union is making progress in its campaign of organization which, of course, in the long run will mean the betrayal of the workers. In the South, U. T. W. and American Federation of Labor organizers are touring the textile centers and making contacts with the workers who are ready to fight against the low wages, long hours and speed-up conditions. In almost every textile district of the South the U. T. W. and A. F. of L. have now a clear ground for their policy of betrayal due to the abandonment of the field by the N. T. W.

In New Bedford where the N. T. W. has its only organized base, it is slowly losing influence due to the sectarian policy of the Party and its selection of incompetent Stalinist apparatus men as union leaders. Although about 18,000 out of the 30,000 textile workers of the city are jobless, less than 3,000 workers attended the March 6 unemployment demonstration in that city. When one considers that more than 3,000 workers are members of the union in New Bedford, it is easy to see

what a failure the demonstration was.

Need of Systematic Work in the Mills

At a time like this, when the workers should be flocking to the banner of the N. T. W., they are conspicuous by their absence. The reason is not difficult to find. Few parts of the country have been more plagued with Stalinist politics in the Union than New Bedford. Four union organizers within several months has resulted in many of the workers becoming disgusted. Then again, since the Party decided to completely forget about the united front tactics, the U. T. W. has succeeded in winning many workers through the Labor Party they organized in that city. After the 1928 sell-out by the U. T. W., the mass of the workers turned to the N. T. W. for leadership, but the actions of the Left wing union since then, (that is, in the "third period") has resulted in the influence of the union becoming weakened to such an extent that it is in danger to lose its last organized base to the Right wing organization.

Another example of lack of activity on the part of the N. T. W. is the present textile strike in Philadelphia, which is under U. T. W. leadership. While the Left wing organization is doing virtually nothing, the U. T. W. poses as the leaders of the workers, and undoubtedly will sell them out as the U. T. W. has done scores of times in the past.

The N. T. W. nationally is in a critical period of its existence. The next period will decide whether it will exist as a fighting, living force in the American labor movement or will become a rubber stamp for Stalinist politics, without any influence in the class struggle. The policy of choosing union organizers on their loyalty to Stalinism must end. (Russak, New Bedford; Kushinsky in Paterson; Miller as national secretary, etc.) Militant workers who accept the program of the N. T. W. and sincerely want to participate in the struggle must be given work in the organization. Less talk and more day by day work in the mills is necessary. Only on such a basis can the union be saved and become a factor in the labor movement.

—FRANK BROMLEY

Φ

Dynamite in «Dynamic» Detroit

DETROIT—(FM)—While city and county officials are trying to still the protests of the hungry jobless information indicates that in actual fact the number of unemployed is increasing.

The Briggs Mfg. Co., for example, advertised but a few weeks ago for 8,000 workers. The local press immediately seized the advantage to blazon to a hungry world "the return of prosperity". Prosperity returned—for three weeks. 5,000 men were hired. Three weeks later, 9,000 workers were laid off!

The office staff of the Cadillac Motor Car Co. has been severely reduced and further layoffs there are expected. Layoffs in the Packard office force are imminent. A salary slash has already gone into effect. Of the working force 30% were laid off several months ago. It is significant that when the layoff instructions were issued it was ordered that women be retained insofar as possible. They can do the work ever so much cheaper.

A local plant fired its whole force several weeks ago. Recently it opened up—and rehired its workers at 15 cents less per hour. In another concern the wages of the electricians have been cut three times within the last 60 days. "Were it only the unemployment problem we had to face it would not be so bad—but employers use the unemployed as a club wherewith to beat down the wages of the employed", commented our informant.

Hoover's Prosperity Racket Fades in Middle West

CHICAGO—(FP)—Politicians from Herbert Hoover—now dubbed the Great Stationary Engineer—down to the smallest me-too country editor may shout prosperity and recovery all they like but each section of the country has its impressive array of facts and seasoned judgements that give the shouting the lie. In the middle west a few symptoms may be set down to match those marshalled in other regions.

1. Bankruptcies of established banks, trust companies, real estate organizations and staple industries no longer excite attention. They are too common. Decision by corporations not to pay the regular dividends the next quarter scarcely rank as financial news.

2. On the labor side unions report unexampled unemployment. Chicago Typographical Local 16, one of the most steady-going in the country, states that there are at least 1,500 printers out of work in town.

3. In the farm belt similar conditions prevail. Speaking not to the public at large but to his own trade following the expert of the Produce Review, leading butter and egg trade weekly takes an undisguised rap at the Hoover prosperity patter, writing: "speculation as to future industrial conditions gives us nothing definite to tie to, but we do know that present conditions are not favorable AND WE SHOULD NOT BE MISLED BY POSITIVE STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM HIGH PLACES IN WASHINGTON that the near future will see unemployment passing. In many larger cities today there is much unemployment and our agricultural population is in many important states not prospering. We face such uncertainty that we feel sure conservatism will increase as reserves of storage eggs accumulate."

4. Railroads are laying off shop and maintenance men at a time when they should be taking on extras. Where layoffs are considered bad for public consumption they are disguised by 5-day week device that mean reduced weekly earnings per worker or by transfer of work from contract to railroad shops as has happened respectively with the Northwestern and the Baltimore & Ohio in this region.

5. Help Wanted ads are greatly reduced in number while the rush of applicants for positions open is unexampled since 1922. An ad for a \$15 a week stenographer, hours 9 to 5 in a new downtown office building, brought 200 girls to the spot, stampeding the overwhelmed office manager.

Φ

ANTHRACITE MINERS HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT

ASHLAND, Pa.—Reports to the United Mine Workers convention in Indianapolis by Sec. Thomas Kennedy that the anthracite is in a "healthy" condition is causing wide discussion in local unions of hard coal diggers. In Schuylkill valley, 35,000 miners have been rendered idle by the Reading Coal Co., in Lansford the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. has thrown 5,000 out of jobs; in the Lehigh valley a steadily mounting number are joining the army of the jobless.

Prospects indicate an extraordinarily slack summer.

Φ

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—The Freemont Typesetting Co. of Terre Haute has been signed 100% by the typos.

ALBERT M. GLOTZER

Will Speak On

The Youth Movement

Saturday, April 5, 1930 at 8 P. M.

at the

LABOR TEMPLE

.... 242 East Fourteenth Street

Auspices: New York Branch

Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission, 15 cents

HAITI STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 1)

The occupation of Haiti by the United States took place with its rapid expansion into the arena of the leading world imperialists. Haiti's favorable geographical location in the Caribbean Sea, as a naval base, and its strategic importance as an aid to the defense of the Panama Canal, along with its offensive possibilities against Great Britain, led to America's military and financial invasion and resultant control. This condition came about through the intense exploitation and persecution of the Haitian masses.

The present movement for Haitian independence is undoubtedly an expression of the current feelings of the masses. At present it is still weak in its outlook. With a bourgeois and liberal leadership the movement is so far led into channels of subservience to American dictates. The open revolt against the puppet president, Borno, and the intensity of the struggle of the masses, caused Hoover to form a commission with the object of "studying" the conditions. Realizing the revolutionary temper of the Haitians, the commission made a proposal for election of a temporary president to replace Borno, as if the removal of Borno would solve the problem of Haitian independence.

The newly elected president, Eugene Roy, a broker by profession, was elected under the supervision of both the leadership of the opposition and the United States in collaboration with Borno. However, Roy does not take office until May 15, when Borno's term expires. When Roy takes office, he is to continue as temporary president until next fall. Then legislative elections are held, and a new president seated by the deputies and senators. The further proposals of the commission for "gradual" removal of marines as a basis of permitting a slow solution to independence testify to the fact that Haitian independence, under the "good will" of the American capitalists, is just a guise with which to nullify the movement of the Haitian masses.

Election of Roy—A Sham

The election of Roy, as the temporary president, is the biggest farce in the commission's program. Roy, just as all his predecessors, will continue to serve the interests of the National City Bank of New York. Being a broker himself, this will not be a difficult task. The "eventual independence" of Haiti, given freely by the United States, is an illusion, handed down in order to quiet the discontent. It is easy to understand, in view of this, why the removal of the marines will be only a "gradual" process. The marines will be kept in Haiti in order to act as the sword of American capitalism. They will be there to protect the continued exploitation of the Haitian masses.

The present "solution" can only be a temporary one. American capitalism has only removed one puppet and replaced him by another. But this temporary "solution" while it may for the moment soften the discontent of the masses, can in the end only add fuel to the existing state of revolt in Haiti. The leadership of the masses have succeeded in misdirecting the movement into accepting the further dominance of "dollar diplomacy". Roy's election, and the maintenance of the marines, along with continued domination of U. S. capitalism will only bring further persecution and exploitation. The military dictatorship of the United States will lend fuel to the further growth of the revolutionary movement of the Haitian masses.

The struggle for independence must be accompanied with a decisive fight against American imperialism. It must be accompanied with a struggle against the military dictatorship by United States marines. This end however is not alone the struggle of the Haitian masses, but is likewise a task of the American working class who must join in the fight for Haitian independence, against the domination of Wall Street and the military occupation. —A.G.

The Shooting of Blumkin

STALIN'S STORY IN PROCESS OF PREPARATION

The protests and indignation of Communists and the masses of workers over the murder of Blumkin at the behest of Stalin will not down, despite evasions, lies and slanders by the Stalinist apparatus-men everywhere. Finally, after a period of silence, as we foresaw, the official Communist press found itself compelled to speak. The *Daily Worker* and the *Communist* in the United States became literally hysterical in their attempts to evade the issue of the murder of Bolsheviks by the Stalinist regime. Now the official Communist press in other countries also finds it necessary to "answer" to the questions and demands of the Communist Opposition. The conspiracy of silence is being broken.

Among those who have entered the lists in an endeavor to cover or lie about Stalin's dastardly act is the *Rote Fahne* of Vienna, which engages in controversy with the social-democratic press concerning Blumkin. It goes without saying that the social democracy could not let slip so exceptional an opportunity for refurbishing somewhat its tarnished reputation. The international party of Noske which is responsible for the death of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg eagerly seizes hold of the assassination of an irreproachable revolutionist by the Stalinists. It is not this side of the affair which interests us at this moment.

Independently of the threats, the intrigues and the slander of the social democracy the question poses itself in this fashion to each revolutionary: Is it true that Stalin had comrade Blumkin shot because he visited Trotsky at Constantinople and attempted to turn over a letter to some fighting comrades in Moscow? If this is true, what must we call him who debauches Communism by such acts? This is the question of importance. One cannot help seeing, for a single instance what a blow such a bloody crime can strike at the revolutionary prestige of the Soviet power—not among the thousands of bourgeois, "or sympathetic intellectuals", or lawyers, or newspaper men, or writers who so nobly visit the fringes of the Soviets for the celebrations and take in its harbors—but among the genuine revolutionary workers. This is why the question of Blumkin must be completely cleared up.

Running Away from the Facts

What has the *Rote Fahne* to say about the actuality of the facts? It brands the information concerning the murder of Blumkin as "an absolute fabrication which any fool could shatter". This looks like a categorical denial and we would be entirely ready to congratulate ourselves on the firm and categorical tone of the *Rote Fahne*; indeed, the fact in itself appears so horrifying that the first reaction of every revolutionary is to refuse to believe it, to deny it and brand it as slander.

Unfortunately the denial, like the hysteria, slander and evasions of the *Daily Worker* becomes far less categorical further on. And this is not accidental. The *Rote Fahne* has reacted only on the 19th of February, that is, about six weeks after the news had penetrated not only the bourgeois and social democratic press but had been posed as a direct question in the press of the Communist Opposition. Nevertheless, after so categorical an introduction, the *Rote Fahne* imperceptibly replaces this in the following lines with a statement that the falsehood would consist in that Blumkin had been shot "only for having been a Trotskyist, that mythical Blumkin". This stealthy shift of emphasis would look like a journalistic precaution which divests its denial of its whole moral value. The Vienna Stalinist newspaper leaves two doors open: for the categorical denial of the fact itself concerning the murder of Blumkin by Stalin, or for an admission of the fact itself concerning the murder of Blumkin by Stalin, or for an admission of the fact but literally on a day that has not yet been decided upon.

Why has the *Rote Fahne* referred to Blumkin as "mythical", like the *Daily Worker's* "Who is Blumkin?" and what is the meaning of this shamefully cynical shift? Is it because the *Rote*

Fahne raises doubts concerning the existence of Blumkin (that is, concerning his past existence)? Is it because the *Rote Fahne* raises doubts about Blumkin having been an irreproachable revolutionist who on many occasions showed an exceptional courage and heroic devotion to the proletariat? Or do its doubts concern only the execution because of Trotsky's letter? This does not follow clearly from the article. This lack of clearness is entirely deliberate. The *Rote Fahne* is simply waiting for the version which Stalin will choose to give as the final one.

Stalin Prepares His Story

Between times, the latter has long since prepared his version. The rumor has been circulated in several Soviet papers that "Trotskyites" in Siberia have sabotaged the transport of troops against Chiang Kai-Shek, and have derailed locomotives, etc. This is now Stalin's third attempt to connect the Opposition with counter-revolutionists. The first two were knocked to pieces, to their shame; the third will also be knocked to pieces. And if Stalin is still determined to renew his invisible miserable effort, it is only because he needs some story to cover up the assassination of comrade Blumkin.

The *Rote Fahne* ends its article with a panegyric on Stalin as the chosen disciple of Lenin. We know that similar panegyrics in all Parties are now the *sine qua non* conditions for maintaining one's position: of editor, secretary, people's commissar, or of president of the Comintern. But even so we find that the editor of the *Rote Fahne* links up quite imprudently the question of Blumkin with Stalin's character and his relations with Lenin.

It is a fact that Lenin was hostile to the nomination of Stalin as secretary. He expressed his fear that "this cook will serve us a peppery dish". Naturally, in 1921 Lenin could not yet foresee such well-

seasoned dishes as the murder of Blumkin. It is also a fact that in Lenin's Testament to the Party, Lenin pointed out Stalin's disloyalty, his tendency to abuse power, and recommended that Stalin be retired from his important post. Another fact is that immediately after the Testament—March 6th, 1923—Lenin in a letter broke all personal relations with Stalin for his disloyalty and crimes.

The Dictatorship of Stalin and its Consequences

This was the state of affairs seven years ago, when the position of secretary of the Communist Party had a strictly subordinate importance and when all power rested in the Political Bureau directed by Lenin. Now the situation is radically changed. The domination of the apparatus has become a personal dictatorship of Stalin. The role of the public opinion of the Party is one hundred-times less. Stalin's disloyalty has revealed itself armed with unheard of practices and directed against its own Party. The Blumkin affair uncovers this new position with frightful force.

Yes, the assassination of Blumkin will be utilized by the class enemies and above all by the Socialists. But who is to blame? Those who have engendered this odious affair, that is, the murder of Blumkin. The Stalinists could not have failed to understand what are the consequences of such a crime. They could not have failed to understand that the Opposition would not keep silent. Because to keep silent would mean to unchain the Stalinist bureaucracy and to prepare tens and hundreds of affairs similar to the Blumkin case.

That is why we declare to the official editors, to the secretaries and functionaries—the Posters, Minors, Bedachts and even the small Browners: "We shall not permit you to evade a reply by covering yourselves with a polemic on the bourgeois journalists and social democrats and popes. We shall compel you to render an accounting before the workers of what has happened. We shall compel you to answer the question: 'Do you take the responsibility for the murder of the Bolshevik Blumkin? Yes or No?'"

Mass Unemployment Continues

(Continued from Page 1)

burg Cabmen's strike, Aberle Mill strike in Philadelphia, etc) are to be noted the defensive but militant struggles by the rank and file of the workers against the bosses.

In view of the acuteness of the industrial situation generally and mass unemployment particularly and the rising distress and discontent among the masses, bourgeois politicians, and now also the socialists and the A. F. of L. fakers, in New York, have been forced to take note of the situation and to propose "remedies". Theirs is the role of lightning rods to divert the discontent of the masses into harmless (to the bosses and to the reformist and labor fakers) channels. These socialists and fakers have access to and contact with the bosses and governmental agencies, which permit them to gain publicity for their proposals. Without direct pressure from the Left wing and the Communists, they feel free to betray the interests of the workers. The Emergency Conference on Unemployment, representing the Socialists and the A. F. of L. unions in New York has proposed, as one of its "solutions" to unemployment, that the Police Department (!) shall conduct a census as to the number of persons out of work. This is indeed touching, if it were not tragic and disgusting.

Socialists Propose Unemployment Census by Police

The reformists and labor fakers are willing to turn over the unemployed into the gentle hands of the soft-spoken Whalen. This same Police Department, under Whalen's direction and O. K'd by Mayor James Walker, beats the unemployed, provokes riots at unemployed demonstrations, acknowledges the use of spies among labor organizations and use of the blacklist to deprive workers of their livelihood, is to be "the census-taker of the unemployed!" In brief, by the approval of the socialists and labor fakers, the Police Department is to be permitted to bully and spy and lie about

the unemployed situation and then to report to the bosses what they are told to say.

To divert attention from the situation of mass unemployment, the repressive measures against the Left wing and Communists are continued and intensified. In New York parents of children who attended the March 6th unemployment demonstration were sentenced to a day in jail for permitting their children to solidarize with the unemployed. A Young Pioneer has been given the vicious sentence of five years in the reformatory. Communist leaders of the unemployed in New York appear for trial on April 11th on charges of felonious assault and provoking an unlawful assembly on March 6th. A jury trial, which the defendants requested, was not granted. The United States Department of Labor has approved the method of spying, blacklisting and brutality against the workers.

Repressives Acts Against Workers Don't Solve Unemployment Crisis

But these repressive measures cannot do away with the fact that American capitalism is unable to solve the unemployment problem, and that more and more numbers of workers are beginning to question the "benefits" of capitalist society. The only possible solution of unemployment and capitalism's other ills lies in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a government of the workers. This is the important lesson that is being taught by the Communists in the unemployed situation. At the same time, the Communists propose as the only workable immediate measures to relieve the acute condition of unemployment: Work or Compensation to be provided for by the bosses and the government; a decrease in working hours to allow for more men to be employed; elimination of the speed-up system that breeds unemployment, etc.

The official Communist Party, unfortunately, still continues a policy that iso-

SUFFERING AMONG JOBLESS GROWS

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Suffering from unemployment among factory workers in New York state has grown rapidly worse, so that in the past six weeks there has been a 200% increase in the number of families who have been given outdoor relief by organized charities, Miss Frances Perkins, state industrial commissioner, told the Senate committee on commerce, March 21.

The families thus driven to ask aid from organized charity, the commissioner explained, were those normally supported by the wages of their own members. A survey of one-third of the factory workers in the state she said, showed that 9% reduction in jobs had taken place since Oct. 4 last. This would make a total of 135,000 factory workers in this one state join the army of the unemployed since the beginning of October. In the building trades the suffering was even worse, while the "white collar" workers, including the clerical and sales people were likewise suffering acutely. Employment conditions are worse today, she declared, than at any time since 1914.

What makes the general economic situation for the workers more serious, Miss Perkins told the committee, is that those who are employed are by no means all working full time. Hence the totals for the unemployed do not tell the whole story of suffering.

Couzens and Hiram Johnson asked her view of unemployment insurance. The commissioner replied that her staff was engaged in a study of the matter. Government insurance against unemployment, compulsory on the employers, she said, is strongly opposed by many employers "and taxpayers."

John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation recited the history of Congress' failure to act on planned unemployment relief since 1914. He testified that unemployment conditions in the region of New York City are the worst since 1914.

lates it more and more from genuine mass contact. It has failed to date to make proposals for a united front of all labor organizations on the issue of unemployment, and thereby plays into the hands of the socialists and labor fakers who are now stepping into the situation with their false and betraying proposals.

The Communist party has substituted a policy of mass meetings and demonstrations, coupled with gross exaggeration and self-praise of its achievements, very much like in the days of Lovestone, for a policy of systematic education and organization of the unemployed, linked with the employed and the organized and unorganized. It is this policy which makes of the March 29th National Unemployment conference in New York only a caricature of what it should and could be. Preparations are indeed "rushed" as the *Daily Worker* reports; but preparations which could have made the gathering a really representative one of delegates from various labor organizations and all sections of labor have not been made. Thereby the March 29th conference dooms itself to a talkfest.

It is still necessary that the Communist Party shall change its course if there is to be a mobilization of the widest possible number of workers and organizations for the relief of the unemployed. We have stated this before and shall continue to do so until the sectarianism of the present party leadership is rooted out and done away with. The opportunity is yet here for a broad united front movement for the unemployed.

The Communist Party is letting golden opportunities slip by to reach and hold large numbers of workers with the Communist message on unemployment and for the cause of Communism, the only true salvation for the working masses. We urge again: for the interests of the unemployed; for the adequate defense of the arrested workers; for the struggle against capitalism; for Communism—the Party must change its course and unite, first of all, all Communist forces as a preliminary basis for a broad struggle against unemployment and capitalism. —M. A.

An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund

Esteemed Comrades:

by L. D. TROTSKY

It is perfectly clear from the circular dated January 29, 1930 published by the Leninbund, that the conference of the Leninbund scheduled for February 23 has for its task the formal sanctioning of the conflict, by the exclusion of the Marxist Opposition. The bureau of the Leninbund itself defined the task in this manner.

I leave aside completely all personalities and all disputes and recriminations relative to the organization itself. These, naturally, are of certain significance in the life of the organization. Nevertheless, they cannot decide the question of unity or splitting of the party; this question must be solved by the interaction of differences in principle, theoretical and political. It is not always, nor under all circumstances, that unity within the organization must remain inviolate. In cases where the differences assume a fundamental character, a split at times appears to be the only solution possible. But care must be taken that this be a genuine split, i. e., that it should not depart from the line of differences in principle and that this line is brought clean-cut before the eyes of all the members of the organization.

Leaving this angle, it is necessary to say that the circular letter of the bureau of the Leninbund of the 20th and 29th of January cannot but better prepare the ground for a split through proceeding in the most dangerous and pernicious manner to place in the foreground the question of disagreement, while distorting the sense of the differences in principle by means of false information. This I shall attempt to prove.

Has the Urbahns Faction Any Adherents?

The point of departure in the present differences is that of the class character of the Soviet Union. This question is not national but international. No revolutionary organization exists or can exist which has not reached a conclusion for itself on this question, and which has not drawn the necessary "internal" conclusions therefrom. It is impossible to have a correct national policy without a solution of this international question.

The bureau of the Leninbund claims in its circular that Urbahns' point of view on "the class character of the Soviet Union" is adhered to by the following organizations: "the majority of the Belgian opposition, the Treint group and 'Contre le Courant' in France, the Czech group, and to a large extent by the American opposition."

This false allegation, counting on the lack of information among the membership of the Leninbund, is made with the intention of leading them into a serious error. Any local organization of the Leninbund can easily obtain the proper information by merely writing to the above-named groups.

The bureau of the Belgian opposition has published several erroneous articles on the subject of the Chinese-Eastern Railway. It has, nevertheless, determinedly broken with the bureau of the Leninbund on everything relating to the class character of the Soviet Union. This makes it quite proper for us to look upon the error of the Brussels comrades as of an individual and episodic character. Similar errors are inevitable in the course of carrying on work. To break because of these individual errors would be absolutely criminal. But a break becomes inevitable when the deviations give rise to an orientation false in principle. An irreconcilable difference exists between the bureau of the Leninbund and that of the Belgian opposition on the question of the class character of the Soviet Union. Communicate with Brussels, comrades, and be convinced.

As far as fundamental questions are concerned, two French groups—Treint and "Centre Le Courant"—ranged themselves from the very beginning, at least formally, on the side of the Russian Opposition. I

know of no document which would lead one to believe that they were ever at one with Urbahns on the question of the class character of the Soviet Union. Is it possible that they have changed their opinions of late? I do not know. In any case, you would render a great service not only to yourselves but also to the Treint and Paz groups by asking for their attitude towards the class character of the Soviet Union at the present time, February, 1930.

By the term "Czech group", the circular plainly refers to a small group of Prague students having, as I understand, no connection with the working-class movement. This group does not maintain a publication. Judging from its physiognomy, I would say that this group does, in truth, share Urbahns' point of view.

But what is unquestionably pure invention, is the assertion in the circular concerning the American Opposition. From the evidence of the *Militant*, the group's weekly paper and one of the best among the organs of the Communist press, the Communist League of America has nothing in common with Urbahns' point of view.

Hence, as far as the question of basic differences is concerned—aside from the small group of Prague students—the bureau of the Leninbund is completely isolated. And why be surprised? Urbahns, in developing and aggravating his error in his recent articles, gives us a new theory of the state which, in general, has nothing in common with the Marxian theory and which is distinguished from social-democratic theory only by its phraseology.

Do Not Forget the International Opposition

The two circulars attempt to define the attitude of the Opposition in the following manner: "Whoever does not share comrade Trotsky's opinions is not opposed to Leninism." They are driven to this infamous subterfuge as a means of alleviating the isolation of the Leninbund bureau. And why does Urbahns speak of "Comrade Trotsky's opinions"? The Russian Opposition has a platform established through the direct participation of hundreds of comrades. For defending this platform, thousands of comrades have been subjected to expulsion, to arrest, to deportation, and even to being shot. So to speak here of the personal opinions of comrade Trotsky is proof of a revolting disregard and disrespect toward the Russian Opposition.

The Leninbund Bureau persistently fails to take note of the Verite group in France, which maintains a political weekly and a monthly theoretical journal, *La Lutte des Classes*. He is blind who does not understand that this group is today the pivot around which is united the Communist Opposition in France.

The Communist League of America represents one of the best sections of the Opposition and is growing daily. The Leninbund bureau does not seem to realize this. Regarding the Belgian Opposition, there is no doubt that despite the disputes that have arisen in its midst, it will not hesitate for an instant in choosing between the International Opposition and the Urbahns group. The Leninbund bureau shuts its eyes to facts and lulls itself, as well as others, with vain hopes.

The Czech Left Opposition (comrade Leonorovitch's group) which carries on activity among the workers, and is about to start editing its journal, shares the point of view of the International Opposition on all fundamental questions.

The Chinese Opposition is no less irreconcilable with the opinions of Urbahns.

Lastly, the Leninbund bureau has no reason to expect any support whatever from the Opposition in Italy, Spain, Hungary, etc.

Even if the Leninbund bureau could hope to derive support from any foreign groups, it is only—and then only to a certain extent—from the groups represent-

ed by Treint and Paz. And yet, have they achieved an agreement in principle on any question whatever? Let them tell us openly.

The Urbahns Bloct Treint and Paz

Urbahns is the adherent of an independent party. This is his dominant idea. Treint and Paz up till now have been against this. Have they arrived at an agreement at the present time? And on precisely what point?

Urbahns has again put up his "independent" candidates in the municipal elections against the candidates of the Communist Party. With what result?—the continued weakening of the Leninbund. With Urbahns this suicidal policy is motivated by the idea of creating a second party. Are Treint and Paz of the same mind? Let them declare themselves. Or perhaps these internationalists are not interested in German affairs.

And how does this bear on the unions? Paz is for autonomy in the unions, but—differing from Monatte—does not deny the need for a Communist Party. This is an old Jauresist attitude, diplomatic and opportunist to the core; an attitude which Marxists have never stopped attacking and which they will always continue to attack mercilessly in the future. Does Urbahns ally himself with the party of trade union autonomy, in this Jauresist sense? Or does he think that French affairs do not concern him?

Will Treint and Paz work with Urbahns and with the Brandler blocs formed in the midst of the trade unions, against the Communist Party? or perhaps Treint and Paz believe that they are not interested in affairs at Hamburg?

In what light does Urbahns look at Paz's touching romance with the national "communists" of Alsace? Or does Urbahns consider it not worth his while to be interested in Alsace since its cession to France?

Let us see, then—what is the particular point on which these three groups could manage to agree? It is only on the point of the struggle against the Russian Opposition. All three have censured Rakovsky's declaration. Indeed, they are too revolutionary for such "compromises". There are good grounds for thinking so. They recognize the policy of a united front with the social democracy, with the reformist trade unions, with the Brandlerites, with the Alsatian nationalists—but they consider inadmissible the united front tactic with the official Communist Parties. The fact is that if we examine, not from a fanciful or demagogic, but from a political point of view, Rakovsky's declaration, it is seen to represent nothing but the Opposition's policy of a united front toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Urbahns' attitude in this question is again explained by his orientation on a second party. But how are we to explain the attitude of Treint and Paz? There is no explanation—except the confusion and complete absence of principles in their thinking.

In a word, their thoughts, without exception, consist only of reticences, diplomacy, ambiguities and quibbling. The new allies do not dare to approach any question seriously and in earnest, fearing that the structure of this newly-concluded amalgamation, built on sand, will start tottering. This is adventurism in ideas. It has never been successful—and never will be.

It is Indispensable to Obtain Unity of the Opposition

Several months ago, the bureau of the Leninbund expelled comrades Grylevitch and Joko—defenders of the opinions of the International Opposition. This gesture alone is enough to show that the Urbahns group has no desire to work hand in hand with the International Opposition. It is unmistakably clear that we cannot admit

two sets of opinions; one of them for our own particular use, and the other—for the world. This duality is and always has been the characteristic trait of opportunists, especially of the Brandlerites. Their "internationalism" is, as everyone knows, nothing but the arithmetical sum of national oppositions added together. With this we have nothing in common. Our international orientation and our national policy are bound together by unbreakable ties.

From its first steps, the Opposition must clearly declare itself as an international fraction—as did the Communist parties in the period of the publication of the Communist Manifesto or of the First International, or of the Left Zimmerwald at the beginning of the war. In all these cases the groups were mostly small numerically, or even isolated individuals: all, nevertheless, conducted themselves as though representing an entire international organization. In the epoch of imperialism, a similar attitude imposes itself a hundred times more categorically than in the time of Marx.

Whoever imagines that the International Left will at a given time be reduced to the simple expression of the national groups added together, and that for this reason the formation of its international unity can be delayed until the national groups feel themselves "strengthened"—attributes only a secondary importance to the international factor and, by this very means, lands on the road of national opportunism.

It is undeniable that each country has its characteristic traits which may be very important in themselves; but in our epoch their true value cannot be estimated nor can they be made useful to the revolutionary cause except when looked at from an international point of view. But only international organization can represent international ideology.

Can anyone seriously believe it possible that these isolated opposition groups, abandoned and left to their own efforts, should find the right road? No. Their road will be one that will lead them direct to degeneracy, sectarianism, in short, to their doom. In order to attain its aims, the International Opposition must surmount enormous difficulties. It is only by being indissolubly bound together, by working out together the answers to the questions of the hour, by creating an international platform, by imposing on ourselves the reciprocal verification of each step; in a word, it is only by uniting in a single international entity, that the national opposition groups can carry through to the end their historic task.

This applies to all groups without exception, and above all to the Russian Opposition. The year which has just passed is a year of capitulations, large sections of the Russian Opposition have been infected by this epidemic, and this happened only because of their isolation from other opposition groups in foreign countries; because they were not present at and did not know the life of the Communist International; in general because they had not reflected well on the problems before it. It is because of this that they allowed themselves to be made ridiculous by the Stalinist left zig-zags on internal question in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

True and False Internationalism

The Left Opposition has already lost enough time. The disastrous development of the Leninbund, the errors of certain national groups, the marking time of others, have been due to the powerful, even decisive, role played by the national isolation of the groups and their simplistic methods of political activity. If the Communist Left Opposition does not wish an inglorious end, its reduction to zero, it must cast away from itself these tendencies of expectation and consolidate its international ranks.

The Brandlerites pride themselves on not having connections with any Russian groups. What does this mean? A revolutionary organization which is not in agree-

Continued on Page 5

Throughout the World of Labor

Conditions of the German Workers and the Communists

Berlin

The past few weeks have evidenced new surges in the unemployment wave. Each month adds at least 40,000 new recruits to the army of the jobless. But the work is still in the stage of ascent and has not at all reached its high point as yet. No one has any illusions about this. Quite the contrary:

The statistical publication of the *Institut für Konjunkturforschung* reckons with an enormous growth of unemployment in the spring, due to the matriculation and introduction into industry of about half a million young workers, apprentices. This is aside from the regular conjunctural increases (seasonal, etc.). It adds: that in order to keep unemployment from becoming menacingly critical, Germany would have to increase its exports at the present rate of 100 million Reichsmarks per month. Which looks quite impossible at present.

Another issue of the same periodical reports a semi-monthly decrease of .1% in the consumption of nourishing foods among the working class population. When we keep in mind the recent fall of prices in eggs, milk, butter, meat, "colonial wares" (cocoa, etc.) and in food products in general, we can realize the importance of even such a "harmless" figure to its full extent.

Unemployment, and the reduction of maintenance for the unemployed (Hilferding only prepared the ground for a steady procedure towards the liquidation of the maintenance) in direct proportion to each other and—inversely with food consumption. Three million unemployed—with their families this means: nine million beings on starvation rations. This means the most gruesome misery for one-seventh of the population, a fate that awaits millions more in the period to come.

Bourgeoisie on the Offensive

So entrenched has the ruling class become with the aid of their reformist lackeys, that it has resolved to discard them completely from their employ in politics and to subjugate them completely in their service as trade union agents. The bourgeoisie are out for the whole booty. In a recent number of its official organ, the *Arbeitsgeber*, it demands of the A.D.G.B. leaders, half in threat, half in entreaty, full subordination. It demands that the reformist bureaucracy surrender the "American" theory that high wages bring prosperity; it demands of them (who have shown such concern for the "recuperation" of "German" industry, for the promotion of the "national" export trade, etc.) a promise not to ask for a wage increase when most of the wage-agreements in the metal and textile industries terminate (in the spring and fall of this year). Because, they entreat: all the benefits that you and we, in our concentrated efforts to "unburden industry" by recoiling from all mention of industrial increases, by stuffing the Young plan obligations upon the "broad" shoulders of the proletariat—because, all this noble work which we have accomplished for the "national weal"—will be spoiled by such a demand.

Social Democrats Continue to Sell Out Workers

And they hold up the shining example of sacrifice that Bill Green and the other darlings of the American bourgeoisie made for the "common good", when these A. F. of L. fakers, in the now famous conference with Hoover and the bosses, promised not to "annoy" the latter with similar demands in "the period of national crisis".

The reformists will capitulate here too—according to precedent. For the ultimate good of their economic philosophy is the accumulation of capital for the promotion of the export trade and the capitalist import. No sacrifice, no working class sacrifice, is too great for these reptiles

who still have the audacity to call themselves representatives of the workers. (In their zeal for betrayal they are far to the Right of even some bourgeois liberals, like the well-known economist, Prof. Bernhard, who sees a solution to the capitalists' troubles in price sinking in the domestic market, in place of what he calls wasteful dumping on the foreign market.) The main things for them are the government posts and their salaries. For the sake of these, everything else will be surrendered. Amsterdam and the A. D. G. B. have moved so far in the direction of Mathew Woll, that it becomes really difficult to find the least distinction between them. Each delivers the goods to the national bosses. Each according to the local needs.

The Attacks on the Workers' Organizations

Naturally, the economic offensive of the bosses is only the axis of an offensive all along the line. While the unemployed are being robbed of their last support, the bourgeoisie are feverishly arming the soldiers of civil war, the police. The state budget "cannot" meet its slightest obligations to the starving, but it can and does proportion enormous sums for the equipment of churches and for every other means of strangling the working class. But the hungry masses can't and won't let themselves be intimidated by the black-jacks of the police, by lead balls, or by horses' hoofs. There is a limit to silent suffering.

The bosses and their social-democratic police sergeants think that by slandering the Soviet Union, that by jailing the editors of the militant labor press, that by dissolving the proletarian defense organizations and by driving the leader of the working class, the Communist Party, underground, they will stifle the angry protest of the hungry nine millions. They will be sadly disappointed.

The party, overpowered and made impotent by its hazardous course of empty phrases, is struggling to disentangle itself from the self-imposed shackles. It is having a very hard time. It has lost many positions in the trade unions; a rebellion has spread among its own functionaries.

The Opportunism of the Brandlerites

Now that the militant spirit of solidarity has really impregnated a broad layer of workers and unemployed, with and without the aid of the Party, the Brandlerites are very reticent with "positive proposals" for action, of which they usually have their mouths full. The 6th of March they don't consider worth noticing. Instead of making any move for a united front (desired or not) with the Party, to exploit the favorable situation for immediate action, the programists, the apostles of "mass work", are concentrating all their attention to win the trade union rebels of the Party for their factional platform. Their "emergency program" is an opportunist piece of work. It appeals for a broad proletarian defensive struggle, for immediate demands for relief and unburdening of the masses. Very good. But it does not point out a single guiding principle, by which the social democratic, Catholic workers can find their way after the experiences of the impending struggles, into the red front of the proletarian revolution, into the ranks of the Communists.

The Need For a Clear Left Communist Opposition

The Communist Party is in agony. The leaders are helpless. They have shown themselves as pitifully incompetent as theoreticians and, consequently, as organizers. A strong left opposition, clear in principles, homogeneous in its own ranks, equipped with a real bolshevik platform and an unequivocal attitude toward the role of the Party, could fill a burning need in Germany at present. The masses are ready to begin the struggle, which is to mold them into a solid phalanx against the tottering capitalist order.

March 2nd.

S. GORDON

The Labor Movement In South Africa

(The following excerpts of a letter take up questions that are yet in the process of discussion and decision in the Communist League of America. No doubt its contents will prove of interest to our readers, besides giving further evidence that the Opposition is making its way into every section of the world.—Ed.)

Johannesburg

The Militant

I was indeed glad to get your letter of the 18th. January, and more particularly the copies of the *Militant*.

It will also interest you to know that I was a member of the Communist Party (South African section of the Communist International) of which I was a foundation member. The section was formed in 1921, and for many years prior to that I was an active member and official of the Industrial Socialist League which afterwards became the Cape Town branch of the Communist Party. In the Communist Party I held at various times the respective positions of Treasurer, Assistant Secretary and Acting Editor of the party organ, whilst for several years in succession I was a member of the Central Executive. In addition I was for many years secretary of a large trade union (Witwatersrand Tailors' Association) and treasurer and executive member of the South African Trade Union Congress (an exclusively European body, excluding native workers from membership) which posts I relinquished over two years ago.

The cause which led to the severance of my connection with the Communist Party was the newly-adopted policy of "An Independent Native Republic, with autonomy for national minorities" (meaning the whites mainly) was one to which I was unable to subscribe. In the circumstances it seemed to me to be a gross departure from the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Let me give you a brief outline of the position in South Africa.

The Working Class in South Africa

Our working class is divided on racial lines—Europeans and non-Europeans. The hostility of each of these sections towards the other has been born of their relative positions of superiority and inferiority in every sphere. This hostility has been aggravated by discriminatory laws and more particularly by the action of the Europeans in maintaining a rigid "color bar". Most of the natives are disenfranchised, they are made to carry "passes" (licenses to be abroad), are subjected to gross ill-treatment and brutality. The native who attains high educational standards is no less contemptuously treated on that account. Europeans refuse to work with natives on certain (skilled or semi-skilled) jobs and they debar them from entering their trade unions (the natives have now commenced organising their own trade unions).

The white population of the Union of South Africa is approximately 1 3-4 millions; the native approximately 6 millions. The majority of the native workers are agricultural laborers, whilst those whom the development of industry has driven to the towns are engaged in unskilled occupations. The key positions in industry, commerce and communications are held by white workers. On the average natives' wages are about one quarter of what the whites earn. Needless to remark, the comparatively high wages of the whites in the town are possible because of the very low wage-standards of the native workers—a parallel position with that of British and Indian workers before the war. Capitalism uses the bribe of high wages to retain the loyalty of the whites who can in the circumstances be relied upon to police the mass of discontented under-paid natives.

The artificial color-bar raised by the

whites has for some time shown signs of relaxing. It has been found that measures such as these do not stem the advancing tide of the cheap native worker. Europeans' wage standards were definitely endangered when by a court decision, the color-bar in the gold-mining industry, which debarred natives from skilled occupations, was declared *ultra vires* the constitution and upset. The European workers then lent readier ear to the message of the Communist Party, bidding them assist, if for no higher motive than self-interest, the native to secure higher wages and thus eliminate competition based on differing wage-standards. The legal color-bar, having gone by the board it was natural that the rest should follow. The Communist slogan: "Workers of all lands, Unite!" found a more ready response among the whites. Some trade unions went the length of admitting non-Europeans to membership.

The Comintern Policy

Then came the Comintern's new slogan for South Africa: "An Independent Native Republic, with autonomy for racial minorities". The Europeans naturally asked: "Why a Native republic? Why not a Workers' and Peasants' Republic?—why is the white working class (a not insignificant part of the proletariat) contemptuously left out of the programme and relegated to a definite position of inferiority?" To these plain questions there has been no answer forthcoming. Within the C. P. these have been the effects of the new policy:

1. Racial animosity on the part of the native members towards the European members has grown and is developing to an almost incredible degree, the native members logically interpreting the slogan as implying superiority for themselves over the hated oppressor (white Communists are included here) and

2. Wholesale desertion of the white proletarian members who would not subscribe to the abandonment of the Marxian slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" and its substitution by a black (native) chauvinism. Comrade S. P. Bunting, who attended the last world congress in Moscow was contemptuously dubbed a "Social Democrat" when he said that the white workers in South Africa must be taken into account in the framing of the programme. (These same comrades, Bunting and E. R. Roux, voted for Trotsky's expulsion from the Comintern against their own convictions on the matter.)

The above have been the effects within the Party of the new policy. Translate this to the wider field of the whole working class movement and it will be seen that the Party is now completely isolated from the white section of the proletariat—the most advanced, the most intelligent, the most class conscious, whilst the old racial antagonism has revived in active form. Many native workers have been won by the new policy, but at the price of the relinquishment of Marxism and the adoption of petty bourgeois slogans.

It seems to me that the Marxist-Leninist structure of the Comintern has been dangerously undermined, its fundamental principles thrown overboard. For freedom of discussion in the Party ranks has been substituted a so-called discipline which requires as the only virtues in a Communist ability to speak heatedly of the "errors of Trotskyism" and preparedness to sacrifice good comrades to the fetish of the "third period". Healthy inner-Party criticism is dead (Shades of Lenin!). Loyalty to Stalin and Co. is the supremem virtue.

There are adherents of the Opposition in this country. But we are all scattered. We are, nevertheless, much interested in what is going on in other countries and I welcome the receipt of your paper and will be glad to hear from you from time to time.

With comradely good wishes,

Fraternally yours,

C. FRANK GLASS

The Labor Party and the Tasks of the Communists

By ARNE SWABECK

With ever increasing signs of deep-going changes facing the American workers, which are partly already beginning, it is of the utmost importance to recognize the present actual level of development to be able to prepare correctly for the next steps. Proceeding from that point it becomes clear that the movement toward a conscious class position will of necessity first pass some stages of rather elementary expression. Will the reformist labor party stage be one, and if so what should be the attitude of revolutionists?

The practically complete allegiance of the workers, in so far as they give any political expression, to the capitalist parties has almost become proverbial in the United States. There is no reason further to elaborate on this, except to add that particularly here parliamentary elections can only be a partial indication of working class sentiments. But in the field of economic organization there is no less backwardness shown by the vast number of workers in the manufacturing and basic industries. They are almost entirely unorganized. The Handbook of American Trade Unions claims a total membership today in all unions of 4, 331, 251. It was never higher at the peak figures in 1920 than 5, 110, 800, thus clearly informing us that the great majority of the working class have not had experience in any kind of unionism. Here we must also record the fact that within these unions there is today practically no organized left wing in existence.

Status of the New Unions

Would it be correct to say that these unorganized workers are ready for organization but have been denied the opportunity because of the reactionary and craft ideology of the present unions? Undoubtedly that is so in the case of a good many thousands; but one must not lose sight of realities. Nowhere have the workers as yet begun in the unorganized industries to move toward elementary forms of shop organizations.

How does the case then stand with the new industrial unions sponsored by the Trade Union Unity League? Healthy growth here would naturally be a very strong indication of rapid ideological advancement of the working class. Unfortunately that is not so. These unions have remained at a very small membership and although the future holds good possibilities if correct policies are formulated for their function, the fact remains that a swing toward mass support for the new unions cannot yet be recorded.

There are other means of gauging working class development, for instance, through its press. However, compared to the capitalist dailies mounting into many millions of issues per day throughout the country the press representing labor is limited indeed. Its revolutionary section reaches only some thousands of readers. Many former labor papers of a somewhat progressive tinge have disappeared, sold out or exist as a shadow of their former strength.

The Labor Struggles in Recent Years

Perhaps, despite all these facts, the field of actual working class struggle by way of strikes, organized or unorganized, gives a different impression of the level of development. As yet, that cannot be said to be the case. While latest figures are not available it remains a well known fact that since 1922 the number of actual strikes and workers participating in them has shown a steady decline. Only, and that is important as a trend of recent events, there has been a healthy sign of militancy displayed in such strikes, as among the textile workers in Passaic, New Bedford, Gastonia and Marion; in the ill-fated Illinois miner's strike; in the New Orleans street carmen's strike and at present in the Pittsburgh taxicab strike and the Philadelphia Aberle mill strike.

This is how matters stand just now with the working class, the actual level from which changes will proceed; and they are not the conditions of pre-war America, but of today, under a highly developed capitalist imperialism. On the other hand, we note the extremely important begin-

nings of militancy—indicative for the future.

Nevertheless, all factors considered, the most elementary steps toward a class movement of the American workers are yet to be taken. The response given in several instances to the unemployment demonstrations on March 6th, led by Communists, although not yet signifying a conscious class basis, is however, one of the definite indications of the accelerating speed of developments in this present epoch.

But proceeding from the actual level of the working class organizationally, politically and ideologically, it is hardly possible that the political reformist stage can be avoided as a definite part of future developments. In the main European industrial countries this stage has assumed its definite place, embracing almost the entire working class and is in most instances yet at its height. The forces which will initiate and furnish leadership to it in this country can already be discerned.

Perspectives in the A. F. of L.

From the upper hierarchy of the A.F. of L. the mildest labor reformist movement has met decided opposition in the past. Its political policy is a natural reflex of its own position as part of the employers' industrial staff. This is important because of the strategic role of the organized section, even if relatively small in numbers, in the course of labor developments. But with a continued radicalization of the workers in general, the very pressure will be furnished from below which may easily strike a response among certain strata of the lower union officialdom and impel them forward to give leadership to a breakaway from the traditional two party system toward a labor party. More surely is this so since it will simultaneously afford the opportunity to ward off the masses, at least for a period, from any inclination toward the revolutionary movement, and to steer it into the safer channels of political reformism. Thus, such breakaways may become closely associated with a revolt against the policies and class collaboration practices of the A. F. of L. hierarchy. The miners' insurgent convention in Springfield, Ill., held March 10th, may be come one classical illustration of just such revolts. Although not yet a breakaway, still through the working class forces it sets into motion, it can become rich in potentialities. The radicalization already manifest, the beginning of a stir within the trade unions, all speeded on by the general critical conditions, present a seeming paradox:—defensive struggles, containing explosive material, with mass demonstrations and possibly open violent outbursts, yet politically only the reformist stage of a labor party approaches. Upon closer investigation, however, it will be seen that this seeming paradox is but an exact reflex of the dialectical process.

Some Labor Party History

It would hardly be an exaggeration to state that no issue has manifested so much confusion within the revolutionary movement during the last few years as has the labor party issue. In 1922, after a sharp struggle within the Workers Party, the correct conception of the possible growth of a labor party as an elementary expression of political development of the American workers and the duty of the Communists to function as a revolutionary factor in these developments, was adopted. But soon, digressions into adventurism and opportunism took the upper hand, making a caricature of a correct conception. The Communists, regardless of forces available and of the tempo of development, embarked upon the building of a labor party. It had its beginning in the August thesis, whose author was John Pepper. This thesis visualized each group within the labor movement—the Socialist party, the trade union group and the Communists with its own labor party. Two classes in one party, the farmer-labor party, became the accepted thing and from there it was just a short step to the formation of the Federated Farmer Labor party. As it never

became a party in reality, the tide rapidly turned toward the fiction of the La Follette alliance. This fallacy became decisively exposed only after the direct intervention of comrade Trotsky, then not yet exiled from the Comintern.

But with the intensified Centrist struggle against the Russian Communist Opposition, headed by Trotsky, the rapidly Stalinized Comintern became intoxicated with these entirely false farmer-labor practices of the American Communists. This was best expressed in the report of the Comintern political secretary, comrade Kolaroff, to the Fifth Congress, running in part as follows:

"The small farmers in the United States have organized a farmer-labor party, which becomes constantly more and more radicalized, comes closer to the Communists and is saturated with the idea of the establishment of a farmer-labor government in the United States." (!!) (*Pravda*, July 6, 1924).

Nothing more and nothing less.

The Sectarian Party Policy

With the American party leadership the zig-zag still continued at dizzying speed. At the Cleveland T. U. U. L. convention last summer a most ridiculous resolution was adopted providing for the establishment of a labor party which would be against the left social democrats, the Muskettes, etc., where "no reformist elements could sneak into its ranks" (!!!). Finally the party leadership has adopted a standpoint rejecting any labor party perspective, while the Sixth Comintern Congress still adheres to one organized from below. But then, changes to the exact opposite are simple matters today under the Stalin leadership.

Of late, the labor party question has been discussed in the party press. Joseph Zack in articles in the December and January *Communist*, takes the position that reformism has already run its course in the United States through the period of the labor aristocracy organized in the A.F. of L., although not appearing here in the European clothes of a social-democratic or a labor party. He seems further to contend that while labor parties were possible in this country in the pre-monopolistic era, now, under monopoly capitalism, they are out of the question because of the sharpened class struggle. Of course, Zack has always shown aptitude in building up a series of arguments based upon seemingly perfect logic but entirely forgetting the dialectical process from which working class developments are not immune or separated.

It is somewhat different with the article of Max Bedacht in the December issue. He appears to recognize the correctness of the Party position arrived at in 1922 and subsequently approved at the Fourth Comintern congress. Remembering his sinful past as an important cog in the Lovestone-Pepper Right wing faction, and not underestimating the weakness of the flesh, he rushes in ahead of Zack and proclaims: "Me for the 'left' too". He discovers that now in the "third period" matters stand differently than way back in 1922. The "social fascist" Socialist party, the petty bourgeois liberals and the sections of the labor aristocracy bribed by imperialism, will be in the labor party too and hence he concludes:

"Under the present conditions, when the reality of the labor party does no longer represent independent political action of the working class (so!) but represents open imperialist policies under cover of an anti-imperialist firm, propaganda for a labor party can no longer represent propaganda for independent political action but becomes propaganda for an under cover instrument of imperialism.... My conclusion therefore is that it is impossible at this moment to use the labor party slogan and the labor party movement unqualifiedly in the campaign for the development of independent political action of the workers."

Role of Labor Fakery and Socialists

But was not already in 1922 the role of the Socialist party, petty bourgeois liberals, etc., not only indicated but appearing in all its maturity; if not here, then at least elsewhere? Was it not then clearly recognized that, although Socialist party leaders, labor fakery and labor party leaders will cunningly and violently betray the workers when the latter can no longer be fooled by reformist illusions, nevertheless the separation from the bondage of the capitalist parties would mean an important step forward for the workers? Was it not recognized that in that process the Communists must move with the masses and always endeavor to extend its revolutionary influence? Of course it was, although the "third period" had not yet been invented. But despite all this well-known history, Bedacht, by theoretical magic, constructs a jumping-off board designed to make the leap over the political reformist stage in one easy jump. That is to be the "political united front". An elegant expression, whatever it may mean. He solves it very simply by basing it upon the Communist nuclei in the factories. Unfortunately, this leap will most likely never get beyond the stage of their theoretical dreams and the penalty for such false conclusions spells further party isolation from the masses.

The conclusions and formulations of the Stalin bureaucracy would be more nearly correct if we were in an immediately revolutionary period. That is just the little thing which is yet missing.

The Labor Party—A Perspective

The correct way to put the question is that all indications and historical experiences indicate that the labor political reformist stage is quite unavoidable also in the United States, with possibilities of some form of a labor party; and that such must be our perspective. It will surely produce leaders as reactionary as those produced in any other country who will betray, and help imperialism butcher the workers, as well as endeavor to use the labor party for that very purpose. But despite these leaders, it will also help to set the masses into motion against their class enemy. The worker will suffer bitter disappointments and experience severe struggles both of a political and industrial character in the process. But with the present rapid developments, the reformist illusions will possibly be of a very short duration. Hence our conclusion is: The Communists must remain in the most intimate contact possible with the working masses in all their experiences and struggles in order to help draw the proper lessons and lead the fight against the reactionaries; to proudly unfurl the revolutionary banner of Communism through the labor reformist stage and through the labor party, from within and without; utilize all means most speedily to help elevate the American working class to its final revolutionary position.

- CHICAGO -

PARIS COMMUNE COMMEMORATION

Saturday, March 29th, 8 p. m.

at Fleiner's Hall, 1638 N. Halsted St.

Banquet—Recitations—Entertainment

Short talk on the Lessons of the Paris Commune by John Mihelic

Auspices: Chicago Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission 50c

MILWAUKEE COMMUNISTS APPEAL WORKHOUSE SENTENCES

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Appealing from prison sentences for alleged rioting, 37 unemployed and their Communist leaders are demanding jury trials. The riot occurred March 6th when a Hearst reporter started a counter demonstration for the sake of a sensational story. Mounted Milwaukee police rode into the crowd in the best manner of veteran Pennsylvania Cossacks.

Unifying the Left Opposition

The *Militant*, in the issue of February 15th raised the question of the unification of the Left Opposition. In an article by Martin Abern entitled, "For an International Conference of the Left—the Need for Organizing the World Opposition", a number of concrete proposals were set forth to make possible such an international conference and unification. Simultaneously, *La Verite*, organ of the French Opposition, brought forward a number of proposals with a similar objective. The *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition*, official organ of the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) responded to the initiative of *La Verite*. The *Militant* is in accord with these propositions which sets the Left Opposition on the path of international organization and unification on a common principle basis. We reprint below the reply of the *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition* to *La Verite*.

* * *

The French Left Opposition which is grouped around *La Verite* has at the insistence of a number of organizations in other countries, taken the first step towards the international unification of the Left Communist Opposition.

The proposals stated in issue 24 can be summarized as follows:

1. It is necessary seriously to begin to prepare an international conference of the Left Opposition.

2. With that end in view, it is primarily necessary to create an international information bulletin.

3. The editorship of this bulletin must rest in a secretariat, especially created for this purpose.

Such a program may appear as too modest and prudent. We can certainly start by the creation of an international liaison bureau, to which would be joined the secretariat which edits the bulletin. We do not believe this question to be decisive. Of primary importance is—to start.

An International Organ

We can start with the secretariat and the bulletin for the purpose of creating, in conformity with the reactions of the different national organizations, a regular bureau for preparing for the conference. For this reason we support the proposal of *La Verite*, inasmuch as there can be no difference of opinion on the first step.

The editorial board of the *Russian Bulletin*, which is in permanent connection with the comrades in struggle in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, do not doubt for an instant that the more energetic and decisive is the initiative of the French comrades in this question, the warmer will be the support of the Russian Opposition.

The preparation of the conference is not purely an organizational step: it is primarily a political and theoretical task which may require several months.

It is not a question of a mechanical gathering of groups, even of small divergent groups, but of the unification of the international fraction whose inner homogeneity is verified in theory as well as in practice.

La Verite is right in stating that the pages of the Bulletin must be, within the frame of material and technical possibilities, open to all groups who adhere to the Left Communist Opposition. The Bulletin is an instrument (one of the instruments) in preparing for the conference. For its unification, the Opposition must proceed on a democratic course. This means that every Oppositionist must have the opportunity to be informed and to learn, with the aid of the Bulletin, about the ideas and actions of the other Left Opposition groups in order conscientiously and firmly to decide to whom he can rally. In other words, the Bulletin must serve as an instrument for unification on a clearcut principal basis.

Unity upon Principle Agreement

The German experiences of the last year are of exceptional importance to us in determining the course and perspective for the international unification of the Opposition. The policies of the Urbahns fractions have led to a split with the comrades who solidarize with the views of the Russian Opposition, *La Verite*, The *Militant*

etc. This split took place before the eyes of the international Opposition as an outgrowth of a close ideological struggle which assumed, to a certain extent, an international character. The magnitude of the differences was confirmed by experience, and the two parties have drawn the necessary consequences for themselves. It is clear that an international conference which wishes to slight similar matters in the name of "unity" will be still-born.

The political Marxist "in one country" is as impossible as the construction of a socialist society "in one country". Any group which attempts to develop a political line confined to national questions is inevitably doomed to sectarian degeneracy. That is why we do not doubt that none of the truly revolutionary groups will remain aloof, but will adopt a clearcut position on all the controversial questions and will sustain the initiative of *La Verite* in the preparations of an International Conference.

It is extremely desirable that the first number of the Bulletin, whose publication can perhaps be assigned to *La Verite*, until the secretariat is formed, appear as soon as possible and that it contain the opinions of all the European Opposition groups, at least on the question of the conference. The replies from America, Asia, etc., can be published in the following number of the international Bulletin. That would be an important beginning.

—The Editorial Board of the *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition*
(Bolshevik-Leninists)

Φ

CUBANS STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

vail among the sugar plantation workers. Formerly assured six months' work, they are now lucky to get in three or four months. During the busy season, however, there is plenty of hard work—12 hours a day worked six hours on and six hours off. For this Cuban sugar plantation workers now get 40 cents a day, contrasted with 60 cents in 1928 and a figure of \$4.00 in 1919. Sixty percent of the American capital of \$1,250,000,000 invested in sugar. American sugar companies intensify the chronic unemployment on the island by importing Negro laborers—under slave terms—from Haiti and San Domingo. These are kept in semi-slavery compounds, guarded by troops and denied every civil liberty. The sugar workers' union was broken by Machado through force of arms in 1925. The president of the union, Enrique Varona was assassinated, as well as other union officials. The union has since functioned underground, and there have been several spontaneous strikes.

Wall Street Continues Cuban Penetration

In addition to the National City Bank of New York which has dominated Machado, the Chase National Bank of New York and the Cuban government has been negotiating for a loan of \$30,000,000 to the latter at interest for a term of years. \$40,000,000 of the amount would be used by the bank to liquidate bonds which it already has on hand from contractors, Warren Brothers of Boston and the Cuban Construction company for work already completed on the central highway. The other \$40,000,000 was expected to be used to increase activities in a program of public works. It is not yet reported whether this contract which gives American capitalism another stranglehold on Cuba, has been signed, though it was expected to be done sometime in February.

The Government at Washington has not yet directly entered into the situation arising out of the severe economic depression in Cuba and now culminating in the one day general strike. Naturally, it is satisfied with Machado who carries out their policy of economic and political enslavement of the Cuban masses. The workers and peasants of Cuba, however, evidence that they are ready to struggle militantly against the oppression of Wall Street and their Cuban puppets.

INJUNCTION JUDGE HALTS UNION TAXI SERVICE

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Union taxi service has been halted on Pittsburgh streets by Judge Josiah Cohn, defender of judicial tyranny during the 1919 steel strike. Although the service, initiated by the striking cab drivers, was on a voluntary contribution basis, the judge ruled it contravened state public service commission rules and granted a temporary injunction.

Back of the court order is Parmalee Transportation Co., which according to the state public service commission, has monopoly privileges for operating Pittsburgh taxi service. The firm is making another effort to operate a small fleet of cabs on downtown streets. Loud prophecies by the scab firm that its old drivers would return in flocks to operate the scab cabs have been given the lie. Not a single unionist has been discovered operating Parmalee taxis.

Φ

PITTSBURG—Forty percent of Pittsburgh's building trades workers are unemployed according to Chairman E. G. Rust of the Building Trades Council.

Φ

Attention, Boston!

THE STRUGGLE IN THE I. W. C.

A mass meeting on the subject, "The Struggle in the I. W. C.", will be held on Tuesday, April 1st, 1930, 7:30 P. M. at the Hebrew Institute Center, 140 Shirley Ave., Revere, Mass. Among the speakers are: Antoinette F. Konikow, L. Schlosberg, J. Dubin. Admission is free. The meeting is arranged by the Boston Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Φ

BUILDING TRADES DROP IN MASS.

BOSTON—Employment of Massachusetts building trades workers dropped 8% between January and February, according to the state labor department. Employment is 85 of the 1928 level.

Φ

BUFFALO CHARITY OUTLAY CLIMBS STEADILY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—(FP)—The Department of Social Welfare in presenting its annual report to the city council, states that "a scrutiny of comparative statements contained in this report will show that that department has been called on to provide the necessities of life to a much greater number of families than in previous years." The report continues: "One of the principal causes for unemployment of both skilled and unskilled workers, is due to the increased use of machinery in place of hand labor."

"In 1927, in 28 cities of the United States representing a population of 22,000,000, 100,000 families or approximately 500,000 people applied to private charitable organizations for relief, i. e., food, payment of rent, clothing, etc. And conditions are much worse in Buffalo now than in 1927."

Φ

SHOPMEN WORK FIVE DAYS TO AVERT LAYOFFS

CLINTON, Ia.—(FP)—To prevent partial layoffs the shopmen at the Northwestern's Comanche Ave. Clinton shops have voted to take a 5-day week for everybody. The railroad is mum on the reason for the present slackness, evidently fearing to put a pin in Hoover's prosperity balloon.

Φ

Due to technical mishaps, an article on the coal mining situation does not appear in this issue, but will appear in a subsequent number.

If the number on your wrapper is

38

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

The MILITANT

we believe, has fulfilled a vital role in the best interests of the working class and Communist movement in the United States. It gives a true picture of the situation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The MILITANT

prints the original and incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, the leader of the Left Bolshevik Opposition, now exiled in Turkey by the Stalin bureaucracy. In so doing, it makes clear to all intelligent and honest revolutionary workers, the revisionist policies of the present leadership of the International Communist movement as directed, since Lenin's death, by Stalin and Bucharin and their Centrist and Right wing supporters in the various countries.

The MILITANT

presents the views and policies of the Left Opposition in the United States, the Communist League of America (Opposition), on the labor and political problems before the American working class.

The MILITANT

has printed and will continue to print material on the events and issues in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the writings of L. D. Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution, that are found in no other English publication.

The MILITANT

fights for the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin and against the Stalin-Bucharin revisionists, and thereby best serves the cause of international Communism.

We call upon our readers to help maintain the *Militant* by giving financial support to ensure its continued existence as a fighting weekly for the cause of Bolshevism.

We ask and count upon your help.

Make your donation today!

ACT NOW!

Fill in the blank below for the MILITANT SUSTAINING FUND.

The *Militant*
25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the *Militant* Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

City State

SPORTWEAR WORKERS WIN STRIKE

NEW YORK—(FP)—Workers of the Vanity Sportwear knitting mill in New York have won a strike against the discharge of three leading unionists, members of the Natl. Textile Workers Union. After one day's picketing, the strikers won the reinstatement of their fellow workers and a wage increase for two crafts. Previously a Negro porter had his hours reduced from 54 to 44 a week, due to N.T.W. efforts.

Independent Workmen's Circle Confronted by a Split

About 23 years ago the Independent Workmen's Circle was organized as a fraternal organization in opposition to the Workmen's Circle. The Forward and the W. C. are controlled by the same machine. Naturally the Forward all the time bitterly attacked or ignored the I. W. C. Their action made the rank and file of the I.W.C. condemn the Forward and the W. C.

When the Left wing split away from the Socialist party in 1919, the branches of the Independent Workmen's Circle began to sympathize with the Left wing. The branches supported the Communist party morally and financially.

Practically at every convention of the I. W. C., Left wing resolutions were accepted. At the Philadelphia convention held in 1927 the Left wing resolutions were accepted. At that convention a resolution was also accepted to raise \$18,000 to colonize 50 Jewish families in Soviet Russia. The membership of the I. W. C. is not at all as Zaltsman and Olgin describe them in the Freiheit.

From the Philadelphia convention till the Chicago convention which was held at the end of May, 1929, \$23,000 was raised for the Left wing movement. This money went through the general office, except that branches sent their donations directly to the Left wing movement.

At the Chicago Convention

With the above mentioned facts you can see that it was not necessary for the Party to come to the Chicago convention and make a pogrom there. What happened in Chicago? The Party forced the delegates to accept resolutions which would be suitable only to a Party convention. The leaders forgot that the I. W. C. is not the Communist Party.

This impractical action brought an absolute defeat for the Party. The resolution that the industrial unions organized by the Party were the only bona-fide unions could surely not be accepted. The Party should know that members of the I. W. C. also belong to the A. F. of L. and declined therefore to be stamped as scabs, etc. Also the resolution to recognize the Freiheit and Daily Worker as the only revolutionary press is likewise incorrect.

After the Party's defeat they started with their old method of slander and discrimination against every one who does not agree with them. Zaltsman is trying to tell us that this a Right wingers' fight against the Left wingers, but there is as much truth in it as their yellow slander that comrade Trotsky is for a Tsar (!) in the Soviet Union. The Freiheit daily attacks the leaders of the I. W. C. and tries to discredit them where only yesterday they were praised by the Freiheit. The membership has learned better than to believe the Freiheit. After the Freiheit mobilized all its champions, they went all over the country and brought chaos in the I. W. C.

The "Left Wing" Branches

With slanders every day in the Freiheit, the Party could not succeed to bring more than 45 delegates to the Boston convention and the most of these were fake delegates. The "impartial" delegates or "loyal" branches were represented with fifty two delegates. Zaltsman tries to call his delegates "class conscious". Let us look over his "class conscious" delegates. Branch 50 as a Communist branch (?) passed a resolution that was printed in October, 1929 in Das Naye Wort (official organ of the I. W. C.). Here is the resolution: "At our meeting which was held September 12, 1929, it has been decided to condemn the Freiheit for her anti-semitic acts that it used toward the Palestine pogrom; it was also unanimously decided to tax every member a dollar for the Jews in Palestine." And this is a Communist branch according to Zaltsman's interpretation.

Branch 3 of Brockton is also a real Bolshevik branch. Branch 3 bought a building for an I. W. C. lyceum. A banquet was arranged and among the honorable guests

there were the capitalist city mayor, the police marshal, and the alderman of that ward. Also the delegate of Branch 29, Berg, elected as a Right winger and who had instructions to vote with the "impartial" delegates voted with the Left, to Zaltsman's jubilation. Berg apologizes now for his action and also condemns the Left wing.

At the Chicago convention the resolution on the industrial unions was the main one. Looking over the referendum results which were printed in the January issue of Das Naye Wort, one can see Zaltsman's artificial "45 delegates". Here is the result of the referendum vote in a few of Zaltsman's branches:

No. of Branch	For industrial union resolution	Against
3	15	20
19	13	14
50	20	47
103	10	14
124	14	16
131	0	43

After the Boston convention, held January 12, 1930, a new national executive was

An Open Letter to Leninbund Members

(Continued from Page 4)

ment with any of the existing Russian groups, is by this very fact obligated to create a new Russian group which will lay down a correct political line in the Soviet Union. Otherwise, there would remain nothing for this group except to declare its neutrality towards the October Revolution. The same can be said in connection with any country. Communism must be international or it is not Communism.

But the bureau of the Leninbund? What is its stand on this question? Is it in agreement with any Russian group? Of course it is not a question here of mechanical homogeneity but of agreement on fundamental questions. Of this we know nothing. Obviously, as far as Urbahns is concerned, this is a secondary question, as are all questions relating to the international movement.

The Urbahns faction, in expelling from its ranks the adherents of the International Opposition, is prepared at the same time to ally itself on the international arena with any "left" group on condition that it is not prevented from pursuing its national policy.

Foreseeing their "national" bankruptcy in their struggle against La Verite, the allies of Urbahns—Treint and Paz—dream of creating a united international which will be open to everybody:—those who are for Chiang Kai-Shek; those who are for the Soviet Republic; those who are endeavoring to save the autonomy of the industrial unions; those who struggle for the influence of Communism in the trade unions; those who are for a united front with the Right against the official party, and those who call for a united front with the official party against the Right wing groups. The program of this motley crew is put forward under the slogan of "party democracy". Of all things, can one imagine a more bitter irony directed against party democracy?

We must say openly that, under the guise of struggling against the bureaucracy of the Third International, strenuous efforts are made to slip in tendencies and actions suited to the Second International. And yet, the bureau of the Communist International did not fall from the sky: it arose from certain definite class causes. It is the fact that the Communist International finds itself completely dependent on a state power which in turn depends on the international class struggle. Theoretically, this finds expression in the contradiction which exists between the theory of socialism in one country and the elementary bases for the existence of the Communist International.

There are some national Communists who believe themselves to be Left Communists, who attribute to the Russian Opposi-

tion the characteristic traits of governmental centrism, at the same time appearing to say, "We want nothing from these, or those".

But the Party could not get control of the I. W. C., so something had to be done. Suddenly a new order was given to the Stalinist supporters to take the new executive committee into court. So Zaltsman & Co., believe in the injunction! The order was obeyed and the Freiheit started a new publicity, attacking the I. W. C. from one side, and from the other side it called for a conference for March 30, with the aim to split and organize a new fraternal organization.

It seems that the united front is a mere phrase of the Party.

It is comical that the Freiheit is trying to make one believe that the conference is called to discuss the methods of the I.W.C. At the same time they have already decided to split the I. W. C. Let it be known that the Party gave an order to the few small branches which are under their control, not to pay dues to the national office of the I. W. C. So some of the branches are suspended.

Did the Party tell the members the consequences of such a policy? It seems that the new order will not work, because the membership of the I. W. C. and also the new members will not follow any more their splitting policy. The Party's action breaks again the Left wing movement in the I. W. C. and it also reacts badly on the movement in general.

—L. SCHLOSBERG

NAVAL PARLEY SINKING

"The life of the Naval conference has not yet been pronounced officially extinct, but it is already beyond the power of human aid. Only a miracle can save it. All that optimists confidently predicted for it has come to nothing, and even more reasonable hopes of those who had weighed carefully the difficulties against the opportunities are vanishing into thin air." In this manner the London Times bemoans the collapse of the conference. It is only a question of time now, when the closing chapters on this peace farce will be written.

The delegates spend the week-ends in jaunts to the countryside, playing golf, attending tea parties, and making merry of their trip. All of them await officially the announcement of the close. Attempts at a five-power treaty are already abandoned. Now the direction is toward the signing of a three-power agreement between the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The impossibility to arrive at an agreement between France and Italy, the refusal of Britain, Japan and the United States to agree to the French demand of a 725,000 tonnage ration, and their insistence upon a reduction of the proposals of Italy and France, spelled the death of the negotiations some weeks ago.

Possibilities for Continuation Slim

As matters stand now France will neither agree to reduction nor parity with Italy. Italy insists on parity with France. The other three continue to demand a decrease in the ratios of France and Italy. The official French delegates have returned to France, and only representatives remain so that it cannot be said that "France remained absent from the conference."

A three-power arrangement, too, will meet the same difficulties as the conference proper. This is already indicated in the position of Japan, who states that in the event of a three-power treaty the question of parity ratios would have to be reopened, since their temporary discussions with England and the United States were on the basis of a five-power treaty. Such a reconsideration means that Japan will stand by her original position of a 70 percent ration of the United States and England. But a three-power treaty will result in only increasing the unsolvable contradictions of the imperialists. It will only intensify the differences.

McDonald finds himself in a sorry mess. It must be recalled that one of the main planks of his administration was precisely on the question of disarmament. With his cabinet already in a bad way over their complete failure to solve any of the problems of the British working class, and his further difficulties with the opposition parties, the failure of the conference will have a disastrous effect on him politically. He is making desperate gestures to save the conference and all of them have fallen to the ground.

Pre-Conference Situation Remains

The conference has brought into the open the tremendous contradictions of the powers. The complete failure of the negotiations while disappointing the pacifists, is illuminating in that it gives an excellent picture to the mass of workers as to the real intent of such conferences. Behind the mask of "peaceful intentions" the wolves howl and snarl at one another. They threaten and demand. The situation however remains as before. The burden of armaments continues on the shoulder of the working masses of the entire world. It is increasing every day. Its solution is in the hands of the proletariat.

Each member of the Leninbund should understand that as soon as the split of the Leninbund becomes a fact, the Leninbund will immediately be transformed into an Urbahnsbund, i. e., will immediately be transformed into a small national sect, of no importance, without a future, without any prospects.

This means: a choice must be made. But for a true revolutionary, it is not difficult to choose.

With Communist Greetings,

L. D. TROTSKY
Constantinople, February 6th, 1930.

You see, comrades, that these questions are incomparably more important than the trifles and nonsense on which Urbahns is at the moment basing his prosecutions. The question involves the fate of your or-

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 14,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, April 5, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Pittsburg Taxi Men Solid on 12th Week

PITTSBURG—Taxi drivers after 11 weeks of a bitter strike against Parmalee Transportation Co. continue to present a united front and a determination to win. When automobiles appeared on the streets carrying passengers and donating fares to strikers' relief, Parmalee obtained an injunction against their operation. At the hearing an attempt was made to bar all strikers from the courtroom.

At mass meetings speakers from the pile drivers and wharf workers and the building trades unions urged the workers to continue their fight. At each meeting so far a group of rowdies from the offices of the taxi company have attempted to disorganize the program by shouting "Back to work." They are dubbed the "back to work boys" by the strikers.

Chief demands of the strikers are recognition of the union and 40% commission. Not one desertion from the ranks has occurred.

Φ

BUILDING WORKERS ASK MOONEY-BILLING'S RELEASE

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—The California Building Trades Council in convention at Sacramento has demanded immediate pardons for Mooney and Billings. The unemployment situation was the chief subject of discussion. The five day week in the building trades is about to go into effect in Sacramento.

Polishing The Guns For The Next War

Since January 11, the five chief empires have had representatives in London, where they are polishing their guns in preparation for the next world slaughter. Incidentally, these five nations have about four-fifths of all the fighting-ships. When they go to war, it means that the world is at war, at least so far as navies are concerned.

This London Conference met to consider navies. At the outset it was to be a conference for the reduction of navies. It was therefore referred to as a "disarmament" conference.

For several weeks, however, it has been getting clearer that instead of reducing navies, the conference would probably lead to more navy building. Italy, Japan and the United States are all clamoring for "parity", for "70% ratios" or for something else that spells navy building when it is put into practice.

Nearly 10 years ago—in 1921—a conference was held in Washington at which these same five leading empires were represented. Like the London conference of

IN THE NEXT ISSUE
"The Five Year Plan and World Unemployment" by L. D. Trotsky, an article of the most important character to all workingmen and to the Communists, will appear in the next issue of The Militant. Workers will want to buy a copy of the paper containing this article. Look for the Militant at your newsstand or write to The Militant, 25 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. Peter yet, SUBSCRIBE! \$2.00 per year.

Sharp Decline in Illinois Construction

CHICAGO—Contracts let for building construction the week ending March 21 were less than one third the value in the same week a year ago, according to the F. W. Dodge corporation. The value was \$3,271,000 for Illinois and a year ago \$10,000,000 in round numbers. In Chicago contracts since the first of the year total \$23,000,000. The same period last year they totaled \$84,000,000. For Illinois outside of Chicago the figures were \$19,000,000 this year and \$50,000,000 last year.

Φ

CHICAGO—A jury found nine participants in the Chicago unemployed demonstration of Feb. 21 guilty of disorderly conduct and fines of \$1 to \$60 were imposed. They will be worked out in jail at 50 cents a day.

Only Soviet Union for Peace

There was a conference at Geneva, in 1927. Britain, Japan and the United States sent delegates. France and Italy declined. The word "disarmament" was used when the conference was called. Before it was well under way, it was described as an arms conference. Before it adjourned, the British and American delegates were in one another's hair.

Year after year capitalist empires call disarmament meetings. They have good cause to do it, because the costs of modern armaments are high and the protests of the workers against militarism is persistent and aggressive. Nations like France and Japan cannot stand the pace. Neither can Great Britain for that matter. It would "pay" to disarm. But in one conference after another, called to consider disarmament, the result is further military preparation. Among the great nations only the Soviet Union has come out flat footed for disarmament, and the Soviet Union was not invited to send delegates to the London Conference.

Question: Why does every disarmament conference called by the capitalist empires become an arms parley before it is over?

Answer: Because every imperial statesman knows that the capitalist world is preparing for war, and he dares not let his country lag behind the procession.

So they are polishing the guns in London—preparatory for the next world-slaughter.

Relieve Unemployment Demand Large-Scale Credits to Soviet Union

By MARTIN ABERN

No appreciable change is to be noted in the employment situation throughout the United States. Mass unemployment remains, and will remain a permanent phenomenon of capitalism. No matter what remedies the ruling class proposes or applies, no matter how production is again reestablished,—rationalization, the replacement of man-power by new machinery and methods of equipment, (the belt-line, speed-up, stretch-out, etc.) has vastly increased the army of the permanently unemployed.

Efforts, as never before, are being made to explain away the vast unemployment and the misery it has brought in its wake for the toiling masses. The apologists and crystal-gazers of capitalism try to make one vision a quartz of diamond richness, but the masses who feel the pinch of poverty are beginning to note that the bauble of capitalism, is truly but cheap glass. It becomes increasingly difficult to make out a case for capitalism, or to point to possibilities of any adequate improvement in the immediate or future situation for the masses.

Wm. Green's Report on Unemployment

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor who is always looking for a chance to put in a good word, as well as deed, for his masters, the employers, in his report on unemployment among the organized workers, is unable to cover up the appalling facts of unemployment among them. What can be the case, then, among the unorganized masses in the basic industries, the Steel Mills, Packing Industries, etc., who are affected to an even greater degree by unemployment than the unionized workers, who make up but a few million of the American working masses?

President Green's report for the first half of March on the subject of unemployment among union men, as based on reports from 24 leading cities, has to acknowledge that "improvement is not yet general...In ten cities unemployment was still increasing in March, and in four there was no change...In the different trades, conditions varied also...In the Printing and Metal trades there were more out of work than in February, and in both these trades, unemployment in March reached the highest figure for any month since 1927 when we began keeping records."

Nor is it possible for this labor faker, who regards capitalism as the best of all possible worlds, to hold out hopes of any genuine improvement of conditions in the near future, though he endeavors to hide the truth in a cloud of dusty words. Green goes on to say that "In service industries, transportation, food, clothing, and other manufactures there was no great change...Owing to the unusually large number out of work this year it will undoubtedly be a long time before employment reaches normal proportions. In eleven cities unemployment is still at a very high figure of 20 percent or more out of work—in Jersey City, Cleveland, Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Los Angeles, New York, Paterson and Boston."

Bosses and Government Ignore Needs of Workers

But there will be no "normal" again, notwithstanding Mr. Green, Hoover, and others who try to conceal the facts. But indeed it will be "a very long time" before the mass of unemployed workers or even a good part of them will have even the

consolation of drawing a pittance of wages from a boss.

The Socialists and the American Federation of Labor fakers in New York were compelled, under the pressure of the rank and file workers and the militant propaganda of the Communists and the Left wing, to give consideration to the unemployment question. These elements, speaking through their Emergency Unemployment Conference have to acknowledge the extremity of the unemployed situation in New York. They estimate that five hundred thousand men and women are out of work in New York City, and similar horrifying figures can be brought forward from every city and town in the country.

Where the bosses and their governmental and labor lackeys cannot hide or lie about the true situation, they try to ignore or laugh away those forces who are trying to present a partial remedy for the acute conditions. All that the Mayor, James Walker of New York, can answer to the delegations of workers who made an effort to present the facts and the causes of unemployment to the city government was, "We

(Continued on Page 3)

YELLOW-DOG JUDGE Hoover Nominee for Supreme Court

WASHINGTON—Judge John Johnston Parker, of the Fourth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, nominated by President Hoover to the vacant place on the Supreme Court left by the death of Justice Sanford, has been identified as an endorser of the yellow-dog contract. It is wholly improbable that the Senate will fail to confirm this injunction judge to a lifetime job. The wage workers know that Parker will be an extreme Tory on all industrial issues that come before the court.

It was in 1920 that the 50,000 organized coal miners in West Virginia began their strike to make the remaining coal fields in that state union territory. Half a score of years had shown that coal miners in West Virginia had no civil rights that a coal company or a local official would recognize. Logan county, then as now, was a feudal stronghold into which a union organizer ventured at the risk of his life. Finally a campaign was begun to organize the miners in all the fields, and to carry the union message to Logan. In 1922 occurred the "union crusade" which sent thousands of miners, with members of their families, marching across the hills toward anti-union mines at Logan. State troops and constabulary were rushed to stop the movement. Leaders of the march were arrested, and later were tried for murder. In the midst of this excitement an injunction was issued by Judge McClintic of the Federal District Court at Charleston, forbidding the union men to suggest either striking or joining a union, to miners who had signed yellow-dog contracts with mining companies.

McClintic's impeachment was sought, but he held his seat by reason of the support given him by organized capital in West Virginia and throughout the industrial East. The Mine Workers appealed from his injunction. After many delays, lasting until April 18, 1927, Judge Parker, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, rendered a decision upholding McClintic.

Now Hoover rewards this willing tool of the coal operators and capitalists.

A LECTURE

ALBERT M. GLOTZER

Will Speak On

The Youth Movement

Saturday, April 5, 1930 at 8 P. M.

at the

LABOR TEMPLE

.... 242 East Fourteenth Street

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)
Admission, 15 cents

The A.F. of L. in the South

For two months the American Federation of Labor has been "campaigning to organize" the South. About 100 special organizers are claimed to be in the field covering the five states of Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and the two Carolinas, to concentrate mainly on the textile industry.

Results to date have borne out all the serious indictments made by the revolutionary movement against the A.F. of L. policy and methods. They have shown also that the Southern bourgeois have not in the least relented in their hostility to union organization, even of the reactionary brand, but have rather intensified the offensive against the workers. The latter are giving ample proof of militancy and in the now less spectacular but still continuing sharp conflicts are making a mockery of the deceptive practices of the A. F. of L. with its spineless appeals to the bosses for friendly cooperation. Certainly there is a fertile field for union organization.

Green Meets the Bosses

President Green is again touring the South to try further to put the Federation in the "right" light, to renew his pledges and, if possible, fully to win the favor of business (!). On his last visit he did not forget to advise the employers to organize in order to make an end to cut-throat competition and particularly to emphasize common struggle against the Communists: "Accept us, or the alternative will be the Communists," said Green. No wonder that certain of the more far-sighted capitalist dailies give him a rather favorable reception, comparing him to a successful banker or head of a large business institution. The mayor of Memphis, Tenn., in welcoming Green to the city could therefore, think "hopefully" of the future, remind his audience that he (Green) had "saved the Federation from the Bolshevik tide in 1922."

Meanwhile even children under 16 years of age work the twelve hour shift in North Carolina. Just as the "organization campaign" started, the Piedmont mill in Gastonia administered a 20 per cent wage cut, reducing spinners from \$14.30 to \$11.78 per week and card hands from \$14.40 to \$12.00. This is at a twelve hour night shift and eleven hour day shift.

The Wage-Cutting Campaign and the Strikers

At the Riverside and Dan River mills at Danville, Va. a 10 per cent wage cut took effect on February 1st, bringing the average wage down from \$18.69 to \$16.75. Many, however, receive much less. The company claims, of course, that the workers, through the company union, voted the cut. In these mills Negroes are barred from the company union but not from the wage cuts. The president of the company, H. R. Fitzgerald, appears still able to draw his yearly salary of \$85,000; and the dividends paid on its \$7,500,000 common stock have kept the level of 10 per cent.

In general profits coming, out of the sweat and blood of the Southern textile workers, have piled into the coffers of the absentee owners. Senator Wheeler, quoting from a report in the Senate, stated that the American Viscose Co., producing two-thirds of all rayons, averaged a net profit of 48 per cent on \$184,166,000 gross sales for the three year period 1926-29. Net profit, after all expenses, taxes and depreciation, amounted to \$88,306,000, although the capital investment in 1922 was only \$10,000,000.

The Marion Clinchfield mills, N. C., have announced that the stretchout system is to be put back into effect and, according to reports, there is strike talk among the workers. 135 families are still evicted from the company houses since the last strike. At Swannanoa the weavers in the Beacon Blanket Co.'s mill have struck against the stretchout system and predict that their ranks will grow.

At the American Bemberg Glanzstock

Co. mills at Elizabethton, Tenn., the workers succeeded in obtaining control of the company union. Immediately wholesale discharges followed, against which the workers struck on March 3rd. Over 2,000 workers responded to the call and are now carrying on active picketing.

Southern Workers Show Militancy

Such are the reports from the South. The present Elizabethton strike is the third within less than a year. Without any financial backing and without any strike relief whatever, nevertheless these Southern workers show splendid examples of class solidarity, worthy of becoming object lessons for the worker north of the Mason-Dixon line. McMahon and other leaders in charge of the "drive" have been the most emphatic in stating that they did everything in their power to avert strikes. Unquestionably so; that is the particular mission of the A. F. of L. in the South. Vice-President Gorman of the U. T. W., one of the committee of three in charge, offers the mill barons "cooperation of the U. T. W. in stabilizing labor costs and removing inefficiency in accordance with the labor-management cooperation plan worked out on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad". The Southern workers, however, have already had lessons aplenty in company unionism, for which the B. and O. plan is but another name. By their own initiative they show the way, even forcing

these reactionary leaders to move a step ahead.

Left Wing Must Adopt United Front Policy

Meanwhile the National Textile Workers union under Left wing leadership has apparently left the southern field uncontested to the A. F. of L. Not because the field for organization and militant struggle is less fertile now than before, to which the reports cited above bear witness. No, it is the penalty of false policies which now leaves the reactionaries in complete command. Undoubtedly the Left wing could yet have been an important factor. With correct **united front policies**, particularly at the height of the bourgeois lynching campaign, at the time of the assaults at Gastonia and the killings at Marion, the whole crew of A. F. of L. organizers could not have separated the Left wing from the working masses of the South. Such a policy would have become a mighty lever to extend, to unify and strengthen these many scattered strikes, and thus become a mighty weapon against the bosses. There were conferences held at the time, at which delegates of both unions participated, which could have become splendid opportunities for the practical organization of the united front. Naturally, the A. F. of L. leaders would have opposed this most strenuously; that was to be expected. But, with this policy, whom would the workers follow? The Left wing, of course.

Lessons of the past should be taken advantage of to help guide the present and the future; and it is time that the Left wing learns this lesson.—A. S.

Auto Bosses in Struggle for World Markets

Early in January Col. L.P. Ayres, economist of the Cleveland Trust Co., wrote: "If conditions in the automobile industry can improve vigorously in the early months of the year there will be little cause for concern about the course of general business."

But this does not seem to have taken place. Instead the *Annalist* reports that auto production the first week of March was only one half of last year, while the production schedules of Ford and Chevrolet are both lower than they were a month ago. And for the first two months of the year total production of autos and trucks was just one third lower than it was for the first two months of 1929. Clearly, this industry does not "improve vigorously."

With a falling domestic demand for cars what is happening to exports—the hope of auto manufacturers? Last year they sent abroad only \$234 million worth of passenger cars as compared with \$263 million in 1928. However, though their value declined, the number of cars increased as did the value of trucks exported and the value of auto parts and accessories. There was a gain of 8% in the value of all auto exports in 1929 as compared with 1928. But this gain was much less than that of 1928 over 1927 which was 27%.

European Capitalists, Resist American Penetration

European motor capitalists have been putting up a militant resistance to the exports of American auto makers. The French manufacturers raised a storm of protest from American exporters, when they introduced bills into the French Chamber setting a prohibitive duty on U. S. cars. The Americans immediately formed a "Committee of Defense" to protect their interests, brought pressure to bear on the French government, including threats of reprisals against French goods and, through the American embassy, compelled the French to recede from their position. The French tariff will probably raise the duties on cars only 10%, making a 55% duty which will still permit the Americans to do business at a profit. But the French car makers want an 80 to 90% duty and will put up a strenuous fight for it. Even if the 10% compromise bill should go through this year there is nothing—but still more American pressure—to prevent increased duties being levied later on.

At the same time the Germans have

limited the number of American cars to be imported, through an agreement with Belgian, Italian, French, Czechoslovakian and Austrian manufacturers. This action foreshadows further joint effort to block the growing imports of American cars, and a cartel of all European auto makers.

All signs thus point to increased opposition by the motor capitalists of Europe to being "conquered commercially" by the United States.

British Labor Fakers Aid Bankers

And Britain, under the aggressive lead of the labor government, is not at the tail of this procession. It aims to get its own foot further into the world's auto markets and to fight the advances of the American magnates. Early in the year London reported that J. H. Thomas, chief foreign sales promoter of the labor government, had been in secret meeting with the leaders of the British auto industry urging them to evolve plans to increase their export trade, and to combine and rationalize their factories further in order to compete with American high-speed production.

These foreign developments indicate what is in store for American auto workers, as well as for their brothers working in native or American-owned factories in Europe. The fierce competition for markets is reflected in mass unemployment, more wage cuts and speed up, for those left with precarious jobs in the plants of Detroit, Pontiac, Lansing and Flint—as well as those of Paris, Frankfurt, Berlin and Milan.

NO COMPENSATION FOR FINGERLESS BOYS

RALEIGH, N. C.—Two boys, one 16, the other 15, have been denied compensation for the loss of fingers in mill machines. They were not doing the work for which they were paid, the state industrial commissioner ruled. The 16-year-old boy, white, lost two fingers and a thumb in a cotton mill and the younger boy, a Negro, lost three fingers in a veneer factory.

HOUSTON, Tex.—Committees have been appointed to prepare for the annual convention of the Intl. Typographical Union, which will meet for the first time in this section of the country in September. 2,000 delegates and visitors are expected.

LABOR HATERS MERGE FORCES

The merging of Chase Natl. Bank, Equitable Trust Co. and Interstate Trust Co. places Rockefeller interests at the head of the largest bank in the world.

Until now Rockefeller's Natl. City Bank has been the largest in the United States, but London has held its leadership with the largest in the world. The new mammoth Chase Natl. with total deposits of \$2,100,000,000 now steps ahead of the Midland Bank, Ltd., leading British bank, and registers the fact that New York has displaced London as the world's financial center.

Winthrop W. Aldrich who has been president of the Equitable Trust Co. will represent Rockefeller interests as president of the giant combine. He is brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller Jr. and was personal representative of the Oil Emperor in the Indiana Standard Oil fight last year.

American Capitalists Combining

Other powerful industrial overlords, in addition to the Rockefeller men, are directors of the new financial titan. Copper and iron mining interests are represented by D. C. Jackling, American Smelting and Refining Co. by F. H. Brownell, utility interests by G. M. Dahl, the Western Union Telegraph by Newcomb Carlton, explosives and chemicals by W. S. Carpenter of the DuPont Co., packing interests by F.E. White of Armour's, the international match trust and the sugar trust by H. O. Havemeyer, silk textiles by T. F. Viator, expresses and railroad interests by Cornelius Vanderbilt and other railroad magnates.

As Aldrich has represented Rockefeller interests in a Morgan bank, so now Morgan interests sit on the new combine through Geo. H. Howard and F. L. Polk (utilities), Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, A. H. Griswold of International Tel. and Tel. and G. K. Morrow of Morgan's grocery interests.

Bitterly Anti-Labor

For the workers in the United States, this merger means a further step in consolidating the strongest financial interests, whose anti-union policies are well known. Strikes in the factories, mills and mines controlled by these directors have always been savagely broken up as scabs, thugs, police, courts and churches have been lined up to break the workers' resistance.

Internationally, this latest and mightiest financial merger marks a new stage in the British-American conflict. Rockefeller's Natl. City Bank has long been an outpost of American imperialist finance in territory once dominated by British investors. Now the Chase Natl. steps forward under Rockefeller leadership to displace a British bank as largest in the world.

STATE LABOR HEAD SHOWS HEAVY UNEMPLOYMENT IN MICHIGAN

DETROIT—Speaking at a Detroit student gathering, Eugene J. Brock, state commissioner of labor stated:

"The situation here in Michigan has become steadily worse," said Brock. "Where we usually have 3,000 families totally destitute in Detroit we now have 12,000. In the state at large over 100,000 are totally dependent on charity for their continued existence. 75,000 persons have already been compelled to leave the state."

"This is one of the busiest seasons of the year for both furniture and automobiles and yet we find unemployment reaching unprecedented figures in Grand Rapids, the furniture center, while out of 48,000 workers in Flint only 28,000 are employed. And they are employed only on part time."

"In Detroit less than 60% of the workers are at work and even they are working considerably less than two-thirds full time."

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—More than 2,000 workers are now employed at the new Enka rayon mill near Asheville. Of these 1,270 are girls and 750 men.

Relieve Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

have wasted two hours listening to political propaganda". From such as these—the Walkers, et al—nothing can indeed be expected. It is for the workers to understand and act in their own interests.

Workers Begin to See Capitalism as Cause of Unemployment

It is no longer possible to get all the workers to accept the situation as quietly as they have in the past. Greater numbers of them are becoming conscious of the situation and the causes behind mass unemployment. They are beginning to recognize that unemployment grows out of, is nurtured by, increases, and cannot be done away with under capitalism. Thus they are driven to the consideration of ways and means for the abolition of capitalism.

The Senate Committee on Commerce listens for hours upon hours and days upon days to capitalists or their representatives, discusses business growth, tariff revision, censorship of radical and scientific literature, but they will not permit and will not listen to representatives of workers who have definite measures to put forward for the alleviation of unemployment. This was very clearly demonstrated when the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League were refused a hearing on the matter of unemployment. To listen to representatives of the workers is not to the liking of the bosses; but soup lines remain meanwhile and the poverty of the masses increases.

What a mockery the "benefits" of capitalist society are to the working masses, is exhibited by the words of Dr. Julius Klein, assistant United States Secretary of Commerce and a close co-worker of President Hoover, who states: "At least two-thirds of the population of the world live in countries where a considerable proportion of the people are underfed."

To Aid Unemployed, Demand Credits for Soviet Government

Hoover "strikes up the band" with a roar of prosperity that is to come and writes the score for programs of work, building and reconstruction. But all remains on the sheet. Nothing is said of the utilization of such actual sources as would make possible the employment of tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of American workers now out of a job. We refer here to the silence on the question of the extension of large-scale and long time credits to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

This, on the one hand, would make possible the purchase of large orders of machinery for the industrialization of the Soviet Union, as well as modern agricultural equipment for use on collective and Soviet farms; and, on the other hand, it would thereby make possible in return the greater export from the Soviet Union of various articles of consumption, such as, grain, butter, meats, as well as those products which the Soviet Union now exports in large quantities, such as oil, timber, etc. Why this failure of the Hoover government, with all its talk of prosperity building, to utilize the possibility to aid materially the American workers through the medium of large-scale trade with and credit extensions to the Soviet government?

The material interests of both the American workers and the Soviet workers are affected by this question. Obviously, too, the material and political relations between the Soviet workers and the American masses would be enhanced and a better understanding gained by the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, namely, the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States.

It should be plain to every worker that the establishment of big and planned economic exchange between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States on the other, could help in a good measure the amelioration of the economic situation of the masses of the unemployed in America, though it cannot of course solve the question of unemployment under capitalism.

Unite Forces on Behalf of Jobless

We have referred time and again to the narrow, sectarian policy that has been followed by the official Communist Party in the movement on behalf of the unemployed.

The Party has failed to initiate a broad movement for the unemployed, to unite all possible elements on this issue. By their failure to propose a united front to the socialists, A. F. of L. and other elements being jerked into motion by rank and file pressure, the official Communist Party has made and makes it easier for these social reformists and outspoken capitalist supporters to lead the unemployed movement into channels that betray the interests of the workers. Not one real step has the Party taken to develop such a united front movement.

The official Communist Party press is filled with the arrests and persecution of workers throughout the country who engaged in activities in the unemployed movement, organizing the unorganized, etc. It is necessary to unite all possible forces for the defense of these arrested workers and against the attempts of the bosses and the government to frame them up and railroad them to prison. But the defense movement of the Communist Party, as expressed through the International Labor Defense, rejects in practice any proffers to aid the defense of the arrested and persecuted workers and continues a narrow line on all fronts.

Demand Communist Party Change Its Isolation Policy

It is high time that the Communist Party turns sharply away from this course that leads to further isolation and weakening of the prestige of the Communist movement.

Such a broad united front movement can make militant efforts on behalf of the unemployed for work or compensation, a shorter work day, lessening of the speed-up, a campaign upon the United States government for large-scale and long time credits to and recognition of the Soviet government by the United States government.

It was to be expected, as we anticipated, that the national unemployment conference of the Trade Union Unity League, with a narrow outlook, would prove chiefly a talkfest and hence will leave its various slogans on behalf of the unemployed largely paper resolutions. It is time for the Party to call a halt to such practices and conceptions.

Methods in the Unemployed Movement

On the burning issue of mass unemployment, which will remain a central problem for capitalism and which the Communists must know how to utilize effectively, the Left wing and Communists have to present the issue concretely so that every worker can understand the partial program of the Communists for the relief of the unemployed. The appeals to the mass of the unemployed and the employed cannot be based merely on the abstraction of solidarity. A big task is to reduce to the minimum the friction between the employed and the unemployed that naturally grows out of the economic situation. A broad united front movement is imperative which has the possibilities in it to bring together more closely the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized in the country, and which can also be the means of serving to cement the alliance of workers in all lands. The economic and political reasons speak loudly for such a policy.

It is therefore, for this reason, among others, that we regard it necessary for the Communists to conduct a campaign for and to make demands upon the Hoover government for the establishment of broad and long time credits to the Soviet Union by the United States. This should, in fact, be a central slogan of the Communists in all countries. It is possible to demonstrate to the American workers the simple material needs that link them closely with the needs of the Soviet masses. The refusal of the Hoover government, in the face of mass unemployment in the United States, to recognize the Soviet Union and thereby to facilitate vast economic relations between the two countries, more than ever makes this a national political issue. The Communists must make it clear that the development of economic relations on a larger scale between the two countries also increases many times the opportunity to strengthen the sympathy of the American working class toward the Soviet Union.

Tasks of the Communists

To the Communists it should be plain that such an economic development, the wider importation of machinery and agricultural equipment, would aid tremendously the five-year plan of the Soviet government (howsoever crudely, mechanically and arbitrarily this plan is being carried out by the Stalinists.) (We do not here deal with the question, that naturally arises through the growth of such a policy, of international political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world and its contradictions: such as the reduction to absurdity of the theory of socialism in one country (Stalin-Bucharin) and the peculiar brand of National-Socialism of the Right wing of the Western countries (Brandier-Lovestone) nor of all the other contradictions which can be solved only in the arena of the international socialist revolution. These will be dealt with in other articles.)

What we reiterate again in the sharpest manner are:

1. Revive the policy of the United Front for a struggle in the interests of the unemployed.
2. Build a genuine mass movement of the unemployed.
3. Organize a wide national defense movement for the aid of the arrested and persecuted workers at the hands of the ruling class.

The rank and file of the Communist Party must demand of the leadership that it stop at once its sectarian and isolationist policy and that it unite all Communist forces to lead an effective struggle for the above demands.

Φ

Buffalo Unemployment Heavy

BUFFALO—Again the workers of Buffalo have been promised "pie by and by". Meanwhile they will have to sate their hunger with the more solid feel of police billys. One doubts if the promise of "better times" that comes from the head of the Chamber of Commerce will enable the workers to extend their credit at the corner grocery. For the present they are permitted to starve.

Buffalo is a highly industrial town and conditions are very bad. "Normally" there are about 8,000 unemployed workers in the region. According to the figures of John J. Johnston, secretary of the Buffalo Central Labor Council, there are at present about 40,000 unemployed in the city alone. Johnston bases his figures primarily upon reports of the skilled and semi-skilled organized in the trade unions, so that the percentage of unemployment is actually higher. Even Johnston's figures would show one out of every four Buffalo workers unemployed.

The reports from the various charitable organizations testify to the miserable conditions of the unorganized workers especially. The municipal department of public welfare is now giving aid to 3,400 families, three times the average number. When we recollect the case of the youth who was recently shot and killed while taking a loaf o bread, it is testimony to the fact that the so-called charitable organizations do everything to discourage and humiliate the workers who come to them for aid. Large numbers have, nevertheless, asked, but only to be denied aid.

The hokum of increased building construction is also being handed out in this city. Average unemployed among the building trades at this time of the year is less than 40%. The report of secretary Johnston itself indicates that 53% of the workers in the building industry are out of work. Over 15,000 workers stormed the city employment office one Friday for snow shovelling work. About 1000 were hired for the short time needed. A class conscious labor movement yet needs to develop.

Φ

SPARTANBURG, S. C.—A bill to curb stretchout by prohibiting operation of more than 48 looms in South Carolina by one textile worker has been unfavorably reported to the state legislature by its committee on commerce and manufacturing.

Φ

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—New Bedford textile mills are operating at only 55% of capacity, with 25,000 looms idle out of a total of 55,000. This is a high mark for inactivity in this textile center.

Communist League to Print Important Books

The Communist League of America (Opposition) will begin the publication shortly of a series of books and documents of the most extraordinary interest and importance to the working class and the revolutionary Communist movement in general. This material which represent some of the most important writings, speeches, theses, etc., of the Russian Opposition, of Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev, Radek and others, has never been published in the English language. They have been suppressed by the Stalin-Bucharin factions.

Despite the fact that these documents were presented officially to the congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to various Party plenums, and represent the views and platform of the Opposition, they have never seen the light of day. Among these books, the first of which will soon be out, are:

1. The Revolution Disfigured by L. D. Trotsky.
2. The Theory of the Permanent Revolution by L. D. Trotsky.
3. The Platform of the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).
4. The Struggle for Peace and the Anglo-Russian Committee by L. D. Trotsky.
5. The Declaration of the 500. (This is a lengthy document addressed to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by 500 of the leading Bolsheviks of the Russian Communist Party).
6. The Chinese Revolution and the Thesis of Comrade Stalin by L. D. Trotsky.
7. The Thesis on the Chinese Revolution by G. Zinoviev.
8. The Defeat of the Chinese Revolution by Karl Radek.
9. A Letter of Three Comrades. (Representatives of the Stalin faction in China) presented in March 1927. A powerful criticism of the line of Stalin in the Chinese Revolution.
10. Speeches and Articles of L. D. Trotsky to the 8th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Chinese Question.
11. The Transformation of the Russian Proletariat and the Party as Created by the Proletarian Dictatorship by Ch. Rakovsky.
12. The Crisis of the Right-Centrist Bloc and the Perspectives by L. D. Trotsky.
13. On the New Stage by L. D. Trotsky.
14. The Crisis in the International by L. D. Trotsky.
15. Speech of Comrade Vuyovitch to the 8th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
16. A Sorry Document, by L. D. Trotsky (On the Question of Capitulation).
17. The Legend of "Trotskyism".

These books and documents, which have already been translated from the Russian, German and French, will fill a number of large volumes, form an inexhaustible reservoir for the student of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. They will serve as a practical guide for the Communists in the working class struggles. They enrich greatly the library of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. All of these, as well as others now being translated, will be published with systematic regularity through the Militant at popular prices which will enable every worker to purchase them. The first of these to be printed will be "The Revolution Disfigured".

Φ

FROM A SOUTHERN WORKER

Richmond, Va.

Dear Fellow Workers:

I rode in a street car and found a copy of the Militant on a seat. I must say that everything you say is certainly so with us working people.

I've been a former I. W. W., but have dropped out. I wonder if you would send me a copy of the "Real Situation in Russia" which you advertise, by the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky. I'm interested in happenings in Russia and I want the true facts—and I'm sure that book will give me all the necessary information.

I've been out of work for the last five months, and haven't a penny to my name, and therefore would appreciate it if you could send me the Militant free, and some back copies will also be O. K. One couldn't buy a job here... We need the kind of unions you are fighting for. J. J.

The Period of Right-Centrist Down-Sliding in the C. I.

by L. D. TROTSKY

The policy of the most important Communist Parties, decided upon at the Fifth Congress, very soon showed itself to be completely inadequate. The mistakes of the specious "Leftism" which hampers the development of the Communist Parties, later gave the impetus to new empirical zig-zag deviations, and those to an accelerated sliding down towards the Right. When people are burned by hot milk, they begin to blow cold on water, too. The "Left" Central Committees of a whole series of Parties were just as violently overthrown as they had been formed before the Fifth Congress. The adventurist Leftism made way for an open opportunism of a Right-Centrist type. To comprehend the character and the tempo of this organizational Rightward swing, it must be recalled that Stalin, the leader of this swing, back in September 1924, characterized the passing of Party leadership to Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Treint, Suzanne Girault and others, as the expression of the Bolshevization and as an answer to the demands of the Bolshevik workers who, on their way to the revolution "want to have revolutionary leaders" too.

Stalin wrote, "the last half year is noteworthy in the respect that it brought a fundamental reversal in the life of the Communist Parties of the West, in the sense that the social democratic remnants were liquidated, the Party cadres Bolshevized and an isolation of the opportunist elements took place." (Pravda, September 20, 1924).

But only ten months later the true "Bolsheviks" and "revolutionary leaders" were declared social democrats and renegades, removed from Party leadership and thrown out of the Party.

Despite this panicky character of the amputation of leaders, very often through rude and disloyal mechanical means of the apparatus, a somewhat rigid ideological dividing line between the ultra-Left policy and the period of opportunist down-sliding that followed it, can nevertheless be drawn.

The Revisionism of Stalin and Bucharin

In the questions of industry and agriculture in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, of the colonial bourgeoisie, of the "peasant" parties in the capitalist countries, of socialism in one country, of the role of the Party in the proletarian revolution, the revisionist theories already appeared in fullest bloom in 1924-25. They cloaked themselves with the banner of the struggle against "Trotskyism" and found their plainest, most distinct opportunist expression in the resolutions of the April conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1925.

Taken as a whole, the course to the Right represents the attempt at a half-blind, purely empirical and belated adaptation to the retardation of the revolution caused by the defeat of 1923. The original attitude of Bucharin, as has already been mentioned, was founded in the "permanent" development of the revolution, and that in the literal, purely mechanical sense of this word. Bucharin granted no "breathing spaces", interruptions or defeats of any kind and considered it a revolutionary duty to continue the "offensive" under all circumstances.

In the above quoted—in its way programmatic—article of Stalin "On the International Situation", which presents the very first entry by Stalin into international questions, we are shown that the second author of the draft also professed the very same purely mechanical "Left" conception in the first period of the struggle against "Trotskyism". For this conception, only a "decay" of the social democracy, a "Leftward turn" of the workers, a "growth" of the Communist Parties and an "approach" of the revolution, existed always and unalterably. But the one who could look about him and discern things was and is a "liquidator". This new "tendency" needed a year and a half in order to observe something new after the change in the situation in Europe in 1923, so as then to transform itself in panic into its opposite. The leadership orientated itself, without any syn-

The following section represents chapter eight from the larger work of L. D. Trotsky entitled, "Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch", which will be published soon in book form by the Communist League. "Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch", at the same time represents the third section of the document, "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International" which was presented to the 6th Congress of the Comintern on behalf of the Russian Opposition.

The entire book was suppressed from the delegates to the 6th Congress, in violation of the statutes of the Communist International. The Program Commission of the Congress was permitted to read only two of the sections of comrade Trotsky's historic document, and then compelled to return them to the archives. But this particular section "Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch", which presents an exhaustive analysis of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement in this period, was totally suppressed from the entire Congress. The Communist League has obtained a copy of it, along with other documents mentioned in another column, of which this chapter is now presented to our readers. This entire book will appear shortly in book form at popular prices.—Ed.

thetic understanding of our epoch and its inner tendencies, only after the feelings (Stalin) and filled the fragments of conclusions thus received every time with scholastic schemas (Bucharin). The political line as a whole, therefore, represents a chain of zig-zags; the ideological bond, a kaleidoscope of schemata that have the tendency to lead every fragment of the Stalinist zig-zag to absurdity.

The Sixth Congress would act correctly if it were to decide to elect a special commission which would have the task to gather all those theories that were created by Bucharin, for instance—only for motivating the various stages of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This commission would have to put these theories together chronologically and bring them into a system so as to attempt to draw a malarial curve of the ideas contained in them. That would become one of the most instructive strategical diagrams. The same also holds for the Chinese revolution, the economic development of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and also every less important question. Blind empiricism, sometimes scholasticism, that is the course that still awaits its condemnation. The effects of this course showed themselves more fully in the three most important questions: In the internal policy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in the Chinese revolution and in the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. In the same direction, even if not so obvious and less fatal with regard to the consequences, this course of the Comintern was also reflected in all the other political questions.

So far as the internal questions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are concerned, a sufficiently detailed characterization of the policy of down-sliding is given in the Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition). We must limit ourselves here with a reference to this Platform. This Platform, moreover, now receives an apparently unexpected confirmation by the fact that all the attempts of the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to free itself from the consequences of the policy of the years 1923 to 1928 are motivated through nearly literal quotations from this Platform, whose authors and adherents are dispersed in the prisons and in exile. The fact, however, that the present leadership has recourse to the Platform only in sections and particles, without connecting one end with the other, makes the new Left turn extremely unsteady and hopeless, but at the same time gives the Platform, as the generalizing expression of a real Leninist course, an all the greater value.

The question of the Chinese revolution is dealt with in the Platform insufficiently, not concretely and in part is positively false (Zinoviev). In consideration of the decisive importance of this question for the Comintern we are obliged to subject it to a more detailed investigation in a special section (III).

So far as the Anglo-Russian Committee is concerned, the third most important question from the strategical experiences of the Comintern in the last years, there still remains for us, after all that has already been said by the Opposition in a series of articles, speeches and theses, to sum up the results here briefly.

The Results of the Anglo-Russian Committee

The point of departure of the Anglo-Russian Committee, as we have already seen, lay in the impatient endeavor to leap over the young and too slowly developing Communist Party. The circumstances gave the whole experiment a false character already even before the general strike.

The Anglo-Russian Committee was perceived, not perhaps as only a purely episodic bloc of leaders that would unfailingly have to be and would be torn demonstratively at the first serious test in order to compromise the General Council. No, in it, not only Stalin, Bucharin, Tomsy and others, but also Zinoviev saw a long-lived "friendship", a weapon for the systematic revolutionization of the English working masses, and if not the gate, at least its threshold, over which the revolution of the English proletariat would stride. The Anglo-Russian Committee became transformed—the further the greater—from an episodic understanding to an untouchable principle that stood above the real class struggle. That became obvious at the time of the general strike.

The entry of the mass movement into the open revolutionary stage threw even those liberal labor politicians who had become somewhat Left back into the camp of the bourgeois reaction. They betrayed the general strike openly and consciously and then also undermined and betrayed the miners' strike. The possibility of betrayal is always imbedded in reformism. That does not mean of course that reformism and betrayal are one and the same at every moment. Agreements can be temporarily made with the reformists, if they make a step forward. But to keep up a bloc with them when they commit treason shortly before the development of a movement, signifies a criminal neglect and carelessness towards the traitors and a velling of betrayal.

The general strike had the task of exercising a united pressure upon the employers and the state with the power of the five million workers, for the question of mining was becoming the most important question of State policy. Thanks to the betrayal of the leadership, the strike was already strangled in the first stage. It was a very strong illusion, still to believe after that, that an isolated economic struggle of the mine workers alone would achieve that which the General Strike did not achieve.

That is where the power of the General Council lay. It aimed with cold calculation at the defeat of the mine workers, in the course of which considerable sections of the workers would be convinced of the "correctness" and the "common sense" of the Judas directions of the General Council.

The Role of the Russian Unions in the Bloc

The retention of the friendship bloc with the General Council, with simultaneous support of the lingering economic strike of the mine workers, against which the General Council came forward, was to some extent calculated to create the possibility for the head of the trade unions to come out of this heaviest test with the lightest possible loss of confidence.

The role of the Russian trade unions here, from the revolutionary standpoint, was a very unfavorable and positively pitiful one. Of course, a support of the economic strike, even an isolated one, was absolutely necessary. There can be no two opinions on that among revolutionaries. Yet this support should have borne not only a financial, but also a revolutionary-political character. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions should have declared openly to the English Mine Workers Union and the whole English working class, that the mine workers' strike could count seriously upon success only if, by its stubbornness, its tenacity and its impetus, it could prepare the way for a new outbreak of the General Strike. That would have been achieved, however, only by an open direct struggle against the General Council, that agency of the government and the mining employers. The struggle to transform the economic strike into a political strike signified, therefore, an intense political and organizational war against the General Council. The first step to such a war had to be the break with the Anglo-Russian Committee which had become a reactionary hindrance, a chain on the feet of the working class.

No revolutionary who weighs his words will maintain that a victory would have been assured along this direction. Yet the victory on the whole was only possible on this road. A defeat on such a road, which can lead later to victory, would ripen lessons, that is, implant the revolutionary idea in the working class in the meantime. Whereas, the mere financial support of the lingering and inextricable trade union strike (trade union strike—in its methods; revolutionary-political—in its aim) only meant grist to the mill of the General Council, which could await calmly until the crumbling of the strike was forced through starvation and it was thereby proved that it "was right". It was not of course easy for the General Council to await this end as an open strike-breaker for several months. Precisely for this very critical period did the General Council need the Anglo-Russian Committee as its political protection from the masses. In this manner the questions of the mortal class struggle between English capital and the proletariat, between the General Council and the mine workers, were, so to speak, transformed into questions of a friendly discussion—between the two allies of the bloc, the English General Council and the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions on the subject of which of the two roads was better: the road of an agreement or the road of an isolated economic struggle. The inevitable outcome of the strike was the agreement, that is, the tragic decision of the friendly "discussion" in favor of the General Council.

The Bloc with the General Council and "Stabilization"

The entire policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, as a result of its false line, was from beginning to end only an aid to the General Council, a support and a strengthening of it. Even the long financial support with which the strike was sustained by the great self-sacrifice on the part of the Russian working class, did not serve the mine workers or the English Communist Party, but only the same General Council. And, as a result of this greatest revolutionary movement in England since the time of Chartism, no growth of the English Communist Party, while the General Council sits in the saddle even more firmly than before the General Strike.

These are the results of this unique "strategical maneuver".

The obstinacy with which the retention of the bloc with the General Council was advocated, which was converted to direct servility at the disgraceful Berlin session in April, 1927, was likewise motivated by reference to the "stabilization". During a retardation in the revolutionary development, one is forced to cling to Purcell, you see. This argument, which appeared to be very convincing, perhaps to a Soviet official or a trade unionist of the type of a Melnichansky, forms in reality a perfect example of blind empiricism—

(Continued on Page 8)

Throughout the World of Labor

In Spain after the Fall of the Dictatorship Monarchy, Republic or Proletarian Revolution?

On March 1st, we published an article by comrade Gorkin on "The Fall of Primo de Rivera and Its Consequences". In connection with this article comrade Trotsky made certain comments, bearing particularly on the agitation of the petty bourgeoisie for a republic and the attitude of the workers towards this agitation. Comrade Gorkin replies below.

* * *

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

I shall attempt to clarify you on the points raised in your letter of February 12.

In my article, I stated that "In the beginning the struggle would be led by the petty bourgeoisie, the republicans, and the socialists". Already the different conspirators against the dictatorship have been led by the petty bourgeoisie in concurrence with a large part of the army which feels itself to be "republican". The proletariat has hardly ever interfered for two principal reasons: because the organizers do not inspire them with confidence—besides, the organizers fear the intervention of the proletariat—and because there is no Communist party or revolutionary class organization capable of launching the struggle. And the set-backs of these conspiracies have been due to just that: the lack of intervention of a genuine revolutionary element. It is a fact, too, that the struggle against the monarchy—in a weak and legalistic manner, it is true—is now being led by the petty bourgeoisie. They hold the monarchy responsible—contrary to us, who, of course, hold imperialism as a whole responsible—for the Moroccan "adventure", the loss of millions in money and huge loss in life, crowned by the catastrophe at Annual, even as at the time of the coup d'etat. The dictatorship was the monarchy's last card. Almost everyone in Spain realized this. Sanchez Guerra, former leader of the Conservative Party, a thoroughly dynastic party, prepares for presiding over a sort of heterogeneous Left bloc, embracing those who demanded a revision of the constitution, the various shades of republicans, up to the socialists—we shall return to him in due time. Ossorio y Gallardo, one of Maura's former lieutenants, a Christian socialist, known for his demagoguery which very often forces him to use language more radical than that of the socialist "lackeys", threatens to call for an accounting of the King's liabilities; and Romanones himself—whom you know well for having caused your expulsion from Spain in 1916—has begun to extol a form of republic, presided over by the king—a form of "republican monarchy". He has saved the monarchy twice already and at present wishes to save it again, but under the cloak of—a president of the Republic. Those former politicians who dare to speak of their monarchism, do so in a very weak voice. So unpopular is the monarchy at the present time that even those most monarchistically inclined, believe it prudent to disguise themselves as republicans; an example is one of Maura's sons, the assassin of Ferrer. Plainly, this disguise can fool only imbeciles.

Why the Petty Bourgeoisie Are Republican

But let us return to our petty bourgeoisie. Their republicanism is, as you have so well put it, the expression of despair. This despair is the result of deep-seated political and economic causes. Thus—the heaviest taxes bear down upon them. From 1922 to 1928 levies increased by 1,292 million pesetas*. Provincial and municipal taxes increased proportionally (the sums realized by municipal and provincial councils increased to 965 millions between 1923 and 1929). Spain maintains a corps of officers of much higher rank proportionally than those of other countries. This explains why in the last budget, so large a budgetary

item was added to the ordinary budget of the dictatorship; 800 million pesetas were assigned to the army and navy, whereas only a 172 million was assigned for public education. This does not take into account the 700 millions expended by the dictatorship for war material and the 877 millions spent for the navy, this being reckoned into the extraordinary budget, as well as the loan of 500 millions recently raised.

The deficit of the expositions of Seville and Barcelona, about 500 million pesetas, must be added. In a word, the ordinary budget has risen from 2,879 millions in 1923 to 4,185 millions and the public debt which was 14,700 millions in 1923 is today—these are the official figures—more than 21,000 million and to this must be added the debt of about 350 million pesetas destined for manipulation of the international money market. It can be said that at the liquidation of the dictatorial period the debt exceeded 23,000 million. Since Spain has a population of about 22 million this represents a debt of about 1,050 pesetas for each inhabitant.

To this must be added that during the dictatorial period the petty bourgeoisie suffered on two fronts: the constant intervention of the economic organs of the state which hindered its development, and the concentration of the national economy into the hands of the big financiers and industrialists which threatened its existence as a class. The republicanism of the petty bourgeoisie is completely explained: it holds the monarchy responsible for the experiences of the dictatorship and demands a new constitution which would make impossible a renewal of such experiences.

Fear of the Proletariat

Will the petty bourgeoisie be able to set into motion the masses of workers and peasants in a struggle for the bourgeois republic? No. Today as yesterday, during the conspiracies, it fears the proletariat. Recently the demonstrating unemployed in Madrid—we shall speak of the unemployment situation presently—sought the aid of the students. The latter, although clamorous the day before, refused. And the Republicans and Socialists said to the unemployed: "Remain quiet, you will spoil everything". The petty bourgeoisie who desire a small tranquil republic, attained by legalistic means are afraid that the proletariat will interfere with their plans. As between the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat, their choice will be made quickly. Besides, Sanchez Guerra is preparing to place himself at the head of the petty bourgeoisie and this is very significant. One word about this man: in 1903 while governor of Madrid he compromised himself in the assassination of a news dealer who took part in a workers' demonstration. In 1909 while minister together with Maura and La Cierva, he was one of those responsible for the "bloody week" of Barcelona, and for the assassination of Ferrer. In 1917 while at the head of the conservative government, he played a sinister role in violently suppressing the great revolutionary strike and mutilating the dead bodies of the strikers. These are three small exploits of the "saviour" who is preparing to attempt the "operation".

The Condition of the Workers and Peasants

Before taking up what our position toward the republican petty bourgeoisie should be, let us say a few words on the situation of the workers and peasants. If the conditions of the petty bourgeoisie are bad, those of the workers are naturally much worse. This is especially evident in the form of chronic unemployment. For the past two years the number of unemployed has been: thirty percent of the mining basin of Asturias, sixty percent in the Biscay, from thirty to forty percent of the building industry of Madrid (in the latter

industry in Madrid there are at present 35,000 unemployed).

The ultra-protectionist policies of the dictatorship during the last few years has lowered these figures somewhat, but these policies have at the same time caused living expenses to rise higher and higher. The unemployment situation will become intensified still more by the fact that the new government is stopping the major part of the public works undertaken by the dictatorship. The unemployed do not receive any aid from the state or from the municipalities. Those who do work receive niggardly wages.

The conditions of the agricultural workers are still worse. The Spanish peasantry, especially in Andalusia and in Castile, have always been subjected to the most miserable conditions possible. (Spain is a country with an agricultural economy; 71 percent of the population of Spain are peasants.) Side by side with the large estates there are thousands of agricultural farm workers without land and without work. In Andalusia side by side with acres and acres of non-productive land used for hunting, there are thousands of farm hands who work no more than 50 to 80 days during the year and that for starvation wages. It is there that the class differences are sharpest. Also, the class hatreds are easily aroused there. In 1918-1920, while struggles of large magnitude were unfolding in the principal centers under the influence of the October revolution, the Andalusian province was in a ferment of revolt. The workers burned the harvests of the large estates, ran through the streets crying "Long live Lenin!" "Long live Trotsky!" disarmed the police and freed their arrested comrades. The peasant nurses abandoned the children of the rich...

The Workers' Awakening

It is evident that the masses of workers and peasants will awake to struggle soon enough. If this awakening is not yet an accomplished fact, it is due to the absence of a strong and disciplined Communist Party and revolutionary unions. We should expect powerful strikes which must be coordinated by connecting the economic demands with revolutionary political aims. It will be necessary to know how to link up the strike movements with unemployed movements. This plainly calls for special organizing of unemployed. And if the movement becomes really serious, and if conditions warrant the belief that it can develop with sufficient rapidity, activity should be directed, as you say quite correctly, towards militant propaganda for the election of Soviets and for the permanent slogan, For a Workers' and Peasants' government. (The slogan has just been launched by the Spanish Communist Party.)

A few lines now on class organizations. The only Party that had a legal existence during the dictatorship, outside of the Patriotic Union, is the Socialist Party; and the only workers organization, aside from the so-called "free" unions (organized by Martinez Amido during the period of harsh oppression)—is the Confederation of Labor. The collaboration of the Socialists with all the economic and political organizations of the dictatorship was the price of this legality. The Socialist Party numbers between 7 and 8 thousand members; the Confederation of Labor, some 200 thousand members. The latter are recruited mainly in Madrid and the backward rural districts. The well known anarcho-sindicalist National Confederation of Labor succeeded with difficulty in retaining 25 thousand members. The worker and peasant masses will swiftly create powerful revolutionary organizations. It is highly improbable that the reformist organization will succeed in augmenting its effective forces (as a contrast the National Confederation of Labor can see once again the splendor of former times.) It remains for us Communists to gain influence in its midst and to try to obtain the leadership.

After what I have said above, it is unnecessary to lay much stress on the subject of our relations with social-bourgeois

republicanism. For the petty bourgeoisie the republic is a goal; for us it can be a stage toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our tactics are clear: struggle against the Monarchy, and, at the same time unmask the republicans and socialists, while organizing the proletariat for the social revolution. Our permanent slogan must be: A government of the workers and peasants. When the moment arrives, we must agitate for the elections of Soviets. It would be ridiculous to forward this slogan now. The street fights against the police and their machine guns, the revolutionary strikes and the demonstrations with red flags in the forefront, exist unfortunately, only in the minds of the scribblers of Humanite. Having seen a manifesto of the Communist Party of Spain, calling on this for the future and not knowing a word of Spanish, nor, for that matter, a word of Leninism, they believe that this had actually happened.

The Opposition and the Party

A final very important point: our Oppositional relations with the Communist Party of Spain. The position of the Party could not be any weaker. Since its founding, it has suffered from a series of crises which have reduced it to almost nothing. The Communist International shares a large part of the responsibility for this situation. It has favored a leadership of bureaucrats without the following of the Party to a fighting, capable and devoted leadership.

The Party is beginning to reorganize. Possibilities exist for the formation of a strong proletarian Party (a Party with four, six or eight thousand well-disciplined members could be a revolutionary force of the first magnitude in Spain.) Its organization is not difficult at this moment; on the contrary, it is very easy. The betrayals of the Socialists and the relative state of decomposition of anarcho-sindicalism, make the situation favorable for this organization. We must primarily work toward the capture of the Federations (of the seven regional federations; the three most important are in fact with us: the Asturian, the Catalanian and the Valencian).

This is a very good starting point.

—GORKIN

Φ

War on Russia Cry U. S. Imperialists

The "Russian menace" was the chief topic of discussion at a preparedness "patriotic dinner" held by the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on March 27.

Among those present were Mayor Waller of New York, General Ely, Brig. General Delafield, and Major Hardenbrugh. Coming together for a discussion of the possibility of an attack by a "foreign invader", the discussion continued on the need to increase the military preparedness of the United States. But the discussion did not linger on this very long. It turned to a discussion on who this "foreign invader" might be.

Militarist Hounds for War on Soviet Union

General Delafield in his speech uttered no words in declaring that the menace to the world was Russia. He made it clear that this was not the problem of the United States alone, but became the task of the leading imperialists of the world to unite in this common struggle. The speech contained lengthy invectives against the working class government of the Soviet Union; in closing, Delafield emphasized the need of the United States to join "with France, Great Britain and the other nations in preparing to ward off the Russian menace." (N. Y. Times, March 28)

This session of militarists is part of the concerted organization of the capitalist powers preparing for assault against the Soviet Union. While disagreeing among themselves, they are as one on the question of uniting to destroy the working class of Soviet Russia and the proletarian dictatorship. It is well that the workers of this country remember the Walkers, Davisons, and Delafields.

* The peseta is worth about 12 cents on the exchange.

GANDHI'S POLICY AND THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT

According to recent newspaper reports, Gandhi, the Indian nationalist leader, was preparing to use the power conferred on him by the Indian National Congress in the month of January, for the purpose of carrying on an active campaign of "non-cooperation" throughout the country.

This event is important in that it marks a new attempt of the bourgeoisie of India to resume the struggle against British Imperialism under the pressure of continued agitation of the worker and peasant masses.

A problem of prime importance for British Imperialism, as well as for the Communist International, is that of the Indian Revolution. For England, its importance is infinitely greater than that of the Chinese Revolution. Although the Indian Revolutionary movement is unfolding thousands of miles away from the Metropolis, it affects one of the principal vital centers of the English Empire. As for the Communist International, it is occupied with a big battle in India, which, with improper leadership, can prove even more disastrous to it than its defeats in Germany in 1923 and in China in 1925-27.

British Policy in India

India is England's last great colony—Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., have long since become Dominions under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie united with the English capitalists. India alone remains completely dependent on England. It embraces a mass of 300 million inhabitants, which means a formidable proletariat, although mainly a peasant one. Considerable English capital is invested in India; and in addition it provides an indispensable market for British industry. Its location, important from an economic point of view, has an added importance from a strategic point of view. India is the center of an expanse which extends southward to Africa and Australia, and northward to Egypt and China. English policy in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, Malta and Suez, is determined by the necessity to maintain at any price the freedom of communication with India. Under these conditions, the necessity for continuing the domination of India by force cannot become weaker. Baldwin, Lloyd George or MacDonald—all carry out, and are compelled to carry out the same policy, that is, a policy of coercion and violence against the worker and peasant masses and in certain circumstances, even against the petty-bourgeoisie.

Gandhi's Policy Is Unstable

The nationalist bourgeoisie and Gandhi, its leader, pursue a policy of instability toward the government and toward the revolutionary masses. In India, as elsewhere, the petty bourgeoisie represents strata susceptible to various influences, and never able to pursue consistently and energetically either a reactionary or revolutionary policy. The petty bourgeoisie, and even large sections of the big bourgeoisie in India, are naturally nationalistic; that is, they demand national sovereignty for India, which means the right for the Indian bourgeoisie alone to exploit the worker and peasant masses. Among the Indian nationalists there are variations in program and in the means of applying it. Some would be satisfied with a Dominion status while others, now in the majority, want to push the struggle until complete independence is achieved. It is because of the pressure from the growing unrest of the masses, taking the form of important strikes in the large cities, that certain nationalist leaders, among them Gandhi, go as far as that.

But the truth is that these leaders have never stopped negotiating with British imperialism and betraying the revolutionary masses. This policy finds characteristic expression in the attitude of Gandhi, apostle of "non-violence" and "non-resistance" with the English imperialists, but who forgets that English domination is maintained only by violence, and that, like all class domination, it can be destroyed only by violence.

The Indian nationalists reissue under a new form, or at least are attempting to reissue the politics of the Chinese Kuo Min Tang, that is, an alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and the petty bourgeoisie

under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie against foreign imperialism. However, the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants constantly outstrips the action of the nationalists.

Indian Masses Militant

This is because the workers—metallurgical, longshore, textile, as well as the farm hands, the artisans and the ruined peasants, etc.—fight against the British capitalists as being an enemy class. In order that their class liberation be complete, they must overthrow not only the domination of the British bourgeoisie but also that of the Indian bourgeoisie. For them the national deliverance can only be the first stage in mass actions which will culminate in the overthrow of all capitalist oppression, and in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat through which will be achieved the emancipation of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat organized in a class party.

Naturally in this perspective, which appears to be in line with the growing ferment of the masses, is violently combatted by all sections of the native or British bourgeoisie, and, at the moment, it is not at all favored by the Communist International. The programs of the liberals, conservatives and intellectuals in India is at bottom the same, the only difference being in phraseology. Their opposition to the native bourgeoisie is coupled with the suppression of all workers' movements. British capitalism alternates periods of political tension with periods of apparent concessions.

It is these policies on the one hand, and the pressure exerted by the revolutionary masses on the other, that determine the course of evolution of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. Naturally, the form and speed of the movement of the masses can be influenced to a large extent by the tactics for struggle laid down by the Communist International.

Comintern Policy Continues Wrong Line

Unfortunately, the Communist International persists in a political bloc with the petty bourgeoisie in the same manner as that which led to the defeat of the Chinese proletariat. In theory it has corrected its tactical line. But in actuality it could not and still cannot change its method of combat. Its first concern should be the creation and building of a genuine proletarian party, completely independent of the various nationalists and "popular" groups. Only such a party can lead the proletariat in virtue of the soundness of its doctrines, and its organization on the solid base of proletarian hegemony. But, it must be admitted, at present the Communist Party of India is almost non-existent. The Communist International carries on by means of superficial agitation among the nationalist masses, but it does nothing to hasten the formation of a genuine Communist Party in India. The International Communist press never makes mention of this Party. They never have a word to say about it. They never tell us of its struggles, its political developments, and of its activities among the masses.

This may seem astounding, but it is actually so. At the moment when a renewal of the proletarian struggle is unfolding, at the moment when the petty bourgeoisie is preparing to dupe the workers once again by drugging them into a meaningless struggle against English imperialism, the Indian Communist movement does not possess the least organization which would enable it, if not to conquer immediately, at least to place itself at the head of the struggling masses. The position of the Indian proletariat is thus very unfavorable. Gandhi, Nehru and the other nationalist chiefs enjoy great prestige among the peasant masses, and will make use of this prestige to deceive the masses, to check their revolutionary development, to bind them to conciliation with British imperialism. Before the cannon of the British police they will persuade the workers to refrain from all violence. What makes this a very serious situation is the absence of any coherent proletarian organization, of any Communist Party. The present trade union movement far from sufficing as a base for the offensive of the masses. What they need are the

cadres and the leadership of a Communist workers' organization.

Task Is to Build a Communist Party

An important movement of the Indian workers, especially in the cities where tens of thousands of proletarians live under conditions even worse than those of Chinese coolies, outstrips the nationalist chiefs in a Leftward direction. It is under this pressure that Gandhi and the National Congress have once again started the struggle against England. But it is necessary, it is indispensable for the future that these workers should be under the influence of the Communist movement. For the activity of the National Congress and of Nehru cannot lead on the masses. Actually they follow the masses, but are ready to turn against them.

The Split in the Leninbund

After barely six months struggle for the views of the Russian and the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, the Left Opposition in the German Leninbund was expelled at the instigation of Urbahns at a carefully "sifted" session of its National Executive Committee, on February 23.

After Maslow, Ruth Fischer, and Scholem emulated the example of capitulation set by Kamenev, Zinoviev, and others, the leadership of the Leninbund stood at the crossways. Its fundamental task was to sweep the boards clear of the theoretical and practical heritage of Maslow and R. Fischer, to build up a truly revolutionary German Left Opposition, and to link it up inseparably with the fighting Russian Opposition.

Developments have shown that the Leninbund leadership did not choose the historically necessary path. It did not make an end of the old tradition of covert factional struggle with the Russian Opposition. While on the one hand, the Leninbund leaders lived off the spiritual capital of the Russian Opposition, they did not give up their opportunism, superficialities and ambiguities. They did not so much lead the organization as alternately yield concessions, now to the Ultra-lefts, now to the Centrists, and then to the Right Wing tendencies. Without a clear-cut political position on the International and German problems of the class-struggle, the Leninbund confronted the Soviet-Chinese conflict (Far Eastern Railway) without a platform. The helplessness of this leadership was well characterized by the fact that the discussion of this question was allowed to open with an article entitled "Hands Off China" by a Korschist and a non-member of the organization.

The Theoretical Misconceptions of the Leninbund

The articles of Urbahns and the position of the national committee are well known: A conception of ultra-left, social democratic and pacifist conceptions.

The repudiation of the proletarian character of the Soviet State, the theory of a "third type" state ("hybrid state") resting on an equilibrium of the class forces, has been the only "independent" pearl of wisdom contributed by the ultra-left Leninbund leaders. Such a theory spells the adoption of the Austro-Marxist appraisal of the nature of the Soviet State, general conception of the State, and rupture with the Marxian-Leninist theory.

On the basis of its fallacious analysis, the Leninbund leadership was led to adopt the idea of a second party. Denying that the Soviet power is a proletarian state, despairing of the Comintern and German Party, losing all faith in the possibilities of its proletarian rank and file, the Leninbund leaders looked for salvation in the formation of a second (dual) party. The "declaration" of the Russian Opposition (Rakovsky, Okudschawa, etc.) was interpreted by the Leninbund leadership as a step in the direction of capitulation. The conception of the role of the Opposition as a faction fighting to win the proletarian core of the Party was regarded by the Leninbund leaders as masked capitulation.

Political Bankruptcy of Urbahns

In the German questions, Urbahns has not been able to define his position up to the very present. The leadership has been working on a "program of action" behind closed doors, since the meeting of the

It seems that the leadership of the Communist International should be aware of these dangers, but the false political line that it has been pursuing for years in the Indian revolutionary movement, carries it, in spite of itself, toward the formation of an organization wherein workers, peasants and petty bourgeois will be on equal footing. Having lost all trace of Marxist conduct and all means of control, the Communist International vaguely hopes for a spontaneous peasants' and workers' revolutionary movement against British Imperialism. But such confusionism invariably leads to defeat.

Actually the development of Indian revolutionary activity is a fact and the future of the struggle depends to a great extent on the possibility of supporting and leading it by means of a genuine Communist Party. Paris, March 7, 1930.

national committee last October. Urbahns himself had to admit at the national committee (February 23) that the leadership has not been able to work out this "action program."

The only thing they did not have to learn was the Zinovievist Comintern methods. In this they appear to outdistance the master. By suppressing all proletarian thought and political discussion, by systematically diverting the attention of the membership from the big questions, the Urbahns group was able to exclude the Left Opposition at the handpicked "Reichsausschuss" (National Committee).

The extent of the ideological confusion in the Urbahns Group may be judged from the conclusions of the speakers at the "Reichsausschuss"... "The Communist Party of Germany no longer harbors any revolutionary workers"... The politically unorganized are more revolutionary than the communist workers" (Deductions of the representative of a bloc with the Right Wing)... "Social Fascism now rules Russia. Russia has entered upon its 18th Brumaire"... (Reporter from a conference in Halle). "The theory of the Comintern regarding social fascism is correct. Industrial Unionism is our salvation"... "Out of the old trade unions ('free trade unions'), blocs in the unions and other organizations, not only with the Rights but with the remains of the U. S. P. D. (Independent Socialists) and the S. P. D. (Social-Democratic Party)." Urbahns and others were of the latter opinion.

The Decline of the Leninbund

The result of this policy is a catastrophic defeat at the communal elections, a disastrous drop in the membership (from about 6,000 at the time the expulsion from the Party to, at the most, 400 to 500 today). The *Fahne des Kommunismus* has been stopped and the *Volksstimme* which was issued four times a week, is now a Weekly; lack of a platform owing to impotence, and rupture with the Russian and International Opposition. Without a platform, without a press, without a rudder or sail, the Urbahns organization is going full steam ahead to its complete collapse.

The struggle with the Right Liquidators and the criminal adventurist policies of Contrism will be conducted by the Left Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist) in Germany in closest organizational connection and principled agreement with the International and Russian Opposition. Only the petty-bourgeois and those who are completely hopeless, can befall this "newest" split. Freed from the harmful and irresponsible politics of the Urbahns leadership, the German Left Opposition will develop its program on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the international and German position, and will gather the proletarian cadres of the Party in the struggle against the Centrist leadership, for the reform and the conquest of the Communist International and the Party.

—ROMAN WELL.

If the number on your wrapper is

39

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Trench Episodes A. D. 1936

A Short Story

By Bertram Chambers

ABOVE the eastern horizon the sun shines dully; a copper disc suspended in a thin grey haze. A mist that envelopes everything to a height of thirty or more feet...

An inter-city road breaks the desolation of the countryside. It glistens in the haze, its wide asphalt surface damp with a liquid other than rain or man spilled water. Every hundred feet or so its continuity is broken by shell craters; occasionally a titanic crater obliterates its entire width and some hundreds of feet of length—the unforgettable brand of a 5,000 pound "demolition" bomb.

From either side trenches rise out of the haze to meet in one of the colossal craters; the scene of a direct hit by a "demo". In the mist-filled hole, fifty feet deep, a small gang of engineers are working laboriously on a runway in an attempt to link together the severed trench. They toil slowly, painfully, like divers on an ocean bed. One straightens up, looks at his mate through the goggles of his mask and says: "Those bloody Germans knew a few things about war, but I'll bet my bloody life they never dreamed of one like this!"

His mate laughs ghoulishly in the grotesque mask that envelopes his head and face. "The ferries were muckers, but they 'ad some idee of plying the bleedin' game." The other shakes his head in an attempt to dislodge the sweat that is fogging his eyes. The sweat he daren't open his mask to reach. Silently they bend their backs again...

On the lip of the crater where it faces the center of the road a soldier stands, staring steadily into the fixed eyepiece of a periscope. On the top the revolving eye swings slowly back and forth, sending invisible ultraviolet rays through the gas-haze to the enemy lines. There, too, an ultra-periscope gropes with unseen rays...

A queer creature of rubber and leather; of metal and glass is this modern soldier; a fantastic statue in the coppery dawn. Not one particle of his flesh is exposed to the air. A leather uniform—treated to withstand corrosive poison gas—cloaks him from feet to head. It is air, gas and vapor tight. A mask, weirdly strange in the mist, covers his face. A strip of tough, unbreakable glass enables him to survey a ghastly world. Below the glass a flexible metal pipe runs from the mask to a flat metal box strapped to his shoulders—his oxygen-air apparatus. Strangest of all is the device that enables him to speak audibly, a stubby metal tube projecting from the mask like a pig's nose...

The necessity of his diver-like armor is made plain by the bodies beyond the crater. There, lying in grotesque, pain-distorted huddles are the men whose armor is punctured and torn. Men who gaze skyward with glaring, pain distended eyes; victims of the greyish haze and its invisible groping fingers...

TWO HUNDRED feet down in concrete dug-outs secretly made a year before the declaration of war, the remnants of the first contingents loiter around polishing rifles; nipping the little crosses on the soft nosed bullets that converts them into dum-dums; sleeping like logs with unspeakable weariness...

A gong strikes...once...twice. The signal that the armored gas-proof doofs are about to open. The soldier at the door reaches for a valve; the Sss-sss-sss of the antidotal gas fills the room. The gas that drenches the world above in a fog of death leaks in spite of all precautions in minute, but deadly quantities into the underground barracks...

A heavy door slides into a wall; a column of masked, gas-proof uniformed replacements file in. The door slides home. The air becomes slightly "close" as the antidotal gas "kills" the poison gas adhering to the uniforms of the newcomers.

An officer barks an order. The line stands easy, then begins to strip off the protective uniforms...

An old hand, veteran of the first world war, glances at the replacements. "Hell!" he exclaims disgustedly. "A bunch o' bloody kids. Why in hell don't they send us some men?"

"Can't send us wot they 'aven't got, matey," replies his buddy and lowers his haggard face to the rifle he is polishing.

The new recruits look around with boyish curiosity. Some look "tough" but the majority show sallow faces with downy hair where the older men show grizzly beards...

The officer in command looks fixedly at his new "men". Cradle babies, not one over eighteen, the majority far less he decides, and swears viciously under his breath...The cities of course are charnel houses under the incessant rains of gas bombs; these kids are the pick of the remnants left...He swears again, audibly...

FLING through a gas-proof door a battalion takes their places in the trench. They wait. Presently comes the signal that all stations are manned. Another wait;

a stirring along the lines. Expectancy. A whistle...

They climb over the top clumsily; retarded by the all-enveloping gas-proof uniform. They disappear onto the gas-haze in a ragged line...

The surprise attack fails. A titanic monster of metal rushes out of the fog, stands clear for an instant, vanishes...The enemy has launched a surprise attack with land-battleships...The line stumbles on in quick decimation...

The speeding tanks, making their way across the broken ground at a thirty mile clip, throw terror into the line of recruits. They loom out of the gas-haze with devastating suddenness; their ultra-modern machine guns—cooled by liquid air—spitting a solid wall of lead at a speed of 5,000 rounds per minute...

A recruit falters stands stock still in the slowing, vanishing line, then turns and runs, boy-courage gone. He passes an officer who, in one awful moment, sees his distended eyes in his ghost white face; hears him scream "Mother! Mother!" and stumbles on. The officer brings his gun up, mouthing: "God, Oh God!" The boy lurches horribly as the heavy service bullet drills through his back. He sags face down into the ground. "Mother." The word spews from his mouth in a torrent of blood.

The officer turns and runs forward to meet the tanks. Must not let them retreat...Advance...Advance...His mind is a riot, his guts a sickening cauldron...A tank looms up. He fires furtively at the metal belly as a yard-wide tread grinds him, a pulp of flesh and blood and bone, into the ground...

A recruit staggers, turns half-around. His face vanishes as a tank gunner gives him a burst at point blank range. He stands upright, swaying slightly, then goes down under the churning treads.

Another stands still in sudden dizziness; his uniform is punctured. The sweetish taste of an acid gas is on his lips. Terror stricken he gropes with his fingers for the break. The dizziness increases...he falls, twisting convulsively to the ground...As the taste on his lips communicates to his tongue, he rolls slowly around in a last desperate attempt to discover the infinitesimal, deadly break. His tongue begins to swell in his mouth; his eyes to stare glassily as his convulsive movements slow up under stiffening muscles...And now his eyes are the swollen eyes of the prawn-fish, pain distorted...His clawing hands cease to obey the confusion of thoughts that swamp his searing brain...And now his tongue is no longer an organ of his body...It is a stick of wood, swelling to the full limits of his mouth...It spills over his teeth; juts out between his distorted lips, dripping saliva...It commences to go down his throat...rigid, like a piece of wood...A piece of wood...

In the gas-haze the huge tanks grind into the ground the dead and the living...

The Roman slave holder had his "labor troubles". The slave uprising led by Spartacus in 70 A. D. proves that. The Southern U. S. plantation owner, master over many negro chattels, many centuries later had "labor troubles" also. The Fugitive Slave Act bears proof of this. The medieval baron, lord over many serfs, also had his "labor troubles". Wat Tyler's Rebellion, the Peasant Wars in Germany, testify how bloody these "labor troubles" became. Today a pick up of any capitalist newspaper will show the modern capitalist and his "labor troubles".

There is one essential difference between the labor troubles of chattel slavery, of feudalism and wage slavery or capitalism. Today the slave struggles for a chance to work, for employment. Then the slave would revolt to flee from employment. Today, police are called to club unemployed into starving idleness; then soldiers were called to keep the slaves at work. Then, stringent laws providing for terrible punishments like crucifixion, hanging, quartering, mutilating and flogging were meted out to any slave or serf fleeing his work. Now terrible punishments like jail terms and police beatings are handed out to any worker having the audacity to demand work.

In a few words, and this illustrates the superiority of the capitalist mode of production—for the master class—over any other: formerly the master sought the slave, now the slave seeks the master. He stands in line, he spits in his own face by offering to work for less food than his fellow worker; occasionally now he demonstrates and then the papers scream. Once in a great while he revolts—all for a chance to slave.

"Services No Longer Required"

Essentially there are two sorts of unemployment, the unemployment of the blue bloods the parasites, who while unemploy-

ed waste millions in degenerate orgies. For this class of leeches useful employment is a terrible nightmare. Then there is the unemployment of the wage slave—a terrible nightmare that haunts the mind of the worker. As he sees the job-line lengthen, however worn out and sped up he may be, he will manage an extra burst of energy so that he may not be the next one told that his "services are no longer required".

There are many millions of this type whose "services are no longer required". He goes from shop to shop offering his labor power, but the market is glutted with this material. As he walks he begins to think, a dangerous sign for the capitalists. Perchance a "Red", an "agitator", may give him some literature and he discovers:

Capitalism uses a new and much more efficient method than the cat-o-nine-tails to make the workers slave. That is hunger. We are told that we are free and the bosses are free. He is free to offer us terms of any kind—we are free to starve unless we accept these terms.

As we work, we create profits, such huge profits that even in their wildest extravagances the bosses cannot spend them. So there proves to be no more market for that commodity we are hired to produce; no more profits can be gotten so the free boss lays off the free worker to freely starve in the midst of a land of full warehouses which the worker filled.

Over-Production—Yet Poverty for Masses

The workers starve because they have grown too much, they wear rags because they wove too much; they live in hovels because they erected too many homes; they freeze because they have mined too much coal. This is the paradox of capitalism.

"Services No Longer Required"

Capitalism, greedily demanding more and more profits, puts faster machines into the shops which produce goods and profits at a faster and faster rate. More workers are thrown on the streets.

What of the worker thrown out of work?

Some of our suave, moral uplifters may take a look at this: during periods of unemployment, there is an increase of prostitution, murders and suicides. Our clergymen of every denomination rail at the morals of the people and point at the mounting crime wave, but of course do not dare to examine the economic cause or the capitalist system.

During periods of unemployment, disease and death rate increase. Among workers these are always high, but during hard times they rise to terrible levels. Fed on adulterated foods, shoddy clothed, poorly housed, the workers become more vulnerable than ever to disease.

Child labor increases as children are forced to leave school and provide for the family. While old workers leave the factory at one door, their own children enter at another—at lower wages. We have the case at present of unemployment generally and child labor specifically mounting at the same time.

During periods of unemployment the wages of those at work are slashed by the boss. The answer to any resistance is: "there are plenty outside who want your job."

These are but a few of the effects of unemployment upon the workers. Every worker must ask himself: What is to blame? Communists Have Unemployment Solution

The skilled worker says: the machine; the adult: the youth; men: women; white:

the Negro; the native: the foreigner; the deluded Republican workers says its the Democratic administration; the Democratic worker says its the Republican administration.

None of these are true. The youth, the women, the Negro, the foreigner, the Republican and Democrat all suffer from unemployment. While one group blames another, the boss has a hearty laugh as he sees the divided and thereby powerless workers quarreling among themselves.

The socialists have no cure for unemployment as socialist governments have proven in Europe: witness England, Germany, etc.

Only by overthrowing the system of capitalism will unemployment be done away with. The society of Communism alone can eliminate the terror of unemployment. Capitalism will be replaced by employment and plenty for all. To help bring this about all workers should join the Communist League of America (Opposition) and help fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism. —C. CURTISS

Φ

MISERY WAGES FOR S.C. BAG WORKERS

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Ten hours a day in a dust-filled factory nets \$4 to \$5 a week for 400 to 500 negroes at the Charleston Bagging Co. Most of them are children. When they leave the factory at night, their hair, eyelashes, and faces are covered with the brown dust of the mill.

Φ

WASHINGTON—Man-hour productivity in all important manufacturing industries showed notable increases from 1914 to 1927, ranging from 24% to 82% for 9 industries. For the auto industry the increase was 178%, and for the rubber tire industry it was 292%, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the Opposition Ranks

International Left Forms Provisional Bureau

For some time now the press of the Left Opposition has discussed next steps for the unification of the International Opposition of the Left. The *Militant* on various occasions has presented this question and has put forward a number of concrete proposals for discussion. Now preliminary steps have been taken which have resulted in the formation of a Provisional International Secretariat which, as an initial act, is to issue an International Bulletin.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) is in full agreement with the steps thus far taken at Paris, France, on the initiative of representatives of the Left Opposition of the United States, the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), and the French Opposition. Comrade Max Shachtman, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, represented the American League at the preliminary conference and together with comrade Markin of the Russian Opposition and of the Russian *Bulletin of the Opposition* and Alfred Rosmer, representing the French Opposition and editor of the French weekly organ, *La Verite*, signed for the Provisional Secretariat.

The first circular of the Provisional Secretariat is printed below and outlines the steps taken to date and the ones proposed for the immediate future.

* * *

March 10, 1930

Circular No. 1.

To the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Dear Comrades:

In *La Verite* of February 21 and March 7, we raised the question of the organization of an International Information Bureau of the Left Opposition, which would edit an Information Bulletin, with the aim of preparing the Convocation of an International Conference at which all Left Opposition Groups would be represented. The Conference would lead to the unification of the Opposition.

The question of the unification of the Left Communist Opposition has become a very vital question at the present moment. Nevertheless its realization is rendered very difficult by important obstacles. The three principal kinds of obstacles against which we stumble, as the Opposition already has in the past, are:

1. The Opposition Groups of the different countries developed independently of one another, almost without contact. They know each other very little and resolve problems of international importance without concerning themselves about each other.

2. In a number of countries there are several groups which claim to be of the Left Opposition and combat each other.

3. In the U. S. S. R., the Opposition lives in illegality which involves very considerable practical obstacles, which transform themselves into political difficulties.

All these obstacles can only be surmounted by a lively democratic preparation of the International Conference. For this reason only, we have taken on ourselves the initiative in publishing, under the control of an International Secretariat, an Information Bulletin, where all the questions that interest the Opposition will be raised.

In consequence we ask you, expecting a reply in the briefest possible time, to express an opinion on the following questions:

1. What appears to you to be the best way of going about to realize an international union of the Left Communist Organizations?

2. What are the principle problems which you consider necessary to discuss toward the end of working out a single platform of the Opposition? Send all your theses, documents, resolutions, which you decide to place on the agenda of discussion for the International Opposition, without delay, their text in your own language.

3. To send to the Provisional Secretariat regularly, all the publications of your organization: papers, reviews, pamphlets, leaflets, notices, etc. (two copies).

4. To indicate to what extent your

group can help finance the necessary expenditures of the publication of the Bulletin.

5. The approximate circulation of the Bulletin in your country.

It is understood that the role of the International Secretariat to issue the publication of the Bulletin would be purely technical. It would have charge of the control of the Bulletin and the convening of the conference, as soon as possible after reaching an understanding with the various organizations. It only has the right of initiative, but no power to define the questions to be debated.

We ask you to follow attentively all the news and information concerning the Bulletin appearing in *La Verite*.

We ask for an immediate reply owing to urgency of these plans. Make suggestions, etc.

With Fraternal Greetings

Provisional International Secretariat

(Signed)

Shachtman (Communist League of America) (Opposition)

Markin (Russian Communist Opposition-Bolshevik-Leninists.)

Rosmer (Left Communist Opposition of France)

Φ

Northern China Organizes Opposition

In the previous number of the *Militant* we were able to report the development of the Left Opposition in South Africa. Now we have just received word of the formation of another body of the Opposition in North China, with their centre at Peiping. The Chinese comrades publish their paper, *The Proletarian*, at Shanghai, and now their ranks are augmented by the Oppositionists of the North.

We send fraternal greetings to the growing Chinese Opposition. History gives to the Chinese Opposition the task of revitalizing the Chinese revolutionary movement, of leading the Chinese workers and

peasants to victory over the international imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Opportunism within the ranks of Communism has decimated the ranks of the Chinese Communists and workers, and therefore they will remember the words of Leon Trotsky that "the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese revolution at its three most important turning-points, the strengthening of the trade union agents of British imperialism after the General Strike of 1926, and the general weakening of the position of the Communist International and the Soviet union, the Party owes principally and above all to comrade Stalin." The Chinese Opposition will know through their experiences and knowledge how to deal with the cancer of opportunism.

* * *

Peiping, China
February 12, 1930

The Militant

Dear Comrades

We, the Oppositionist Group of North China, who stand on the same battle-field with you, here present our warmest revolutionary salutations to the Communist League of the United States of America.

We are happy to hear of the *Militant*. We believe that your paper is setting forth the important truth about the opportunism of the Stalinists throughout the world. The *Militant* spreads the message from which the proletariat of the whole world will trace the correct path of Leninism and will finally turn from the path of opportunism. It is the compass to guide the Opposition in the struggle against our enemy, the opportunists.

We sincerely hope that all issues of the *Militant* will reach us in good order; for it is our weapon in revolutionary theory which we need so much. We expect you will do your best to help us theoretically. We will report to you about the political and economic changes of China from time to time.

With warmest Communist Greetings

(Signed) The North China Executive Committee of Chinese Leninists (Opposition)

Φ

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Machines installed in a Charleston cigar factory have caused many colored women workers to lose their \$4.33 a week jobs.

THE PERIOD OF THE RIGHT-CENTRISTS

(Continued from Page 4)

mixed with scholasticism at that. What sort of significance did the "stabilization" have, in its application to English economy and politics, especially in the year 1926-27? Development of the productive forces? Improvement of the economic situation? Better outlook on the future? Relative satisfying and pacifying of the working masses? Not in the least. The whole so-called stabilization of English capitalism, held out only with the aid of the conservative power of the old labor organizations with all their currents and shadings, with the simultaneous weaknesses and irresoluteness of the English Communist Party.

On the field of the economic and social relations of England, the revolution is already fully matured. The question now stands politically. The cornerpillars of the stabilization are formed by the heads of the the Labor Party and the trade unions, which, in England, present a united whole, though with a division of labor. Under such a condition of the working masses, which became obvious through the General Strike, the highest rank in the mechanics of the capitalist stabilization is no longer occupied by MacDonald and Thomas, but already by Purcell, Cook and Company. They start things off and Thomas carries them to the end. Without Purcell, Thomas would hang in the air and along with Thomas also Baldwin. It is the false, diplomatic masquerade—"Leftism" of Purcell, which sometimes in rotation, sometimes simultaneously, fraternizes with sextons and Bolsheviks, and is always ready not only for retreats but also for betrayal, that forms the principal brake of the English revolution. Stabilization is Purcellism. From that we see what theoretical absurdity and blind opportunism is the reference to the existence of "stabilization" as an

apology for the political bloc with Purcell. Yes, just in order to shatter the stabilization. Purcellism has to be destroyed, before all. In such a situation, even a shadow of solidarity with the General Council is the greatest crime and a mark of infamy against the working masses.

Even the most correct strategy cannot, by itself, always lead to the victory. The correctness of a strategical idea is judged by whether it fulfills the real development of class forces and estimates the elements of those forces realistically. The most disgraceful defeat, which has the most grievous consequences for the movement, is such a typical Menshevik defeat that is based upon a false estimation of classes, an underestimation of the revolutionary factors and upon an idealizing of the enemy forces. Of such a type were our defeats in China and in England.

The Rotten Strategy of Right-Centrism

What was expected from the Anglo-Russian Committee for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics?

In July, 1926, Stalin enlightened us at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission as follows:

"The task of this bloc (the A.-R. C.) consists of the organization of a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist war in general and against an intervention in our land, especially on the part of England, the mightiest of the imperialist states of Europe."

While he was enlightening us Oppositionists so much that "the defense of the first workers' republic of the world against intervention must be taken care of", since we did not know that yet, Stalin added:

"If the reactionary trade unions of England are ready to conclude a bloc with the revolutionary trade unions of our country against the counter-revolutionary imperialists of their country, why should we not greet such a bloc?"

Were the "reactionary trade unions" capable of conducting a struggle against their imperialists, they would not be reactionary. Stalin lost the distinction between the conceptions: reactionary and revolutionary. He characterizes the English trade unions as reactionary from old memory, but entertains in reality miserable illusions with regard to their revolutionaryism.

After Stalin, the Moscow Committee also declared to the workers of Moscow:

"The Anglo-Russian Committee can and will undoubtedly play an enormous role in the struggle against all possible interventions directed against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It will become the organizational center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle against every endeavor of the international bourgeoisie to begin a new war." (Theses of the Moscow Committee.)

What did the Opposition reply?

"The sharper the international situation will come to a head, the more the Anglo-Russian Committee will be transformed into a weapon of English and international imperialism."

This criticism of the Stalinist hopes in Purcell as the guardian angel of the workers' state was later characterized by Stalin at the same plenum as a deviation "from Leninism to Trotskyism".

Voroshilov: "Very true."

A Voice: "Voroshilov has affixed his seal to it."

Trotsky: "Fortunately that will all be in the stenogram."

Yes, indeed, all that is included in the stenogram of the July Plenum, at which the rude and disloyal opportunists dared to accuse the Opposition of "defeatism".

This dialogue, which I had to quote here briefly from my earlier article "What Did We Expect and What Did We Get?", as a strategical lesson is far more useful than a whole seminarist chapter on the strategy in the draft program. The question: What did we expect and what did we get? forms one of the principal strategical criterions in general. It must be applied at the Sixth Congress to all questions that have stood on the order of the day in recent years. It will then be shown unflinchingly that the strategy of the Central Committee of the Communist International, especially since the year 1926, was a strategy of unreal dimensions, false calculations, illusions with regard to the enemy and incitement against especially reliable and persevering co-fighters. In a word, it was a rotten strategy of Right-Centrism.

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 9

The Bulletin of the Opposition

(IN RUSSIAN)

CONTAINS:

The New Course in the Economy of the Soviet Union by L. Trotsky

The Lessons of Capitulation (Necrologic Reflections) by Alfa

The Slow Torture of Ch. Rakovsky by N. Markin

Stalin Enters into a Union with Shuman and Kerensky against Lenin and Trotsky

An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund by L. Trotsky

About groupings in the Comintern by Zvon

A Letter from Chinese Oppositionists

An Answer to the Chinese Oppositionists by L. Trotsky

And other Important and Timely Items

25c each

--:

18c in Bundles

Order From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue,

New York, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 15,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, April 12, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

The 5 Year Plan and World Unemployment

RALLY WORKERS ON MAY DAY

The solidarity of labor against capitalism is the watch-word of May Day demonstrations by the working masses throughout the world. To unite the workers to see as their common enemy—the bosses and capitalist government; and to see in the Workers' Republic of the Soviet Union the first fatherland of the workers; to struggle militantly against capitalism, to overthrow it; and to aim to achieve in each country a government of the toilers. This summarizes by contrast the objectives of the class-conscious workers for May Day, 1930.

In the United States the millions of workers find themselves enduring the scourge of unemployment, caused by capitalism. They find themselves either thrown out of work, or wages reduced, work speeded up and hours of labor increased. Reaction, under the leadership of President Hoover is in the saddle. Rough-shod, it rides brutally over the basic needs of the workers. Protest against unemployment is met with arrests, persecution; jailings; removal of civil rights, such as the right of assemblage and press; deportation of foreign-born, etc. Arrogance, brutality, extreme exploitation by the ruling class are the order of the day.

The Situation of American Labor

The U. S. government persists in its refusal to recognize the Soviet government of Russia, now in its 13th year of existence. The agents of the bosses in the workers' ranks, namely, the American Federation of Labor officials, Wm. Green, Mathew Woll, et al, stand by and approve bourgeois rule in the United States.

The Labor movement in the United States finds itself weaker than at any previous time in its history. But potential power is still there; it need only direction and militancy from conscious revolutionaries who understand the immediate and ultimate interests of the workers. These elements are the Communists. Unfortunately, the Communists in the United States, even as throughout the world, find their forces divided, split into three fundamental groupings. An effective struggle against capitalism presupposes the struggle for the unity of the Communists again on a common principle platform. Notwithstanding, May Day demands from the official Communist Party, and from all Communists, in and outside the ranks of the official Party, the initiation for May Day of a genuine mass united front of workers and all workers' organizations against the employers, on a number of immediate and burning issues that concern all the workers in the United States.

The Issues for May Day

What are some of these immediate demands of the workers that must serve to unite them on May Day, 1930? They are: The struggle against unemployment; for work or compensation for the unemployed at the cost of the employers and the government; for the seven hour day and five day week; against any reductions in wages and for an increase; for a united front against the repression and persecution of workers by the bosses agents, the police.

(Continued on Page 2)

Opposition Paper Published ST. LOUIS BUSMEN WIN STRIKE

La Verdad (Truth), organ of the Left Communist Opposition in Argentina, has issued its first number (4 pages), and hereafter will appear regularly. It is printed in the Spanish language and will also circulate among Spanish speaking workers in other countries.

Among the contents of the first issue are Lenin's "Testament to the Party", suppressed by the Stalinist regime, and which now appears in print for the first time in the Spanish language in the South American countries; articles by Robert Guinney, Dvorin and others on the situation in the Communist movement of Argentina and South America and in the International; a statement of principles and organization, declaring adhesion to the Left International Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky and many other articles of importance to the workers of the Argentine.

La Verdad is further evidence that the ruthless efforts of the regime of the bureaucrats—from Stalin down—in the Comintern will fail to stop the development and penetration of the ideas of the Left Opposition among the Communist workers and sympathizers.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) and the **Militant** greet **La Verdad** and the Opposition in the Argentine. We are confident that the militant and conscious efforts of the Argentine Opposition will in time bring the regeneration of the revolutionary movement there and the reestablishment of a Communist Party on the original foundations of the Communist International as led by Lenin.

Φ

12 W. Va. Miners Fatally Gassed

ARNETTSTVILLE, W. Va.—Twelve miners, among them four Negroes, were fatally gassed and burnt in a mine explosion in the non-union Yukon mine of the Crown Coal Co.

6-HOUR DAY AIM OF TWIN CITY RAIL WORKERS

MINNEAPOLIS—On April 1st a large gathering of Minneapolis and St. Paul railroad workers held their second meeting at Woodruff Hall, Prior and St. Anthony Aves., St. Paul, for the purpose of developing a nation-wide movement for a six hour day on the railroads. A third meeting has been arranged for Tuesday, April 22nd at the same hall.

The first Twin City Conference of Railroad Workers was held on March 19th and was called originally by Local No. 206 of the Switchmen's Union. Among the points discussed were the railroad mergers and speed-up, the need for a six hour day and five day week without any pay cut, and other problems affecting the organized and unorganized railroad workers throughout the United States. The Conference went unanimously on record to fight for the six hour day, for the organization of the railway workers, as well as for other demands of an economic and political character.

A Provisional Committee, consisting of members from the different local unions, has been set up to organize these meetings and to send out the calls. The Provisional Committee consists of: G. H. Farrell, Railway Clerks, No. 319; Ulrick Ulrichson, Railway Clerks, No. 1310; V. F. Case,

As we go to press, we learn that the St. Louis bus drivers have won their strike. A flat 9 1-2 hour day is established, instead of as much formerly as 13 hours; a six day week supplants the seven day week; garagemen work 44 hours with a Saturday half holiday. The union is recognized. Other demands of a secondary nature are also gained.

* * *

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—With 5,000 members of the St. Louis street car men's union assessing themselves \$1 a month. The strike of bus drivers and conductors enters its third week assured of financial support. The international union is also granting relief funds.

The members of this young union voted a unanimous "No" to the company's proposed terms of strike settlement, which would tie the men for three years under 'open shop' conditions at wage rates in effect prior to the strike.

Not a bus has moved since the walk-out. Threats to operate busses with cabs under police protection have not passed the threat stage. The Central Trades and Labor Union has voted to accept the new union and exempt it from payment of per capita tax until the strike is over.

The central body stands ready to go into action with strike relief machinery in behalf of the 750 strikers if the situation warrants. The strikers offer to return to work when the right to organize is recognized. Pres. R. W. Meade of the St. Louis Bus Co, who boasts that he has broken six strikes during his career, refuses to consider any proposals which fail to give the company the world encircled by an airtight fence.

Switchmen's Union, No. 7; Paul Johnson, Firemen, No. 887; Carl Skoglund, Railway Carmen, No. 299; F. J. Glaser, Firemen, No. 814; J. D. Barr, Switchmen's Union, No. 206; and P. G. Hedlund, Firemen, No. 814, Secretary. Other active forces are Wm. Watkins, Switchmen's Union, No. 206; I. Nelson, Engineers.

Consider Labor's Economic and Political Problems

The question of setting up a permanent organization in the shape of Railroad Councils in each railroad center is also being considered. These Councils will consist of elected delegates from the several locals in each place or terminal. The purpose of these Railroad Councils is to provide a medium which will enable the workers from the 21 different Railroad Crafts to get together periodically to take up the many growing problems the railroad workers have in common, of which the growing unemployment is an immediate and serious one.

It is also proposed to induce railroad workers in other terminals to set up similar councils in connection with the six hour drive.

The Twin City Railroad Workers Con-

(Continued on Page 8)

By L. D. TROTSKY

The internal development of the Soviet Union is reaching a critical point. No matter in what way we evaluate the present course of the collectivization which, in one year, has surpassed by two and a half times the plan elaborated for the whole five years (fifty percent of the peasant holdings collectivized instead of the twenty percent prescribed at the end of the five years), it is clear that the tempo of collectivization has already blown up the whole five year plan. Up to now, the official leadership has maintained silence on this point. But it would be impossible to be silent for long. To imagine that all the other elements of the plan—industry, transportation, commerce, finance—can develop on the formerly prescribed scale while agriculture makes totally unforeseen jumps, would signify to see in the economic plan not an organic whole but a simple sum of various departmental orders. Until recently it was recognized, at least in principle, that the relations between industry and agriculture ("smytchka") form the principal axis of the plan. Well, what has happened to this axis? If the "smytchka" was taken into consideration in the plan, then it must now have been destroyed by the prodigious leaps of the collectivization which nobody foresaw. On what side will an equalization be made?

At this very moment, "complete collectivization" has already aroused among the frightened leadership a certain backward movement. At what point will the commenced recession come to a halt? It is as yet impossible to foretell. It is probable that this time; also the retreat will extend much further than is required by the objective conditions. But the retreat itself is unavoidable. It is quite probable that because of the effects of the signs of inflation there will begin a revision of the slogan "The five year plan in four years".

The Bureaucracy Runs Blindly

Retreat is always a painful operation, in the military field as well as in politics. But a retreat carried out in time and in an orderly manner can prevent unnecessary losses and prepare the possibility for developing an offensive in the future. The fatal danger is always a belated retreat, panic-stricken, under fire, when the enemy is at your heels. And that is why we, the Left Opposition, are not afraid to call back the bureaucracy which is running ahead blindly. It is necessary to call a halt to the prize races of industrialization, to revise the tempo on the basis of experience and theoretical foresight, to reconcile collectivization with the technical and other resources, to subordinate the policy towards the Kulak to the real possibilities of collectivization. In a word, after the periods of "Khvostism" (the policy of dragging along at the tail of events and movements. —Ed.) and adventurism, it is necessary to take the road of Marxist realism.

The plan corrected in this sense would present a minimal variation. It would necessarily proceed from the situation which has been created up to now as a result of great successes and no less great mistakes. Such a plan cannot eliminate the contradictions that flow from the historical past and the world environment. But it must reduce to a minimum the results of mistakes, partly mitigating and partly post-

Continued on Page 4

Minnesota's «Farmer-Labor» Meet

The «Practical» Politicians and Business Men Take Charge

The St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Association closed March 28th after two days of gerrymandering by the small group of political adventurers who have in devious ways attained power in the organization.

Following the course marked out several years ago by men of the Starkey-Shipstead type, and with the example of the shameful campaign in 1928 as a guide, the organization was appropriated by the banker-farmer-office-holder delegates and turned over to Floyd B. Olson who «accepted» the endorsement for governor.

Out of the hundred and fifty odd delegates present, less than half represented any organization. The overwhelming majority were especially picked by the machine for the task of keeping out the platform and program of the Left wing and trade union elements. These were presented by the Hennepin County (Minneapolis) delegation, who, with a dozen notable exceptions, were members of organized labor.

The Hennepin county convention under pressure of the Left wing had been forced to adopt a series of proposals for the State convention which embodied the idea that all candidates of the F. L. P. put forward the organizational and agitational program of the labor movement in the campaign. The rank and file were for this and demanded that these proposals be embodied in the platform. They were in dead earnest about this and even succeeded in placing one of their leaders on the platform committee.

Olson had notified the convention in a brutally frank letter on the first day that «...I shall assume that if I am endorsed and elected to office as a candidate of the F. L. P., I shall have absolute independence the selection of men and women...»

Left Wing Presents Program; Denied Expression

Lommen, who is known in the Party as «the Steel Trust Senator», was in full charge of the platform committee. Knowing that Olson was already nominated and that the platform already prepared could not be changed, he quite naturally assumed that the demand for «absolute independence» was also already accepted. He did exactly what he was told to do; brushed aside the entire document presented by the trade union workers; and buried a couple of minor demands under a heap of words and rubbish. He handled Walter Frank, the Hennepin Co. trade union centrist, as an experienced and determined politician handles another with less experience and little determination, and brought out the most reactionary platform that has even been adopted by a F. L. gathering in Minnesota. What should have been the center of a really stubborn fight in the convention against the obvious manipulations of the machine fizzled out completely for lack of proper direction and leadership.

Under the chairmanship of the arch-reactionary Rolster, with the secretaryship in the hands of the equally reactionary Starkey, the Communists and Left wingers were denied any voice in the proceedings. The Left wing workers were unable to have their platform resolution even considered. This resolution proposed a platform of political demands coupled with trade union demands for the closed shop, for a six hour day and a five day week, etc., and also proposed a complete re-draft of the program as well as a change in the structure of the party in order to abolish individual membership and to base it upon the workers' movement.

Left Wing To Continue Fight For Fighting Workers' Movement

The slickers who came in by the individual membership route together with the trade union bureaucrats, who controlled this convention, trampled upon the workers demands and actually, in the person of Starkey, openly insulted them, by crumpling the Left wing resolution before their faces.

In spite of the feeling in the ranks of the workers against fusion with the Democrats, the manipulators in control, by the action of the convention, and in accord with the wishes of the majority of the endorsed candidates including those for the highest posts, have made fusion almost certain.

In the coming campaign and in the following period the Minnesota workers have the task before them to salvage the movement, to keep their unions out of the hands of the clique now in control of the F. L. P.; and to shape a course toward a Labor party, which must be national in scope, based upon the unions and other workers' organizations and with a class-struggle platform. The Communists in this movement, must undertake to clarify and educate the masses and to steer them towards Communism.

(The comrades of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in Minnesota have prepared a detailed analysis of the Labor Party situation in Minnesota. It will be presented to the Minnesota workers in either leaflet or pamphlet form.—Ed.)

ECONOMIC REACTION WORLD-WIDE

The depression affecting not only the United States but the leading capitalist nations throughout the world, and that brought on a huge unemployment crisis, continues. Seasonal improvement has not changed the basic condition. Uncertainty, doubt and pessimism animate even the more optimistic capitalist elements. No proposals have been set forth by the ruling interests that are likely to have any really important consequence on the mass unemployment situation.

The National City Bank, in its April bulletin, summarizes the situation briefly as follows:

«It is now evident that the failure of business to make a more rapid recovery since the first of this year is due to fact that the situation is not simply a domestic one but that we are involved in a world-wide reaction. (Our emphasis.) The fall of prices of staple commodities has been even more serious in other countries. This is most clearly seen in the state of British industry and trade...»

«The world's industries», the bulletin goes on to say, «have more than recovered their pre-war capacity, but the markets are overloaded with staple goods...Despite the improvement in the past few weeks, the aggregate volume of manufacturing and trade is still running considerably below that of the same date in 1929...»

Bosses and Government Do Nothing For Jobless

The United States government, President Hoover and state and local governmental agencies know full well the acuteness of the situation. But not one step do they take to appropriate sums of money to compensate the unemployed workers. Every remedy is sought except the ones that will really aid the jobless worker. The willing lackey of the bosses, Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, warns the Senate Commerce Committee that the alternative to unemployment relief is revolution. This labor faker fears the workers' revolt that will put him and his kind on to the scrap-heap, and would like to stave off the inevitable historic event.

No responsible person or group holds out hopes for substantial change in the future. The condition of mass unemployment is of long standing. Yet investigators, Congress and other bodies are still «taking the census of the unemployed» and «awaiting more data». Public works and construction are the byword of all, but they remain on the blue-prints. None of these capitalists or politicians whisper a word about the development of large-scale economic relations with the Soviet Union.

LABOR PARTY SENTIMENT POLLED IN PHILLY

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—By a vote of 10,575 to 7,425, readers of the Philadelphia Union Labor Record, organ of the Central Labor Union decided in favor of the A. F. of L. on-partisan political policy as against a straight labor ticket.

«Out of the maze of letters commenting on the referendum», states the Record, «most of them came from Labor Party enthusiasts, while others, evincing an opposite viewpoint, felt that while there was a growing tendency toward the Labor Party, and that it would eventually come, the time was not yet ripe.»

«What the vote did show however», sums up the Record, «is that the shadow of a Labor Party is immediately before us, if not this year, then in the not far distant future.»

Φ

NEW YORK—Three Brooklyn judges in special sessions dispensed a little wholesale «justice» by sentencing 26 members of the Independent Shoe Workers Union to 30 days in jail for violating an injunction against picketing struck plants, and contempt of court.

economic relations with the Soviet Union. Why? This is one of the genuine ways to relieve unemployment in the United States. Every worker must put this question.

Relieve Unemployment Through Broad Economic Relations with Soviet Union

Let the United States government extend long time and large-scale credits to the Soviet Union, which has always made good on its obligations, and hundreds of thousands of unemployed American workers can be employed and at the same time there is promoted thereby the development of the economy of the Workers' Republic in Russia. It is necessary to break this united front of Hoover and the bosses, Green, Woll and the labor fakers against the Soviet Union and thus against the immediate and ultimate interests of the American working masses

The workers, organized and unorganized, have a common interest in a struggle against the capitalists and their tools. To make unemployment relief mean anything, the workers must fight for the shorter workday, the 40 hour and five day week; for the abolition of the speed-up; for work or compensation at the cost of the employers and the government, to be administered by the workers' committees and organizations; for the extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government.

Φ

20,000 Rush Ford's Plant for Work

DETROIT—Twenty thousand unemployed men gathered at the gates of Henry Ford's River Rouge plant were brutally dispersed by police who hurled tear gas bombs and laid about them with clubs. Eyewitnesses reported scores injured. Three of the jobless were arrested.

Rumors spread throughout Detroit that Ford would hire thousands of men. At 6 p. m. crowds were in front of the Ford gates, pushing to the front in a long weary vigil which they hoped would reward them with work the next morning. Monday morning they were told that the rumor was a fake. Hungry and desperate, the shivering thousands refused to leave the Rouge gates.

Hundreds of police reserves were rushed to the plant when the crowd grew angry at the deception. The jobless stormed the steel fence protecting the plant, smashing it underfoot and assailed the employment office, breaking windows and hurling missiles.

Mounted police rode ruthlessly through the ranks of the unemployed, beating with their clubs and hurling gas bombs.

Toothless Foster Silent at Party Plenum

Thursday, April 3rd marked the ending of the Plenum of the Communist Party. It can be described as the dullest, most inane and valueless Party gathering ever held in its entire history. At the opening of the Plenum a cable (where have we heard of this before?) arrived from Moscow, stating that the thesis on the economic and political situation in American was unsatisfactory and had to be revised. So discussion on the political questions was postponed till the end of the Plenum and the thesis could be changed.

The Plenum proceeded to occupy itself with lengthy and wordy general discussions. The floor was occupied largely by Johnstone, Browder and the Comintern representatives. The Plenum delegates were made up of fourth-raters. Never was the level so low.

Wm. Z. Foster did not so much as open his mouth during the sessions. He declared that he had left his teeth at the dentist! Maybe it was just as well.

The only opposition that showed itself in any way at the Plenum came from Fred Biedenkapp (ye gods and little fishes!) who had certain objections to offer on the trade union policy. Yet even this opposition, in a gathering of mediocres, was not permitted to express himself before the enlarged session but only in closed executive session...The Plenum goes down as the low-water mark in Party history and activities.

Φ

Rally Workers on May Day

(Continue from page 1)

etc., for the unrestricted right of press speech and assemblage; for the extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government. These and like demands form a base for a united struggle and demonstration of workers of all political and economic views on May Day.

For a United Front

The policy of the official Communist Party in the United States, as led by Foster, Minor, Bedacht, et al unfortunately sees in May Day only a Communist demonstration. There persists the false conception that the mass of workers in the United States will rally on May Day under the leadership of the Communist Party. This by no means represents the actual development of the mass of American workers at the present time. The united front still remains one of the main levers by which the Communists will rally the workers to its banner.

Our aim on May Day should be to draw every worker into a common movement against capitalist rule and for specific demands. For the Communist Party to refuse to enter into or develop a united front movement for May Day is to limit sharply the mobilization of the workers' forces for that day. This course is wrong narrow, sectarian and has the result to divide, not to unite, the masses in a common fight against capitalism. May Day draws near, but there is still time for a broader movement. We call upon the official Communist Party to act accordingly. The Communist League (Opposition) at these conferences will work for a May Day mobilization on the above basis.

Φ

DETROIT—Patternmakers of the Kettellwell Co. have won a strike against wage reductions.

If the number on your wrapper is

40

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

THE SITUATION AMONG THE COAL MINERS

By ARNE SWABECK

Open rebellion on a wider scale than ever before is once more the answer to the rule of corruption and reactionary policies which have long dominated the United Mine Workers Union and reduced it to a mere shadow of its former strength. Its main result to date, that of setting important working class forces into motion, notwithstanding its as yet obscure direction, may have far reaching significance for the immediate future of the American labor movement. Without recognition of these facts, a correct estimate of the events in connection with the split producing two unions, both laying claim to the title, United Mine Workers of America, cannot be reached.

The old union now even more securely lodged in the grip of John L. Lewis, with his arbitrary powers extended and his past reactionary wrecking policies given the seal of approval by a delegation largely representing locals and districts long since defunct, at the Indianapolis convention, is well known to the coal miners. As far as the rank and file membership is concerned, the past history has left its marks. The cowardly retreat of the Lewis administration in the face of the government injunction in the 1919 national strike and subsequent crushing of insurrectionary strike movements; the sell-out of the 1922 national strike, leaving some 100,000 Pennsylvania miners who had just joined the union in the lurch; the betrayal of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners and the defeat of their strike in 1927-28; the breaking up and destruction of district after district with the suppression of all opposition, expulsions and gunman rule—these are but a few high points of Lewis' regime. They are so commonly known that it cannot be expected that the coal miners should now hark back to support the remnants of his union or even have much sympathy left for it.

A most vital question therefore is what the new union signifies and what its prospects are. Its leadership, apparent at the Springfield convention, can be recognized at a glance: A combination of forces composed of a section of the old corrupt and reactionary officialdom—the Fishwick-Farrington machine; socialist party types like Germer and Ameringer; and progressive, or one time progressive, elements, typified by Howat, Brophy and Hapgood.

Serious Errors of Wrong Analysis

The official Communist party disposed rather quickly of the significance of this new union and the perspectives for it. It was viewed merely as a matter of Peabody, the coal operator magnate, hiring some more help and already asserting his ownership of the union. That, of course, is no analysis whatever, since it fails entirely to recognize the workers set into motion or take account of the objective position of the new union. Conclusions for a policy based upon such an analysis, can lead only to further fatal mistakes, to neglect of opportunities for extension of militancy, and to even further isolation of the Left wing directed by the Party. It is upon just such mistakes that the Fishwicks and Walkers thrive and are able still to maintain a hold upon the miners.

A series of tactical mistakes have been made by the Left wing under the official Communist party direction, which in sum and substance has assumed the character of a system of wrong policies ever since the formation of the National Miners Union. It culminated in the last ill-fated Illinois strike, and to a great extent made it possible for Fishwick, Farrington and Walker to leave the sinking ship of the Lewis administration and to edge in on the crest of the naturally maturing rebellion. Moreover, the Left wing became impotent and no positive factor at all in these events.

What Does the New Union Signify?

First of all, it should be remembered that the new union came about as a rebellion against the worst features of the corrupt regime of John L. Lewis and threw into its foremost ranks, Howat, the one who to the miners symbolizes their traditional militancy. In that sense it certainly signifies a step in a

progressive direction. Secondly to regard this first step as a finished product would be sheer folly. This important section of the working class set into motion, breaking the bounds of the Lewis rule, cannot be expected to be checked or cowed by a Fishwick or other, like him, coal operator agents. Thirdly, there is the objective position of the new union, with a basis of rebellion, to be considered. Competition with Lewis in delivering the goods to the operators, after what has happened to his union, does not lead one to believe that much rank and file support could be gained along that road. No; to avoid stagnation and early death it will be compelled at least to move in a forward and a progressive direction. The rank and file, who have proved their fighting capacity in the past, will be certain to press in that direction and there is no better way at present to eliminate Fishwick and all his henchmen of the old machine. This forward course should be aided and given definite meaning by the Left wing.

Rather indicative of the trend of developments, aside from the factors already mentioned, is such an incident at the Springfield convention as the driving of Fishwick from the chairmanship at the first session and the election of Howat for that post, and later on for the Presidency of the union. This is solely because Howat symbolizes to the miners their militant struggle against the operators. On the other hand, the fact that the seating of Frank Farrington—an openly acknowledged agent of the Peabody coal company, who had the crust to tell the delegates that he accepted his \$25,000 a year position in order to "step aside, secure a wage cut for the membership and thus save the union"—the fact that the acceptance of his credentials could command such a big majority vote clearly show the immense strength of the reactionary Fishwick-Farrington-Walker combine within the union. But even that relationship can be changed, and more swiftly so, with a broadly organized Left wing in this union giving the necessary direction for the struggle: Or—will anybody perhaps maintain that Left wing workers have no business within a union which has in its ranks the majority of the organized soft coal miners in the United States and has union control over their jobs?

Reactionaries Strengthen Hold—But Workers Move On

At times, when workers are stirred into action, one can always observe reactionary forces, labor lieutenants of capitalism, becoming active. They endeavor to follow the tide, try to get into a commanding position and assume, if necessary, a progressive front, both to advance their own personal interests and to serve their masters at the opportune moment by using their position to check the movement, to lead it into harmless channels, and to work for its complete annihilation. At present the wrecking career of John L. Lewis has left him much discredited in the eyes of the workers; but the Fishwick machine is there to continue Lewis' role. That has been sufficiently established by its record in Illinois of wage cuts and sell-outs, expulsions of militants and the use of gunmen, police and militia against struggling miners. History has repeated itself, and this machine has been able to maintain itself in a commanding position within the present rebellious movement. The militants cannot compromise a single one of their principles with this outfit. Against it the ceaseless struggle must continue.

Concerning the so-called progressives, Brophy, Hapgood and the others who as yet, in the eyes of many miners, symbolize militancy against Lewis and the operators, there can be no illusions whatsoever. They are careerists who regard Communism as weakened and compromised today; they do not find it useful at present to cover themselves with sympathy for it. These Amer-

ican species of trade union centrists need to be steadily exposed for their weaknesses and vacillations. The miners must continually be on guard to thwart inevitable betrayal and treachery from them. A powerful Left wing in this new union will be one of the ways to guide this movement into militant channels, and at the same time to expose more effectively these so-called progressives who will more and more openly, as time passes, be the fig-leaf for the Fishwicks, Lewises, etc.

At this very moment additional evidence has been given to indicate that the miners will continue in motion in a progressive direction. A number of Illinois local unions have already made decisions to reinstate all members expelled by the Fishwick machine since 1928. These are the expelled militants who were with the "Save the Union" movement.

How Far Will the Rebellion Reverberate?

Unquestionably, this open rebellion and split, which brought about this new miners' union, set a precedent dangerous to reactionary machine control in other trade unions. It is certain to produce reverberations within the A. F. of L.; if nothing else, then at least the problem of facing a new "dual" union with a considerable base among the workers. Indicative of this already is the support thrown by Green to John L. Lewis as against the new union.

The impotence of the present A. F. of L. officialdom, from the top down practically speaking, and failure to secure even the slightest assistance for the workers during this crisis, has been glaring. Their absolute partnership with capitalism is now laid even more open and bare. The assaults of the employers, who take advantage of the crisis and permanent and mass unemployment, as well as the prospect for coming, perhaps turbulent, defensive struggles by the workers may also seriously shake the apparently secure position of this trade union bureaucracy.

In regard to the present status of the coal miners, one must not fail to take into account the several serious defeats suffered during the last few years, in which official treason was no small factor. The immediate effects of a serious economic crisis and the extensive displacement of labor by machine and mechanical mining, coming closely upon the heels of these defeats, will not tend to produce the swift development of offensive battles by the workers. But on the other hand, these very problems, embodying continuous assaults upon their meager existence, become bound up with active resistance—with struggle. Under these conditions, plus the quite solid phalanx presented by the coal operators toward the workers' aims, the most thorough preparations and most complete organization possible become questions of serious import. We reserve this particular point for another time. But certainly it must be admitted that with three unions in the field, this problem is, at best, yet more complex. However, that fact merely serves to emphasize the continuous process of development and change in the social world. In this case it represents a new "stage in a long struggle to reconstitute the miners' organization on a national scale on a militant basis."

Left Wing Facing Serious Problems

The National Miners Union remains the only union resting programmatically on a class foundation; but, as has often been emphasized, despite its objectively favorable position and the courage and determination displayed, the other two unions retain the membership of these miners who are at all organized and have union control over their jobs. Will the Left wing and the Stalinized Party leadership continue its policy of trying to withdraw the best elements from these unions where they have job control, thus eliminate these elements from the industry and isolate itself from these important sections of organized workers; or will it again take up the correct Leninist

position of maintaining the closest contact and extending its influence among them? That is now the decisive question. A return to a correct policy can yet make the National Miners Union—that is, the organized Left wing—an important factor both in developments in the unorganized fields as well as within the organized sections. But its methods and functions must of necessity constantly change in conformity with developing conditions.

The union still under control of John L. Lewis embraces important sections of coal miners. Within it are, particularly in the light of the latest events, possibilities to spread the ferment and to do away with this corrupt regime.

The new union is officially committed to the aim of the six hour day, the five day week and unemployment insurance. These were adopted at the Springfield convention, the presence of the Fishwick machine elite notwithstanding. These two points, the shorter work day and social insurance, were the two specific points correctly emphasized in the Comintern address to the American Party membership last year as practical demands to be put forward in the daily struggles of the workers. Their adoption by the new miners union should serve to make it a more favorable starting point for further development toward a greater militant basis. But this will require systematic, correct Left wing activities and devoted work.

In conclusion it is well to restate the position of Lenin:

"Undoubtedly, the leaders of opportunism will have recourse to all the tricks of bourgeois diplomacy, will appeal to the help of bourgeois governments, to priests, police courts, in order to prevent Communists from entering the trade unions, by all and every means to put them out, to make their work inside these organizations as unpleasant as possible, to insult, hound and persecute them. It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to go the whole length of any sacrifice, if need be, to resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge, to anything in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them and carry on Communist work inside them at any cost." ("Left" Communism, page 36.)

Machines Displace More Miners

Displacement of coal miners by machinery makes a new record in the stripping operations on the Northern Pacific Railroad properties at Coalstrip, Montana. The Scientific American describes the new Bucyrus-Erie coal loading shovel that lifts out more than eight tons at a time, dumps it into gondola cars skirting the pit and returns for a new load all in 45 seconds. Operated by only two or three men it digs and loads 5,000 tons in a 10-hour shift. With the aid of a smaller loader a total of 20,000 tons are loaded in 24 hours, enough to fill 300 of the 70-ton cars recently purchased by the company.

A dirt stripping machine bites out 15 tons of earth at a chunk, depositing it a city block away at a height of 10 stories if necessary all in one operation. The pick and shovel man is out of date here.

Miners unemployment grows.

Φ

SIXTEEN COAL MINERS DIE IN BLAST

KETTLE RIVER, Ky.—Rescue workers striving to save 16 coal miners trapped by a gas explosion in the mine here, have found bodies of six. The other 10 are believed dead from heat and gas which filled the shaft after the blast had crippled the ventilating system. One victim was 17 years old and the others had wives and children.

Over 30 rescue workers, who believed the remaining bodies may not be found for several days are themselves in danger from the fumes.

The Five Year Plan and World Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

poning the manifestations of a crisis, and in this manner gain a new breathing space for the isolated Workers' State. The task of the moment is a planned retreat from the position of adventurism.

However, in addition to this "minimal" variation, it is necessary to prepare immediately another, more extended variation, calculated not only on the internal but also on the external resources. The perspective of the proletarian revolution in Europe is by no means less of a reality than the perspective of a genuine collectivization of the Russian peasants. More correctly, the second perspective becomes a reality only in connection with the first. The official leadership of the Communist International conducts its policy as though we were on the eve of the insurrection of the European proletariat. At the same time, the economic plan for ten-fifteen years is constructed with the aim of "out-distancing" the whole capitalist world by means of an isolated Workers' State. This incompatibility, flowing from the reactionary, utopian theory of socialism in one country, runs through the program of the Comintern and all its policies. Nobody knows the dates, but it can be said with certainty: the conquest of power by the European proletariat is undoubtedly closer to this date than is the liquidation of the classes in the Soviet Union.

The elaboration of a minimal plan with the aim of mitigating the approaching crisis must necessarily proceed from the fact of the present isolated position of Soviet economy. But simultaneously it is necessary to create a variation based on the mutual interlinking of Soviet and world economy. The general plan elaborated for ten, fifteen or more years can under no condition be construed any other way.

Obviously, systematic and all-embracing economic cooperation of an international character will become possible only after the conquest of power by the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries. However, the time of this overthrow cannot be foreseen. That is why preparations must be made in time, politically as well as economically.

World Unemployment and the Soviet Union

Secondly, there is every reason to count that under the conditions of the present commercial and industrial crisis, particularly in case of its further aggravation, the Soviet government, by a correct policy, can gain an incomparably larger access to the resources of the world market. Unemployment is a factor of huge importance which can make its impress upon the policy of the next future. Under the blows of unemployment the powerful edifice of the conservative trade unions and the social democracy can suffer deep-going cleavages before the infinitely more powerful edifice of the capitalist state begins to crack. But this will not happen of itself. The correct direction of the working class struggle acquires an exceptional significance in the conditions of a social crisis. The general strategic line of Communism must obviously, more than ever before, be directed towards the revolutionary conquest of power. But this revolutionary policy must be nourished by the concrete conditions and tasks of the transition period. Unemployment occupies an ever more central place among them. One of the most important slogans of the transition period can and must become the demand for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. But the agitation under this slogan must in turn have a thoroughly concrete character, armed with facts and figures. It must base itself on a general economic plan which takes into account the ever-increasing interlinking of Soviet with world economy. This signifies that the general plan must be built upon a genuine Marxist foundation and not upon the theory of an isolated socialist society.

In the present European and world unemployment, conjunctural events are bound up with the organic processes of capitalist decay. We have more than once repeated that conjunctural cycles are inherent in capitalist society at every stage of its de-

velopment. But at different stages these cycles have a different character. Just as in a person's declining years a flow of strength is always uncertain and brief and every illness, on the contrary, affects the whole organism, so the conjunctural cycles of imperialist capitalism, especially in Europe, show a tendency towards the diseased swelling of crisis by comparatively short rises. The question of unemployment, in these conditions, can become the central question for the majority of the capitalist countries. It is here that the knot is tied between the interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of the world proletariat.

The task by itself is clear and indisputable. It is only necessary to approach it correctly. But that is precisely where the difficulty lies. At the present time, the international education of the world proletarian vanguard is based on two ideas: "The Soviet Union will build socialism without you" and "The Soviet Union is the fatherland of all the toilers". The first idea is false, the second abstract. Moreover, the one belies the other. This explains the astonishing fact that the struggle against unemployment is now directed by the pocket calendar of Kuusinen and Manuilsky ("March 6th", etc.), and passes over the economic problems of the Soviet Union. Yet the connection between the one task and the other is quite obvious.

Ways to Aid Unemployed and the Soviet Union

Complete collectivization on the basis of the peasants' holdings is an adventure pregnant with a crisis in agricultural production and with dangerous political consequences. But if the possibility arises to fructify the collective farms in time by an influx of advanced technique, then collectivized agriculture could pass far more easily through the period of infantile illness and be able, almost in the next few years, to realize a greatly improved harvest, with such stocks for export as would radically change the picture of the grain market of Europe and later on put the consumption of the working masses on a new foundation. The menacing disproportion between the swing of collectivization and the state of technique flows directly from the economic isolation of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet government could even use only the capitalist credits "normal" in interstate relations, the tempo of industrialization, as the framework of collectivization, could even now be considerably enlarged.

By all these circumstances, the Communist Parties of the West are placed before the task: of tying up, in their agitation, the question of unemployment with the most essential factors in world development, and, in the first place, with the economic development of the Soviet Union. And what is needed for this?

First, to stop fooling the workers of the West with regard to the genuine situation in the Soviet Union. Together with the indisputable and immense successes arising out of nationalization, to show them honestly at the same time the internal contradictions arising out of the isolation of the Soviet Union and mistakes of leadership, and threatening it with political dangers.

Second, to explain to them that these dangers could be considerably diminished, and later overcome, by the establishment of a broad and coordinated interchange between the Soviet Union on the one side and Germany and England, for example, on the other.

Third, to demonstrate that many tens, and later on hundreds, of thousands of workers would be able to find work in the annual, planned orders for machinery and agricultural implements of the Soviet Union.

Fourth, to explain that through these conditions the Soviet Union would receive the possibility to export a far greater quantity—leaving aside wood and other raw materials—of grain, butter, meat and other products of consumption of the broadest masses.

The importation of machinery and the

exportation of raw material and food products could, by an adequate agreement, be set into direct dependence upon each other, on the basis of a large plan equally accessible to the understanding and the checking of the Soviet as well as the foreign workers.

The successes hitherto achieved in Soviet industry assure a necessary basis for this entrance into the international arena. It is not a question of naked agitation, but of serious, well thought out economic proposals, motivated by all existing experience and clearly formulated in the language of technique, economics and statistics. In this connection the Soviet government must certainly proclaim its full readiness to facilitate an all-sided examination of the accomplishments of the economic agreement for interested labor organizations (trade unions, shop stewards' committees, etc.).

Unemployment and the United Front

If we approach the question politically and in the first place from the point of view of the relations towards the social democracy and Amsterdam, the task can be formulated as an application of the policy of the united front on a scale such as it has not been and could not be practiced up to now.

But is it possible to hope that MacDonald, Hermann Mueller, the trade unionists of Amsterdam and the American Federation of Labor would consent to such a combination? then is it not utopian? is it not conciliationism? etc. Such an objection will undoubtedly be made by those who yesterday hoped that the British trade unionists would declare war against imperialism for the defense of the Soviet Union (Stalin and Company). We did not nourish these pitiful illusions at that time and we do not nourish them now. But it must be considered that economic agreements of a social democratic government with the Soviets for the diminution of unemployment in its own country is nevertheless far more probable than the war of the reformists against imperialism. When the crisis develops further, the reformist governments, which base themselves upon millions of organized workers, can be driven into such a vice that they are compelled—to one extent or another—to yield to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

We have no desire or need to guess the extent to which it would be realized in actuality. Should the social democracy be averse even to the discussion—in the first period that is most likely to be the case—then the plan will at the very outset imbue the masses of the workers to struggle against the social democracy. In any case, the reformists in power will find it more difficult to defend themselves from an agitation based on a concrete plan of economically advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union than from the shrill yelpings on the subject of "social fascism".

It is evident that this plan of campaign in no way assumes the softening of our political relations towards the social democracy. On the contrary, by correct direction the campaign outlined above can seriously shake the positions of the international social democracy which for the last few years received immeasurable support through the policies of Stalin-Molotov.

Socialist Construction and the International Revolution

The necessity of posing the task of socialist construction in an international sense rises out of the internal needs of the economic development of the Soviet Union and at the same time represents the most persuasive and irrefutable propaganda in favor of international revolution. But in

* The paper of the Italian Left Communists, *Prometeo*, says quite appropriately that if it is very difficult for the social democrats to refute the accusations that they are agents of the bourgeoisie, it is, on the contrary, very easy for them to refute the affirmation that they are Fascists. In labeling the social democrats social fascists, the Comintern renders them a signal service.

order to enter upon this road it is necessary to learn over again. Instead of a soporific optimism, the revolutionary tocsin must be sounded. It is impermissible to be content with the ritualistic conjuring against military intervention. It is necessary to put the economic problem squarely. The Communist agitator must say openly and honestly to the masses of the West:

"Don't believe that socialism will be built up in Moscow without you. They have accomplished quite a bit, but they cannot accomplish everything. The many things they have already accomplished are only a small part of what is still to be done. In order to help them, such measures must now be taken as will at the same time help you workers against unemployment and the high cost of living. The Soviet government has an economic plan for cooperation with foreign industry." Everybody can familiarize himself with it. To be sure, you are not obliged to put blind faith in me or in the Soviet government. Demand the examination of the Soviet proposals by our trade unions, our party, or by our social democratic government (Germany, England). This government must be compelled finally to take the road of economic agreement with the Soviet Union because that is the more effective and advantageous road of struggle against unemployment."

But is there any hope that with their present leadership the Communist Parties are capable of a serious revolutionary mobilization of the masses? We will not decide this question beforehand. The policy which we defend has such profound roots in the objective situation and in the historical interests of the proletariat that it will finally make its way through all the obstacles. It is entirely a question of time. But that is a very important question. The duty of the Left Communist Opposition is, therefore, to use all its strength to shorten the period.

Prinkipo, March 14, 1930

** We proceed from the assumption that such a plan must be created.

⊕

STEEL SLAVES NEED UNION

PITTSBURG, Pa.—W. E. Chalmers, of the University of Pittsburgh who spent months in a survey of labor conditions in steel trust towns, among other things says:

"Contrasted with a highly efficient labor spy system maintained by steel corporations to ferret out discontented workmen, the absence of any union in the field to lead in the fight against sharp wage cuts, unemployment and long hours

"The sweep of technocracy through the steel plants," has been unparalleled in any other industry. In a 3-year period from 8 to 23% of the working force has been eliminated in various departments of typical mills. The Edgar Thompson works at Braddock a Pittsburgh suburb, have cut the number of workers from 7,000 to 5,000 in four years while maintaining production.

"On the other hand the big steel corporations have never been so prosperous. Although the fourth quarter of 1929 was one of industrial depression, U. S. Steel reported the highest profits of any quarter in its history. Record profits have been matched by record unemployment, sharp wage reductions and the maintenance of long hours.

"In continuous process departments of the bigger mills, the 8-hour day is in effect. In other departments, and in some of the smaller mills, the 10-hour day is customary, but 12-hour shifts and the 7-day week are by no means uncommon. Four thousand men are on the 7-day week in the Pittsburgh area alone. Every third week U. S. Steel Corp. workers must work 16 hours straight in 24 hours."

Efforts to organize these mills, despite discontent, will not be easy, said Chalmers. The steel trust and other companies, following the 1919 revolt, organized an elaborate spy service. Company towns are under the iron rule of company henchmen; free speech and assembly are unknown; eviction can follow agitation; and boarding house keepers are often company agents.

Throughout the World of Labor

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Our Statement to the XVI Party Congress

January, 1930

Moscow

With regard to our tasks and immediate tactics our opinion is the following: it is especially important that Rakovsky, Mouralov, Kossior and the other comrades prepare a statement for the Sixteenth Party Congress, in the name of the entire Opposition. This declaration must be addressed to the masses over the heads of the leaders. The sense of this declaration must be: to explain the preceding statement and to reply to the apparatus bureaucrats; to dissipate any possible illusions concerning Centrism; to denounce once again the nature of Centrism—in particular that which concerns the problem of the workers, the Party regime, and the problems of the Communist International.

Centrism has not changed in the slightest. It remains true to its nature, but veils itself under a barrage of "Left" phraseology.

With respect to that which concerns the International problems: we still live in a period of reaction, which draws to a close. Our tasks are: to recapture the lost positions; to systematically organize and prepare the proletariat for the coming battles; to show up the inexperience and stupidity of the high-powered politicians, who discover a revolutionary situation today in order that on the morrow, having burned their fingers thereon, they can turn their backs when it actually exists; to point out the causes for the fiasco of all the red demonstrations; to sum up all of the "bolshyization" of the Communist International, and especially to combat the anti-internationalism, the pernicious theory of socialism in one country—which debases the world wide significance of the October revolution and gives birth within our ranks to economic adventurism; to once again put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe.

What To Tell the Party

In our statement the complete truth must be told to the Party and to the working-class. They must be forewarned of the threatening crisis which, today, is closer than ever. An infinitesimal minority tends towards making concessions to Centrism at the time of the Sixteenth Congress. Their path is not ours. Without a thrust from the base we shall not influence Centrism. This "thrust" must be prepared—therein lies the problem.

One of the most serious of moments appears to be in the country—with respect to the malodorous situation in the collectives. This is explained to a large extent by the possibility of avoiding difficulties, of utilizing credits and machines. Unions of poor peasants must be organized more than ever before. Only these unions, under a proper leadership, can give a clear cut class character to the collectives and orientate the movement upon our path.

The apparatus, acting only through administrative means and by thrashing about in the press, can make the collectives the opposite of what they should be. They can become the organizational centers for all the enemy elements in the country. Unquestionably, the Kulak movement is growing. A serious warning is given by an incident which occurred in the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk district, where a crowd of peasants, under the direct influence of the Kulaks, arose to beat up the Communists.

The Centrists' Adventures

It is urgent and important that the causes for the enormous destruction of cattle be analyzed. Despite a certain halt in the grain crisis and an amelioration in the rationing of meat, the real salary of the worker shows no signs of any increase. Particular attentions must be given to the spirit of the proletariat. The Mensheviks already profit by their discontent...

By not letting up their blows against the Leninist Opposition, Centrism has favored the possibility for all anti-Soviet elements to raise their heads. The attention of the entire Opposition must be drawn to this side of the question—the resistance to counter-revolution. A pitiless struggle must be waged against these elements, the Social Democrats up to the Right wingers in the Party!

...The entire Centrist politics, with its present "Left" aspect, is more and more becoming transformed into a bureaucratic adventure. The counter-revolutionaries are rapidly mobilizing their forces, and the politics of Centrism furnish them with forces. That is why the truth must be put brutally and the problem posed in this manner so that every comrade understands: the Party course must be changed or reaction will triumph....

—A WORKER

Φ

The Communist Workers And the Opposition

At almost the same time that the Stalinist Political Bureau published an insidious "piece of news" in certain Leningrad newspapers about the supposed sabotage of a Trotskyist, the Pravda published a letter from a correspondent which is entitled "The Swan Song of a Trotskyist Group". The author of this letter, after some generalities concerning the struggle of the Party on two fronts, goes on to the following items:

"Thus, for example, a few weeks ago, at the Party purging of the nucleus in a repair shop at Belgosstroi (Minsk), a group of Trotskyists was uncovered who claimed themselves to be 100% for the Party line, and who were carrying on a desperate struggle against the Party. The group had published and distributed counter-revolutionary tracts, collected funds for an "anti-Party campaign fund", demoralized the less firm Communist and non-Party factory workers. This group was composed, amongst others, of party members and avowed Trotskyists who had been expelled from the Party. An agreement of mutual support had been concluded between the 'Communists' and the Trotskyists. Thus the 'Communists' of the factory nucleus had attempted to introduce some non-Party elements of their group into the Party. In their turn, the latter did not permit attacks upon the pseudo-Communists. At the last purging, for example, a certain Trotskyist, Reinzelberg, foaming at the mouth, had defended a member of the secret Trotskyist Party, Buslovitch."

Then the correspondent includes the discovery of the group and the statement wherein the leaders admit their errors, of a type well known in the statements which are lent to or extorted from the Oppositionists.

The Opposition and the Rank and File

This text permits of a certain number of lessons. But first, it must be pruned of its "third period" literature which is more copious than nourishing. It must be pruned also of insults and absurdities (the campaign fund against the Party, etc.). What remains is that in the large working center of Minsk, among the railroad workers, among the rank and file Communists, there was formed an organized group, unknown to the apparatus functionaries, which struggled for the program of the Opposition. The Communists of the nucleus had formed a united front with their expelled comrades and coordinated their struggle against Centrism. Thus, spontaneously, a secret fraction was formed which brought together in Communist work, the rank and file Communist workers and the expelled—and this among a group of railroad workers in a large industrial center. The life of this

small group shows clearly the agreement of the rank and file workers with the Oppositionists, which the official press wears its lungs out in attempting to pass off as counter-revolution. It furthermore shows by a concrete example what work in common brings together the Oppositionists and the revolutionary rank and file workers. The example of Pravda's indignant correspondent illustrates the "united front" towards which the Left Opposition in Russia tends and which newspaper writers qualify as retreat or capitulation.

A. Nikitine can express his indignation. Such "swan songs" cannot sound too agree-

able to the ear of the apparatus bureaucrats. And when the correspondent Nikitine in the end of his note states "that it is becoming incomprehensible that the Trotskyist group could have existed and could have carried on its disorganizing activity without the local organizations knowing anything about it", he only confirms the nature of the regrouping which, in workers' centers, calls the most informed of the militant workers to unite with the Opposition for Communist work.

This pretended swan-song brings us the proof that the revolutionary thought of the Russian Opposition is very much alive.

IN INDIA

Gandhi Enters the Field of «Struggle»

Last week we made clear the fundamental facts concerning the problems of the Indian revolution. We pointed out the impasse in which the nationalist chiefs found themselves, and in particular Gandhi, caught between the thrust of the masses on the one hand, and the pressure of the British on the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois classes on the other.

On March 2nd, Gandhi, who has begun the campaign of "civil disobedience", foreseen by the Congress of Lahore, sent "an ultimatum" to Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, which serves to illustrate this situation. In the matter of the ultimatum, it is an appeal to the kindness of the viceroy, an anguished petition full of irreconcilable contradictions. "I hold the British laws," writes Gandhi, "as applied to my country, to be an iniquity and a curse. But I feel no hatred for the British, nor the least wish to harm their legitimate rights in this country." But all this in no way approaches the duplicity of what follows. "The National Congress has declared itself for independence. The Dominion status would assure it to us. You, yourself told us so, but since your declaration I have become informed that the politicians of Great Britain had no intention of conceding it to us."

Gandhi on His Knees Before the Lord Viceroy

In the sentence which we underlined, Gandhi unites the claim for independence and that of Dominion status. He writes that Dominion status would assure independence, would lead to independence. And yet Gandhi cannot be ignorant of the fact that these are two quite contradictory things. Dominion status is a form of government in the group comprising the British Empire, accomplished to the benefit of the native bourgeoisie; it is the demand of the industrial and commercial sections of India; and it is also a promise that the Labor Party has made, but is, however, unable to keep. But independence, that is to open the door to the proletarian revolution.

Gandhi fears this second eventuality. He writes to the viceroy that his intransigence "explains the progress which the party of violence has made among us, and explains the increasing seriousness of the situation." In other words, Gandhi fears the weight of the revolutionary masses, and he also tries to make use of them as a scare-crow against the viceroy. But the end of his petition is more pitiful. He writes, "It is evidently in your power to prevent me from acting by locking me up. But, myself gone, I have the conviction that there will be hundreds of faithful companions to continue the struggle. While there is yet time, I beg of you, on my knees, to prevent the irreparable."

The Workers Will March Beyond Gandhi
Lord Irwin, viceroy of India by the grace of MacDonald, was satisfied with an indirect reply. His secretary answers to the Mahatma: "The viceroy has learned with the deepest regret that you contemplated a form of action which, manifestly, allows of a violation of the law and a danger to the public peace." Sick at heart,

Gandhi is forced to renew the struggle for non-cooperation, and to preach the boycotting of British goods and the refusal to pay taxes. What can be clearer to Lord Irwin? It is a violation of the law, it is a danger to the public peace. Take care!

How far will Gandhi go in his campaign? The immediate future will tell. But when Gandhi stops, the revolutionary masses will not. It is in the perspective of this continued development of the activity of the worker and peasant proletariat, that the responsibilities of the Communist International enter.... At the moment, there is no Communist Party in India. There are only agitators who fight in the Left wing of the nationalist movement, in the bureaucratic manner of Molotov, by attacking the assemblies where Gandhi and the other nationalist leaders take the floor, instead of carrying on propaganda and class struggle activity within the masses by means of a class party. Only the formation of this party can make the perspectives favorable for the proletariat.

Φ

The Durban «Raid» in South Africa

As an example of the confidence with which policies are foisted on the Comintern sections and afterward justified, you will be interested to learn that a police raid recently carried out in Durban against defaulting native tax-payers, who, however, offered no resistance, was hailed in the Inprecorr recently as a triumph for the Comintern's new South African slogan. The raid was falsely referred to as a "native revolt" due directly to the application of the new policy which had increased the influence of the C. P. What are the facts?

1. There was no revolt. The police raided the native locations in Durban, without prior warning, to compel defaulters to pay their taxes. There was no attempt at resistance to the police, who were armed, the taxes were paid, and those who were unable to pay were put in jail.

2. The Communist Party has no influence in Durban, it cannot muster half-a-dozen members to form a branch. And so the new policy has been proved correct by a revolt which never happened, produced by an influence of the C. P. which is non-existent. These statements incline South African Communists—both in the Party and out—to laugh. But they are apparently swallowed whole in other countries, where faithful worshippers at the shrine of Stalin acclaim the correctness of his line. When will the Comintern cease to mislead? In fact, its line in South Africa is proving as true as did its line in China.

C. Frank Glass

Johannesburg, So. Africa

Φ

JAPANESE RADICAL HELD FOR DEPORTATION

SAN FRANCISCO—Sadaichi Kenmotsu, Japanese Communist being held at San Francisco for deportation, was granted a stay of hearing on a habeas corpus motion. He is out on \$3,000 bond. Kenmotsu was arrested during the unemployment demonstrations in March.

Sellier is Right - Lovestone Wrong

Ca Ira, organ of the P. O. P. (Workers and Peasants Party) of France, the newly-formed party of the French Right wing, writes on March 1: "Analyzing our manifesto, our friends from Germany (the Brandler group), after some criticisms of details, conclude that outside of Alsace we are 'the group closest to their position and the one possessing the greatest influence'. We are proud of this new approbation, sent to us by old militants. It is the commencement of our international contact."

Revolutionary Age, organ of the American Right wing, following the tip, changes the last line in its chorus of previously unstinted praise for the good French comrades, by submitting them to a timid "criticism of details." In its issue of March 1, it writes: "The Six (that is, the movement led by the six expelled municipal councillors) have taken the road of a new Party. On December 28, the conference called by the 'Six' decided upon the formation of a 'Workers and Farmers Party'... The apparent purpose of this move was to create an 'election Party', a parliamentary apparatus for the expelled. This step—which is directly contrary to the line (?) and experiences of the international Opposition movement—has set back the development of the French Opposition a great deal."

Thus the brave internationalism of the Right wing. The suspicious tardiness of the "criticism"—the P. O. P. was organized nine weeks ago and an analysis of it published a short while afterwards in the Militant—we will leave to more qualified parties to explain. But we must establish, if only on the interests of strict accuracy that Lovestone is wrong and Sellier the leading spirit of the new draft of French Mensheviks, is right; at least so far as the disputed point is concerned. And as between the stated view of Lovestone that Sellier and Co. should have constituted themselves only as a fraction for the "conquest of the Communist Party", and the action of Sellier himself in forming a new party, the more natural and proper path is the Frenchman's.

Internationalism Is Forgotten

Indeed, what have Sellier and his friends in common with revolutionary Marxism that they should form a faction to win even the shivering shadow of the once powerful Communist Party of France? Nothing, so far as we can perceive. The P. O. P. is a purely parliamentary apparatus to safeguard the municipal, and in general, the electoral bottoms of its leaders. In the trade union field (C. G. T. U.), it has allied itself with the syndicalist-reformist elements who are for the "independence of the trade unions"—that is, for their dependence upon the reformists and their masters. Its leaders' activities in the municipal councils are largely indistinguishable from those of a "Left" social democrat of, let us say, the more "solid" Austrian school. They do not even bother, as Lovestone and Brandler do out of politeness to the confused Communist workers still in their ranks, to call themselves a Communist movement; on the contrary, apparently taking Stalin's slogan as good revolutionary coin, they have labelled themselves a "workers and peasants" party. In their manifesto, which was posted upon the billboards and walls of Paris as I passed through that city two weeks ago, they addressed themselves to the good and honest French citizenry, and out of sheer oversight we presume... did not as much as mention the Bolshevik revolution or the Soviet republic. They did appeal, however, for a rally to the P.O.P. on the basis of the good old revolutionary French traditions of—1789.

After all, one can read the material of Brandler and Lovestone and find some vague mutterings about the Russian revolution and internationalism, like the incoherent babblings of a man waking out of a sleep and talking about something that happened long, long ago. But Messrs. Sellier and Co. are "sobered up", they are quite through with what they consider yesterday's bubblings of revolutionary beverages "artificially imported" from Moscow. What have they to do with Internationalism and with a revolution in far-off Russia (or any other country, it might be added)? Let Stalin build up his socialism in Russia: that's his affair. And let Brandler build his "Communist" Opposition in Germany,

if he wants to. As for ourselves, say Sellier, Gelis, Chasseigne, Dunois and Co., let us build our modest little election machine in France. Everyone to his own taste! Live and let live! These are the fearless slogans emblazoned on the standards of the Right wing "international".

Travelling Toward Menshevism

At the conference to constitute the P. O. P., by the way, there was also on hand Maurice Paz, erstwhile Oppositionist of the Left. He too made his essential criticism of the Selliers the fact that they were forming a "second party". Paz has found bad company. Like him, Lovestone is little concerned with all these petty, bothersome questions of Communist principles. What is important is the question: Second party

Naval Parley Bound for «Davy Jones' Locker»

Officially the London Naval conference still exists. The issues of naval tonnage, and limitation of armament construction, minced with all the verbiage that preceded the conference, remain, today after almost three months of negotiations. Not the slightest progress has been made between the imperialist robbers.

During the course of the conference every conceivable method was employed by the Powers to bludgeon each other into agreement. From the beginning it was clear that the conference meant to establish the "agreement" of the hegemony of the British and United States fleets over the seas. The conference was an attempt to get "official" sanction from Japan, France and Italy.

The assumption of the United States to leadership in world economy and the deposition of England from her former role gave the political basis to the conference. To do away with the old watchword—"Britannia Rules the Seas"—became the object of America. In this she was successful, insofar as it dictated to Britain the ratio of naval strength giving her (United States) a free hand to roam the seas, and maintain a naval fleet second to none. What became necessary following this agreement between the two leading world powers, was to establish a form of restraint on the other powers, to establish the relative strength of Japan, France and Italy in relation to themselves.

Conference Cannot Solve Its Problems

The demand of the Japanese for a naval strength of 70 percent of the United States and England became the first obstacle. The proposal for a reduction of this ratio met the stubborn resistance of the Japanese delegation. The French position calling for a tonnage of 725,000 tons, a great part to be built by 1936, remains, despite all attempts to force France into reducing this figure. Italy stands on her original proposal of parity with France. To allow France such a high tonnage, and a fleet that, would in six years be the most modern afloat; and to allow Italy parity with France would present a direct threat to the British interests in the Mediterranean, and generally be a threat to both England and the United States.

With the growth of the intensity of contradictions between the capitalist powers, the possibility of their "agreements" become more and more slim. The prediction of the Communists that the conference would inevitably run into a blind alley has been sustained throughout the course of the deliberations. There is no solution to war under capitalism. All the problems facing imperialists prior to the organization of the conference that was to "solve" them, stand as before.

Recognizing that the probability of a five-power treaty was doubtful, attempts were made for a tripartite treaty between England, the United States, and Japan. With the hope that this would be successful, America and Britain threatened the conference that unless France and Italy would agree to the proposals for reduction of their fleets, they would proceed with a three-power agreement.

Japan threw the wrench into this wheel, by rejecting the proposals of the United States and Great Britain, that Japan accept a reduction below the Japanese figure of a 70 percent ration of the English and Amer-

ican party faction. And alas, it is precisely in this last question that Sellier is correct and Lovestone wrong.

It is necessary, again in the interests of strict accuracy, to conclude with one more aspect of the issue. Sellier would be wrong and Lovestone right if it were a matter of not organizing a new party but instead of that, a faction—in the socialist party, a faction allied—from the Left side, if you wish—with M. Zyromski and his friends. Indeed it is not so long ago that Lovestone, as secretary of the American Party, proposed to its Political Bureau that Party members be sent into the Socialist Party to build a "Left wing" there. Is there any reason to doubt that now, travelling with express speed away from Communism, Lovestone and Sellier will not soon realize the step that Lovestone advocated in an unguarded moment? In our opinion there is none.—M.S.

ican fleets. Italy has declared in the last week, that unless the conference would immediately agree to parity between her and France, it would be necessary for her to leave the conference.

Attempts at Security Pacts Fail

And additional attempts to revert to security pacts as a solution to the French problem at the conference met with failure. The powers evidently feel that the time is not yet ripe to enter into agreements of a political nature, at this stage of the game. They are content to play for time during this "peaceful" period of the war preparations. A political pact with either the United States or Great Britain, France claims, would enable her to lower her demand for a 725,000 tonnage ratio. But with Japan's refusal for a reduction in her demand, France's assumption of the same position, and Italy's refusal to agree to less than parity with France, the naval conference stands lifeless.

Secrecy Prevails in Conference

E. L. James in the New York Times of April 5, sums up the present situation in London in the following manner:

"Thus the complications of the naval conference do not lessen, and while there have been many interesting proposals no one knows exactly what the situation is. There has been no meeting of the conference for six weeks. There have been only private talks in the greatest secrecy, of which no record was kept. If the whole official record of the decisions of this conference were compiled, it would not fill twenty typewritten pages.

"There probably never was another conference so secret in its work. This means that if it ever gets down to making a treaty an immense amount of work must be done in setting down what has been agreed. It probably will be found that no two delegations agree on any point."

The collapse of the conference was inevitable from the moment it began. The mask of its pretensions has been torn through its complete failures. Technically the conference is continued—actually it has been dead for weeks. The conference demonstrates that under capitalism the contradictions that exist cannot be solved through peaceful means. War and capitalism are identical. The solution to this problem is the overthrow of this system of exploitation and war. It is the duty of the proletariat to destroy this system and its lackeys, to establish a system without classes, exploitation and war—a Communist Society.

Φ

STREET RAILWAYMEN ASK RAISE

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Three thousand members of the Amalgamated Assn. of Street Railwaymen are asking an increase in wages from the Pittsburg Railways Co. when the present agreement expires in May.

The union seeks a raise of five cents an hour for motormen and conductors to 75 cents per hour and a raise of 15 cents per hour to 90 cents for operators of one man cars. Negotiations have been in progress for nearly a month. No settlement has been reached. The local has been given the approval of the national officers for strike action if it becomes necessary.

Police Kill Worker at Anti-Fascist Meet

NEW YORK—Benito Mussolini, using the U. S. immigration service, reached out in a Cooper Union anti-Fascist meeting in New York to nab Armando Borghi, an anti-Fascist leader. As a result one unknown worker is dead and another wounded.

Borghi, with Vincenzo Vacirca, a socialist and both opponents of Fascism, were speakers at a Cooper Union meeting called to discuss labor strategy after the fall of Il Duce's castor oil regime. The meeting was nonpartisan and a Republican party member was chairman. Just as Borghi finished his speech a federal agent stepped on the platform to arrest him. Borghi jumped off the stage into the audience, which rose in excitement.

A city detective was being ejected from the meeting when he drew his gun and fired wildly. The shot wounded one man, glanced off, and instantly killed an Italian worker. None knew his identity nor political affiliations.

Borghi was seized for deportation several years ago, on the advice of fascist agents in Washington. Liberals and radicals put up a fight to keep him from being returned to certain death in Italy. Stays of execution had been granted to him, but he had not been notified that federal agents were after him.

Φ

ROCHESTER TYPOS SHARE JOBS WITH UNEMPLOYED

ROCHESTER, N. Y. —(FP)—Married compositors on Rochester newspapers will go on a 4-day week, while single men will work only three days weekly, under a program voluntarily adopted by the three newspaper chapels of the Typographical Union to relieve unemployment among printers here. The action follows a reduction of working forces by the newspapers.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 305 Tenth St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britske's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wealey St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buchler's Book Store, 620 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor., 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above. The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

Beating the War Drums

The periodicals of the ruling class in this country have in the past year devoted a great deal of space to the topic of war. The United States' new role as the leading capitalist nation in the world, with its search for markets, raw materials, and new fields of exploitation, brought with it an extension of its military preparations and development of every character. "Dollar Diplomacy" in its penetration into the world arena, is followed by the gun. The capitalists of this country, just as the capitalists of all other countries recognize that in order to safeguard their economic interests, the armed forces behind it are essential.

The inevitability of conflicts between the imperialists is evident through their attempts at meditation. A glaring failure of this character is the London naval conference. But the whole history of capitalist diplomacy shows the same result. Attempts at agreements, limitation of armaments, negotiations for peace, have all meant: preparation for war, the search for alignments, and the aim to discover the strength of their opponents. The imperialists recognize the inevitability of war and are continually in preparation for it. They write about it, speak of it, and are constantly on guard against the "enemy." A few weeks ago, a sham airplane battle was held in the vicinity of Los Angeles against the "red forces". This is indicative where the wind blows. At other times practice battles are fought against the fleet of Great Britain or Japan. The minds of the masses are being prepared.

War Department Calls For Free Hand

The armed forces, however, while playing a tremendous role during war, are not sufficient. The resources of the belligerent nations are the backbone of war. The organization of industry on a war basis at a moment's notice is the object of the ruling class. And so *Nation's Business*, the organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce, poses the question: "Who's going to win the next big war? And why?"

Assuming, and correctly so, that war is coming, this journal proceeds to promote a plan for mobilizing the industry of this country up to war strength at a moment's notice. The proposal called, "educational war orders for munitions", is set forth in a bill backed by the war department, the navy department and the Chamber of Commerce. The Bill has already had hearings before the House committee on military affairs.

In order to avoid all possible delays in the event that war breaks out, the Bill intends that the Secretary of War shall have complete power to place war orders for munitions without advertising for bids, and without being bound to award them to the lowest bidders. This would mean that the small industrial concerns would be pushed out in favor of the large industries that can over night begin the production of war implements. The War Department does not want to bother over "small concerns with no capacity worth consideration in war time."

Turning the Factories into War Machines

Nation's Business very clearly states:

"Making munitions is much more difficult and complicated than turning out trucks or tractors or pleasure cars or typewriters. Cannon must be as accurate as watches. Shells must be perfect."

"War is now a fight of the factories, a battle of machines...The nation whose manufacturing plants can most quickly be tuned up to quantity production of cannon, shells, searchlights, fuses, gun carriages, and what-not, will win a victory."

"Government plants in the United States have the capacity to fill only from five to ten percent of our munition needs in a war against another major power or combination of powers. So the matter comes down to the large, efficient well-managed establishments that in time of peace make automobiles, typewriters, sewing machines, multi-

graphs, street cars, machine tools and other articles of ordinary commercial usefulness. In war the victory will go according to the way such plants have been taught beforehand their war-time jobs".

As far back as November, 1928, the *Annalist* in a lengthy article on the chemical industry pointed out that, while from an industrialist viewpoint the development of this industry was essential to the United States, yet of even more importance was the use to which the chemical industry could be subjected during war. The article illustrates that the chemical industry not only serves as one of the most important branches of a war-producing plant, but can without the slightest difficulty be transformed into manufacturing war products. While *Nation's Business* does not mention the question of the chemical industry in relation to the war, it is evident that its importance has not been minimized, since one of the writers of these war articles is E. T. Trigg, chairman of the committee for National Defense of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He is also the president of the John Lucas & Co., manufacturers of paints—a chemical industry.

All Workers to be Entrapped

The employment of women on a mass scale in the event of war is one of the chief aims of the Bill. A picture appearing above the leading article on the journal, shows women working in a munitions plant. This picture is headed by the following caption: "Gauging of cartridges is only one step of many in their manufacture." The development of modern industry, making possible the employment of women in industries such as chemical, electrical, iron and steel, etc., is closely related to the question of war production.

It is clear that in the event of war the capitalists will utilize every conceivable force. We will witness the armed forces, the organization of industries on a war basis, the utilization of the women and children, and a virtual existence of martial law in the home country.

The war problem is of greatest importance to the proletariat. The workers bear the heaviest burden during war. Even exemption from the actual armed forces does not exclude one from participation in war. To begin now with the struggle against capitalist war is of paramount importance to the working class. This struggle cannot only be conducted with manifestos, meetings and protests. There is needed the actual organization of the masses. Such an organization against war must be carried directly into the shops. Parliamentary and legal means will not suffice. The role of the Communist must be that of leading the masses in the proper direction. To give leadership in the struggle, to help in the organization of the fight—to the destruction of capitalism. Defeat war by its own means.

POLICE BOARD APPROVES BLACKJACKING

LOS ANGELES—Police Commissioner Mark Pierce wants to see more official violence against Communists. "The more the police beat up and wreck their headquarters the better," Pierce shouted. "Communists have no constitutional rights and I won't listen to anybody who defends them." Two other commissioners agreed with this idea.

STUDENTS BACK JOBLESS AGAINST POLICE

DETROIT—Over two thousand students meeting here in a laboratory conference on social conditions have passed a resolution condemning the Detroit police department for its "brutal suppression of the unemployed and its demonstrations." It called for absolute freedom of speech and assembly at future unemployed meetings and expressed the "fraternal solidarity" of the students with their "jobless brothers and sisters."

TROTSKY ON FOSTER AND LOVESTONE

In the Revolutionary Age (March 1, 1930) the Lovestone Right wing attempts to show that the American Party in its activities and leadership is accepting the line of the Opposition. It happens, unfortunately, that this is not so. This time Lovestone quotes from the letter of comrade Trotsky to the American Opposition. In that letter Trotsky makes a scathing criticism of the then leaders of the American Party, Lovestone and Pepper. This letter also contains some views on Foster. What comrade Trotsky said in that letter written in Constantinople in April, 1929 is borne out by all events that have transpired.

In reference to the Stalin apparatus and its American lieutenants, Trotsky writes: "Lovestone and Pepper did not create this regime but they are its staff officers. I convicted Lovestone of a foul ideological falsification (see my book 'Europe and America'). Under a fairly normal regime that alone would have been enough to bury a man for a long time, if not for good, or at least to make him confess and repent...The spirit of the Lovestones and Peppers is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of the proletarian revolution."

Trotsky then discusses Foster. Lovestone, in his characteristically dishonest manner, quotes only a brief sentence from the letter, namely: "The latter (Foster) always seemed to me made of more trustworthy material than Lovestone. In Foster's criticism of the official leadership of the Party there was always much that was true and acute." Lovestone stops at this point and quotes no further. But the letter continues: "But as far as I understand him, Foster is an empiricist. He does not want to, or is not able to carry his thinking out to the end, and make upon the foundation of his criticisms the necessary generalization. For that reason it has never been clear to me in what direction Foster's criticism is pushing him: to the Left or to the Right of official Centrism...This same empiricism apparently suggests to Foster the whole form of his activity, which consists of struggling against the little devil with Satan's support. Foster tries to conceal himself with the defensive coloration of Stalinism in order by this contraband route to move toward the leadership of the American Party."

If Lovestone were honest he would have quoted the entire section the letter, but that would run against his grain. Comrade Trotsky's analysis of both Lovestone and Foster has been confirmed completely during the course of the Party events in the last year.

NO WAGE INCREASE FOR MEMPHIS STREET CAR MEN

MEMPHIS—(FP)—Any thought of a wage increase for street car men was dispelled when the union's executive board, after conference with the company officials, recommended continuance of the existing scale for another year.

The vice president of the street railway company complimented the men on their "patriotism" in following Pres. Hoover's admonitions.

CAPITALISM BLAMED FOR CRIME PROBLEM

BUFFALO, N. Y. —(FP)—Inequitable distribution of wealth and an unfair industrial order prevent a solution of the crime problem, declared Dr. Nathaniel Cantor, professor of sociology at the University of Buffalo, in a recent lecture at the University.

GREENVILLE, S. C. —Cotton mills in the Piedmont section are running at only 75% capacity, as against 83% two weeks ago, according to the president of a large chain of mills.

BOSTON—10,000 union carpenters in Boston are demanding restitution of the 5-day week, gained in 1915 and lost in 1921.

MADISONVILLE, Ky.—One thousand miners have struck for a wage increase in western Kentucky coal fields.

The MILITANT

we believe, has fulfilled a vital role in the best interests of the working class and Communist movement in the United States. It gives a true picture of the situation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The MILITANT

prints the original and incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, the leader of the Left Bolshevik Opposition, now exiled in Turkey by the Stalin bureaucracy. In so doing it makes clear to all intelligent and honest revolutionary workers, the revisionist policies of the present leadership of the international Communist movement as directed, since Lenin's death, by Stalin and Bucharin and their Centrist and Right wing supporters in the various countries.

The MILITANT

presents the views and policies of the Left Opposition in the United States, the Communist League of America (Opposition), on the labor and political problems before the American working class.

The MILITANT

has printed and will continue to print material on the events and issues in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the writings of L. D. Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution, that are found in no other English publication.

The MILITANT

fights for the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin and against the Stalin-Bucharin revisionists, and thereby best serves the cause of international Communism.

We call upon our readers to help maintain the *Militant* by giving financial support to ensure its continued existence as a fighting weekly for the cause of Bolshevism.

We ask and count upon your help.

Make your donation today!
ACT NOW!

Fill in the blank below for the *MILITANT* SUSTAINING FUND.

The *Militant*
25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$..... for the *Militant* Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky.

Name

Address

CityState

FINES AND JAIL FOR JOBLESS

SEATTLE—Of nine workers convicted on a charge of unlawful assembly in connection with the unemployed demonstration Feb. 26, three were fined \$25 each and six \$10 each. Notice of appeal has been filed by the Intl. Labor Defense. Six other workers convicted in connection with the March 6 demonstration have appealed from a 60-day jail sentence for three and a \$20 fine each for three.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE PARTY MATHEMETICIANS AT WORK

New York

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of the United States led by Stalinist "yes men" continue to highly exaggerate reports on the response of the workers to its appeals. If a worker in any other country would read the *Daily Worker* regularly for 30 to 60 days and have no other information on the economic and political situation in the United States, he would come to the conclusion that the American proletariat was rallying by the hundreds of thousands to the banner of the Communist Party.

As a result of this accepted view by the Party leaders the Communist Party is calling for a mass political strike on May First, in spite of the fact that all recent appeals for political strikes have been obvious failures. August 1, 1929 and March 6, 1930 are two recent examples of the Party's appeals for political strikes that were not at all answered by the workers. Those workers however, who picked up the *Daily Worker* after the August 1, International Red Day demonstration and the Unemployment rallies on March 6, were informed that hundreds of thousands of workers responded. According to the *Daily Worker* of April 2, 1,250,000 workers demonstrated on March 6 in every industrial center of the United States at the call and under Communist Party leadership. Is this so?

Unemployment is an immediate and burning issue for millions of workers. It is understandable why they can be set into motion on this issue. The *Militant* has previously accurately evaluated the March 6 demonstrations. A few additional comments may clarify further. We judge the exaggerations in relation to March 6 only insofar as New York is concerned, which was the most successful. The Party leadership and the *Daily Worker* states that 110,000 workers assembled in Union Square on March 6.

The March 6th New York Demonstration Counting every one present, 60,000 is the maximum figure. Probably the total crowd did not total 50,000. Of the 50 to 60 thousand assembled, at least half were present only out of curiosity. One only had to mingle with the crowd for less than 10 minutes to discover that. The writer saw many high school and college students, as well as business men, who in speaking among themselves, stated that they wanted to see the riot, while others, anti-radical to the core, asserted that they were waiting to watch the reds get beaten up. When these same persons appear in Union Square May 1, will these elements be counted as adherents of the Veterans or of the Communist Party?

The claim that 110,000 were present is ridiculous, and then to claim that they were all demonstrators does more harm than good to the Communist movement. It is, however, in general line with the Party policy to double or triple the attendance of any meeting or demonstration when a report appears in the Party press. This has resulted in any number of workers losing confidence in the *Daily Worker* and Party press as an accurate spokesman of the working class.

In the Unions

The same irresponsibility to be found in relations to demonstrations can also be discovered in the trade union policy of the Left wing unions under Party control. In addition to barring non-party members from playing any leading role in these organizations, the Stalinists exaggerate the strength of the Left wing organizations and constantly tell of the decay of the Right wing unions, even when it is far from the actual facts.

Untruths and Illusions. Don't Help the Communists

In New York City, where the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union has lost control of the needle trades workers to the Right wing International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the International Fur Workers Union, the Ben Golds and Rose Wortises, instead of admitting that the union is only a skeleton, do not admit past mistakes, but try to bluff the workers.

Becoming more and more disgusted by the tactics of the Stalinists, they are driven into the Right wing camp.

In the National Miners Union and the National Textile Workers Union, the same situation is to be found. The Stalinists make no attempt to face the problems of the workers, but instead take the easier path of issuing revolutionary statements. These look very good on paper but do not help to organize the workers. This policy must be ended, and in its place a program adopted that will rally the workers in struggles that will advance the workers' and Communist movement in this country. A first step should be to end the attacks on the supporters of the Left Opposition who are members of the Left wing unions. In general too, union members who are willing and capable to do work in the organizations must not be barred because of their political or lack of political point of view, as is the case now.

The "Cooperative" Cafeteria

The *Daily Worker* and other Party organs use up valuable space to condone the murder of comrade Blumkin at the order of Stalin, because he supported the Leninist program of the Opposition led by Trotsky. May we note a few other practices of the Stalinist Central Committee during the "Third Period"?

Up until a few months ago the *Daily Worker* press which prints the vicious, lying attacks on Trotsky and the Left Communist Opposition, also printed, daily the *Nove Russkye Slovo*, organ of the monarchist russes in the United States. Shall we say that the *Daily Worker* is the ally of General Koutieпов? For this white guard sheet stands on the same program as Koutieпов and the other counter-revolutionary forces who want to reestablish a monarchy.

The Communist Party disgracefully fools the New York workers by allowing the privately owned cafeteria in the Workers Center, 26-28 Union Square to use the name of Cooperative Cafeteria. When the Proletcos, a cooperative owned by the Party sold the restaurant to a private individual several months ago, the use of the name, Cooperative, was included. At the present time thousands of workers regularly use the cafeteria, under the impression that it is a left wing institution and the profits go towards the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*, while actually they go in the pockets of the capitalist owner.

The proletarian members and the Left wing workers who support the Party must demand the end of exaggerations and bombast, a truthful policy in the Party press, a revival of the left wing unions on a broad basis and the ending of such treachery as the fake cooperative. Until that time all the so-called "victories" of the Communist movement in the United States are built on sand and will crumble at the first real major conflict with the capitalist class.

The capitalist class and its agents are mobilizing against the party for May Day. Let the Party answer by a united struggle in which all possible forces can participate and defeat the plans of the bosses. It is up to Foster, Minor and their associates. What will the answer be?

—FRANK BROMLEY

Φ

DIVIDENDS GO UP! WAGES COME DOWN

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

If you are a worker out of a job and tramping the streets begging for a chance to work; or if you are still working, but your wages have been slashed to the bone, buck up and take heart, for your royal high chief and master, Big Business, is doing well. This should gladden the hearts of millions of unemployed and their families, whatever might be their present state of misery. Likewise, for all those who have been compelled to speed up and take a wage cut under threats of a layoff.

In regard to dividends for the first quarter of 1930, the *Chicago Tribune*, a newspaper always lavish with its praise of "Big Business," has the following to say:

"It is estimated that payments today reached approximately \$550,000,000, and

that for the entire month they total close to \$700,000,000.

"Eight hundred important corporations and upward of 1,800 companies of all descriptions make disbursements this month. Dividend declarations during March are estimated at \$427,121,988, and for the first quarter at \$1,170,082,645. That was an increase of about 17 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year."

Meanwhile, the Hoover big business conferences in the early part of the winter are daily being revealed as nothing more than a get-together for the purpose to plan systematic reductions of wages. To put it over more successfully, it was necessary to adopt a plan based upon progressive stages and, cynically, salt it down with ballyhoo propaganda about no wage reductions in order to lull the unsuspecting workers to sleep, and thus to take them by surprise.

Mr. Owen D. Young, of Reparations fame, erstwhile partner of J. P. Morgan, let the cat out of the bag the other day when he made a guarded statement about necessity to reduce the standard of living of American workers in order to complete profitably, for the American capitalists, for the world trade. Nevertheless, working men and women are asked and expected to be cheerful in their state of misery. Remember, Hoover and Big Business are doing quite well.

—J. MIHELIC

Φ

MATTHEW WOLL PROVES HIMSELF

Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Comrades:

If any further confirmation of Matthew Woll's character were needed, the readiness with which he joins the anti-Soviet religious propagandists would be sufficient. As acting president of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Woll has been an efficient steward to the capitalist barons. And, like a trusty servant, he is alert to guard the ranks of the menials against the intrusion of any unorthodox ideas: political, economic or religious.

So Mr. Woll adds his pious voice to the hallelujah chorus now pronouncing anathemas upon the Soviet Union. He says in part:

"There is only one issue in the Soviet situation as far as Americans are concerned, and that is entirely one of principle. The question is not whether Russians are being a little better fed this year than last, or whether they are being a little more poorly fed this year than last. The question is whether or not we believe the freedom and democracy of our civilization superior to the dictatorship... of Communism."

All of this sounds suspiciously like the old war-cry, "Make the world safe for democracy." Only this time it will be, "make the world safe for God." For the nth time the world is to be drenched in blood in the name of religion—if the preachers, plutocrats and Mathew Wolls have their way. Before we go out to save God and Gold, we would request Mr. Woll to show us "the freedom and democracy of our own civilization." One suspects that, like God, they exist only in flights of rhetoric.

Woll's Poisoned Goods

The distinguished "labor leader" closes his comment, anent the Russian situation in two pithy sentences: "It is, in short, one system against another. And the conflict between the two will continue until one or the other passes from the scene. There is no such thing as compromise possible in such a conflict..." It is evident that the world at last senses something of the full truth about the Communist situation.

The first point is a naive statement for a politician of Mr. Woll's calibre to make. Of course the conflict between capitalism and communism is irreconcilable; in the very nature of things there can be no basis of compromise. On the one side are arrayed the capitalists, the preachers, the reformists, the pink-tea radicals, and the goose-stepping, so-called labor officials. On

the other side stands the exploited proletariat, but wrathful and mighty, refusing any longer to swallow the poisons of religion and patriotism.

As Mr. Woll says, "It is evident that the world, at last, senses something of the full truth about the Communist situation." The full truth, realized by the workers of the world, will dissolve the economic system by which the Mathew Wolls profit, throwing both them and their capitalist masters out of jobs. We have learned to distinguish between bearers of truth and purveyors of poison. By the label on the wares, Mr. Woll cannot be placed in the former category.

—HAROLD PRETCE

Φ

Rail Workers For Six Hour Day

(Continued from page 1)

ference at its gathering of March 19th unanimously passed the resolution printed in part below, concerning the recent convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.

* * *

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the approaching State and Congressional elections present exceptional opportunities for the advancement of the cause of the workers who now suffer the misery of widespread unemployment and

Whereas, the present program and platform of the Farmer-Labor Association does not in any respect represent the needs or demands of the workers either employed, unemployed, organized or unorganized, and

Whereas, all the outstanding elected officials of the Farmer-Labor Party by their activity or lack of activity, both during election campaigns and while in office, have reflected the ideology of the Party, which is dominated by the outlook of the small property holder rather than by that of the worker and

Whereas, this state of affairs has resulted in a decline of interest of wide sections of workers in Labor Party activity and support, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this delegated meeting of Railroad workers recommends to the Hennepin County and State Conventions of the Farmer Labor Association (of Minnesota) a complete redraft of the program and that, amongst others, the following definite proposals be included in the new draft:

1. The organization base of the Party to be the economic organization of the workers. All individual membership to be abolished.

2. Candidates of the Party to be members of the Party, who shall be pledged to the full program and who will sponsor during election campaigns and after election among other demands the following proposals:

- 100% organization of the workers. Against the Open shop.
- For the organization of a National Labor Party, based on workers organizations.
- For a 6-hour day and a 5-day week for all industries.
- For unemployment wages, furnished by taxation of profits, to be administered by the organization of the workers.
- Against the use of police, the courts or any branch of the governmental armed forces in labor disputes.
- For the abolition of all private employment agencies; workers to be employed through their organizations.
- For two weeks vacation with pay. Unanimously adopted at St. Paul Woodruff Hall, March 19, 1930.

Sec'y. P. G. Hedlund, Firemen, No. 814
Chairman, J. P. Barr, Switchmen No. 206

Φ

NEWARK, N. J. —Beginning March 31 all Stelner & Co. employes in New Jersey pajama plants will be on a 5-day schedule without pay reduction.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 16,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, April 19, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

FIVE COMMUNISTS FRAMED Corporations Make Huge Profits

Unite Working Class Forces for May Day Demonstrations

In a star-chamber proceedings in New York five Communists, including Wm. Foster, were found guilty on April 11 of unlawful assemblage and face a maximum sentence of three years in jail. They had been among the leaders of the unemployed demonstration on March 6th at Union Square.

Typical capitalist justice was dispensed from the time of their arrests till the frame-up was consummated and convictions were secured. So-called civil liberties were again mocked at by the agents of the bosses. A jury trial was denied the defendants. Three judges in special sessions court ruled on all points. No evidence was permitted to be given that stated the case and views of the defendants and the workers. Moving pictures showing that Police Commissioner Whalen had deliberately precipitated a riot were not allowed, nor could witnesses testify to the deliberate and provocative acts of Whalen's Cossacks against the participants at the Union Square demonstration. The riot was precipitated by the police on the pretext that the demonstrators could not march to City Hall to present the facts and grievances of the unemployed regarding the unemployment situation before Mayor Walker. The bosses and their governmental agents were bent on railroading the workers to prison. Sentence has not yet been pronounced. The case will be appealed to the State Supreme Court.

Thus do the capitalists show their concern for the misery of the unemployed and those who try to defend their interests.

* * *

It is necessary for all workers, workers' organizations and other groups to rally on behalf of the convicted comrades. A broad defense movement is needed. Among the issues are the right of free speech and assemblage; against the star-chamber proceedings; the right for the workers to express their grievances through demonstrations, parades, etc. without interference by the bosses' agents. Labor must show its solidarity. May Day can become one of the outstanding rallying days on this and other important issues, confronting the working class in the United States and throughout the world. Repressions of the capitalists against the workers are taking place throughout the country. In New York they have taken a most virulent form. The New York capitalists have taken the initiative and given the lead for the capitalists elsewhere.

* * *

Regarding May Day we have pointed to the necessity for a genuine united front of all working class forces against capitalism on a number of specific and burning issues before the workers; and that it is up to the Communists, especially the official Communist Party to initiate such a May Day movement. Otherwise, the May Day demonstrations will be limited, the workers' protests divided and made less effective; and to the degree of its influence, the official

RAKOVSKY'S ILLNESS

New information has come to us concerning the health of Christian Rakovsky. Our comrade has suffered a new and particularly severe heart attack. The doctors who were called to his bedside remained for a whole day. Will the Stalinist bureaucracy which exiled our comrade and his sick wife to Barnaul wait too long before permitting him to take measures for the alleviation of his condition?

Communist Party will be responsible for a division of the workers, particularly among those elements who are Communists or sympathetic to the cause of Communism.

All the conditions point to the need of a broad May Day movement. But the policy of the official Communist Party prevents this, and makes a mockery of the slogan it pretends to be for and issues; namely, a United Front of all labor on May Day. In New York the official Communist Party at the May Day Conference called to mobilize the workers for May Day, held a long talkfest, limited to its previously appointed speakers and gave no expression to delegates from the ranks and other bodies. The conference was like others for which the Party has become a laughing stock among honest and sincere elements who want to cooperate and participate in the movements of the day, such as the movement on behalf of the unemployed, etc. The

(Continued on Page 3)

L.D. Trotsky's Autobiography "MY LIFE"

has just been issued in the English language and will be reviewed in the next issue of the Militant. Watch for it.

This outstanding work of Leon Trotsky can be purchased through The Militant. The price is \$5.00 per copy. By ordering "My Life" through The Militant, you can also help to sustain The Militant which receives a commission for each copy sold directly by it. Everyone will want to have a copy. Order from The Militant (Cash with order only), 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, New York, N. Y.

The Naval Conference «Agrees»

The Naval Limitations Conference at London is nearing its close with an "agreement". The imperialist powers and press laud the "achievements" arrived at in the conference. Yet the original aim set for the conference—a five-power treaty—did not develop further than discussions between the delegations. The intense rivalry between the belligerent countries involved at London doomed in advance a five-power treaty.

The conference in recent weeks, recognizing the attempts at a naval limitation agreement between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Italy and France, as futile, reverted to a three-power agreement which means the exclusion of Italy and France. The negotiations in the latter part of the conference were centered in this direction. Thus the three-power treaty is attempting to establish parity between the United States and England, and a 60 percent ratio for Japan.

American Imperialism in the Ascendancy
Should the signing of the three-power agreement take place the conference will end with the following results:

1. The achievement of parity between the United States and Great Britain, signifying the destruction of the British Empire's hegemony on the seas, and its formal replacement by the United States as the leading imperialist power in the world. Such a parity would mean that Great Britain would cease in the next six years to build naval armaments. But the establishment of this parity involves a billion dollar building program for the United States, thereby destroying the myth of disarmament and placing heavier burdens upon the shoulder of the American working class.

2. The failure of the conference to arrive at its original program of a five-power treaty. The three-power treaty would not be binding upon Italy and France.

3. The complete collapse of the disarmament character of the conference.

Even the three-power treaty carries in its wake a number of difficulties. There are doubts as to Japan's signature to the treaty. Japan indicates that she will not sign the treaty until she is able carefully to study the final draft of the treaty. In addition, the present proposed treaty allows for a "safeguard clause". Recognizing that the three-power treaty would have no binding character on either France or Italy. Britain demands that such a clause be entered into the treaty, since if the other two powers strengthen their naval fleets, they will become a menace to British interests in the Mediterranean. In such a situation the "safeguard clause" would allow Great Britain immediately to begin the construction of naval armaments. This would also apply to the United States and Japan.

Thus, A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the admiralty, says: "It should of course be recognized that each of the parties to the three-power agreement will have to be covered by the terms of the treaty in such a way that they may adjust their position if the construction programs of other powers outside the agreement should make that necessary. For example, our reduced destroyer tonnage would be materially affected by an increase in submarine tonnage elsewhere. This is, unfortunately, unavoidable in the circumstances."

E. L. James, in the New York Times of April 12, says as follows on the safeguard clause: "It has been agreed that the safeguard clause shall not apply solely to Great Britain, but to all three powers...."

The entire conference was a sham. Its original program was defeated. It failed in its attempt at disarmament, and could not arrive at a five-power treaty. The alternative, the three-power treaty, is a belated attempt to "achieve" something out of the talkfest. But the three-power treaty is filled with more explosives than is suspected. The London Daily Herald, summing up the situation, says: "The gains of the conference are plain enough (!). But at the same time it would be folly to overvalue them. It has neither achieved disarmament nor assured peace."

The conference draws to a close with conditions about the same as before it began. The parity between the United States and Great Britain took place prior to the conference; Japan's ratio was fairly well established also before the conference. The only additions remained Italy and France, and they are now out of the conference proper. There has been three months of talkfest; war is in the air; preparations for it continue. The role of the imperialists needs to be exposed more than ever.

How American corporations made hay while the boom sun shone last year is further revealed by recent financial reports. Steel, oil, motors, and chemicals, all important war industries, were especially prosperous up to the time of the crash.

U. S. Steel and Standard Oil Get Huge Profits

United States Steel raked in the largest income it ever reported in peace time, paying \$21.19 dividends on each of its 8,132,000 shares of common stock, as against \$12.50 in 1928. Bethlehem Steel sent its "earnings" (read "unpaid earnings of its workers") up more than 100% over the previous year. It donated to each idle holder of a piece of common stock a neat \$15.50 for what the Italians call "sweet doing nothing".

The Standard Oil companies, as usual, did nicely, thank you. The California unit paid dividends of \$3.70 a share, while the Indiana company, the sturdiest of the family, raised the ante to \$5.37. Though Vacuum Oil showed a drop of over \$2,000, in net profit, its stockholders were none the poorer. By putting into practice the principle of "stabilized earnings" (for capitalists only) they were given nearly \$21,000,000 in dividends instead of the previous year's \$19,000,000.

"Public Service" Corporations Rake in the Dough

United Gas Improvement Co., which has subsidiaries in at least eight states, and operates the municipal gas work of Philadelphia on a private lease, is now negotiating to absorb the monster Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, controlling practically all the power, trolley, and bus service of that "commonwealth". Mid-West Utilities, presided over by one of the insullent insulls, nearly doubled its "net", but American Superpower increased its winnings no less than tenfold!

International Harvester did the largest volume of business in any twelve months in its history, due largely to an increase in its foreign trade, some of which went to Soviet Russia. Its common stock dividends went up from \$5.58 to \$6.65. Eastman Kodak Co., also "outstripped all previous earnings"—no wonder old George can afford to give away 50,000 cameras for advertising to twelve-year olds next summer! Radio Corporation of America, which last year swallowed the Victor Talking Machine Co., cranks, discs, and all, reports \$182,137,000 gross business, compared with \$155,933,00 for the two companies in the year before consolidation.

American Tobacco was another corporation which turned a "record year", increasing its total profits by 20% and rolling dividends on each share up to \$13.17.

A LECTURE

on

Communism and the Trade Union Movement

by

JAMES P. CANNON

Saturday, April 19, 1930 at 8 p. m.

LABOR TEMPLE
242 East 14th Street

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)
Admission 15 cents

B. OF L. E. CONVENTION

A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE ENGINEERS

By C. R. HEDLUND

On Monday morning, June 2nd, the Sixth Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers opens in the city of Cleveland. There are many important tasks confronting this convention, which if correctly performed would improve the B. of L. E. tremendously.

Among the 21 Railroad Craft Organizations the B. of L. E. occupies a strategic position and if properly led with a progressive program would become a powerful factor in helping to solve the ever growing problems of the railroad workers.

However, in the last six years the B. of L. E. has been mismanaged and betrayed by its officials on a scale which challenges comparison in all labor history in this or any other country. During this period the organization, as well as its membership, have been swindled out of millions of dollars of its hard earned money. The officials under the leadership of the late Warren S. Stone, started out to organize one private corporation after another and proceeded to sell the worthless stock, running into millions of dollars, to the B. of L. E. members who were trained to think that their leaders, or rather misleaders, could do no wrong.

Floating Worthless Stock

After the officials had unloaded all the worthless stock they could on the membership, they then proceeded to float equally worthless bonds in the name of these worthless corporations and put on a campaign to palm them off on their victims. After the officials had obtained all the money they could by the sale of worthless stocks and bonds they helped themselves to the large funds which belonged to the various departments, such as insurance, pension, etc., and mortgaged the two office buildings which the organization owned in Cleveland, presumably, to get around the insurance laws in the state of Ohio. Mind you, they mortgaged the B. of L. E. buildings in order to get their hands on the B. of L. E. funds. These mortgages amounted to about \$7,000,000 at the time of the last convention in 1927. Since that time these mortgages, which ran to the different insurance departments of the Brotherhood, have been lifted in the air and another first mortgage has been slapped on these same office buildings to secure another loan of \$4,000,000 from a private source. So there is now a mortgage on the two office buildings amounting to approximately \$11,000,000.

The Officials Loot the Treasury

But the process of looting had only begun. The officials needed more and more money, so they started to help themselves to the cash in the Cleveland bank and in its stead shoved in worthless paper, until the bank reached a condition where it was about to be closed by the bank examiner at the time of the 1927 convention. The officials then induced the convention to obligate the B. of L. E. for the necessary amount of cash to put into the bank in place of the worthless paper, and as a result the closing of the B. of L. E. bank was avoided.

But the B. of L. E. officials needed still more money. They had sold all the worthless stocks and bonds they could get rid of to the membership; they had helped themselves to the various funds of the organization, they had taken all the cash they could out of the B. of L. E. bank. What could they do next to get more money? They had not yet given real estate a trial. So they proceeded to get 30,000 acres of Florida real estate, also practically worthless, and a great campaign was started in every terminal throughout the country to sell real estate to the already overloaded victims, the B. of L. E. members. The fraud and deliberate lying which was used by the B. of L. E. officials and their real estate salesmen in their high pressure sales campaign to palm off worthless Florida real estate on its members will be recorded as one of the blackest spots in the wholesale betrayal of the B. of L. E. by its official bureaucrats.

But the sale of Florida real estate did not go over big. The members were not

realizing any profits from their former investments in stocks and bonds, but the officials had to have still more money and the B. of L. E. and its membership constituted the only source from which the officials had any hopes of getting it. So new schemes had to be devised to pry more money loose from the membership. The idea of floating a \$10,000,000 B. of L. E. bond issue was now proposed by the officials and their henchmen to the 1927 convention and this proposition was actually put over. But they succeeded in selling only a little over two million dollars worth of these bonds which were also worthless, and to stimulate the sale of these bonds, they were labeled "Loyalty Loan Certificates." The "Loyalty Loan" however, did not furnish the required amount of money needed by the officials, who by this time had become regular gluttons for "jack". More and still more money was needed and there was only one more way of getting it, and that was by arbitrary assessment of the membership. So a \$5.00 special monthly assessment was levied on the members for 24 months as a starter, and to sweeten this assessment a little they gave it the name of "Loyalty Assessment". The word "Loyalty" and even the secret work were being used by the money gluttons to popularize the fraudulent Loan and Assessment.

The Real Estate Racket

It is with this background of experience that the B. of L. E. Convention convenes at Cleveland on June 2nd. However, the officials have done their utmost to keep the membership in the darkest kind of ignorance concerning these so-called "obligations" which the members are being called upon to pay. Gaglaws, obligations, secret work, censored magazines, threats, and even expulsions have been used by the officialdom to keep the membership suppressed and in line. It is hard to tell to what extent the intelligent and militant minority is organized and prepared to carry out a constructive program at the coming convention.

A Program for a Rank and File Union

The writer of this article circulated the recent St. Paul B. of L. E. union meeting with a convention program containing the following proposals, to wit:

Fire all the present Grand Officers and drive them from the B. of L. E. in disgrace; cut officials' salaries to the level of the wages received by the engineers on the best paid runs, not to exceed \$350.00 per month plus necessary traveling expenses; election of all officials at each convention and no six year terms as at present; all officials, after serving two terms in office, to be drafted back on the job to run a locomotive for a period of at least one term before they are again eligible for election to office; establish a definite system of representation at conventions so that the Grand Officers cannot juggle the representation as at present; election of the editor of the Journal instead of appointment by the Grand Chief.

Repeal of the gaglaw section No. 84, page 73 of the statute, which prohibits the issuing of printed matter concerning the organization by a member; have a free speech clause inserted in the constitution; elimination of membership obligation together with ritualistic and secret work; have the convention take definite steps to amalgamate with the B. of L. E. & F.; have the new administration stand instructed not to spend another dollar of the duespayers' money for the personal benefit of the Grand Officers and other profit seekers who sunk their earnings in these mismanaged and fake corporations; also to have a law enacted which will provide that no salary increases of officers and delegates will become effective before being ratified by a referendum vote of the membership.

The Divisions and memberships in and around the Twin Cities and Minnesota are also being circularized with the above program in order to get some of these needed changes in the B. of L. E. enacted into law at the coming B. of L. E. convention.

Illinois Elections Ignore Worker's Needs

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, April 8, the state of Illinois held its primary election. A record has been established in a peaceful election in the city of Chicago, not even a single killing or kidnaping. How much stuffing of ballot boxes took place or voting by sovereign citizens "residing" on empty lots or the spacious quarters of a street vender's push cart, one may not know.

There was no lack of contest, however. During the present economic crisis and gloomy business prospects a political job may appear very enticing to any hard pressed merchant willing to serve the masters; and hence there were in cases as many as twelve contestants for one office, particularly within the "Grand Old Party". The offices to be nominated ran all the way from U. S. senator, representatives in Congress, the state legislature, county offices, judges of municipal courts and party committeemen. The Republican Party primary ballot was 3 feet long.

A Contest Between Groups

The hottest contest centered around the most cherished job—U.S. senator on the republican ballot, between Charles S. Deen the present incumbent and Ruth Hanna McCormick, daughter of the once notorious politician, Mark Hanna. The latter won in a landslide of over 200,000 plurality. She represented the typical viewpoint of middle western industrial magnates and made her main issues: no international entanglements and against adherence to the world court. Whatever that could mean to workers participating in the primary is still a puzzle. Otherwise the important campaign issues were "pure Republicanism" in the one camp and "democracy without entangling alliances" in the other. Here and there some sympathy was expressed for the distress of the farmers, but that cost as little as catering to the colored vote by McCormick through her support of De Priest, the colored congressman from Chicago. All candidates tried to be in favor of the waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Each accused his opponents of shiftiness but only those could clinch their point who made best use of the accusation "entangling alliance with the city hall machine". In the midst of the campaign, the Chicago Tribune came lumbering forward with the "paramount" issue—wet or dry. Of course one may not forget the importance of this issue as considered by the official Communist Party in a platform plank of hybrid opportunism in the last presidential elections.

Labor Fakery Play Usual Game

Otherwise these elections and the preceding campaign produced not one word in regard to the immediate issue confronting the large population of industrial workers in the state—the issue of unemployment. Thus could the capitalist parties show their haughty contempt for the political backwardness of the American workers. But to those who are now beginning to learn, it also becomes a proof that capitalist parliaments cannot function in the interest of the workers. So-called labor candidates and "friends of labor" were not lacking, however, on both capitalist party tickets. The Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor ran the whole gamut of indorsing "friends" and punishing enemies in perfect harmony with the A. F. of L. policy. The actual working out of the indorsements and punishments is, of course, becoming an ever tougher task. A few reversals had to be made since it is now so difficult to distinguish the "friends" from the enemies.

Independent Political Action Raised in Federation

The Chicago Federation of Labor did not even propose to make any demands or requests upon its indorsed candidates in regard to unemployment relief. That could possibly lead beyond the policy of political neutrality. Yet one development is noteworthy. At its last meeting, just before the primary elections, the Federation discussed the report on the appalling conditions in the city public poorhouse institutions. There entered into it the dreaded

STALIN SILENT ON BLUMKIN; JACQUEMOTTE SPEAKS

In a recent number of the Red Flag, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, there appeared an account of a public meeting at which Jacquemotte, a Stalinist henchman, replying to the questions of one of our Opposition comrades concerning the assassination of Blumkin, made an apology for this assassination and declared point-blank that Blumkin was a counter-revolutionist who was struggling for the overthrow of the Soviet regime. If such a reply by Jacquemotte did not astound us, we would ask why Stalin does not reply to the question of the International Opposition.

Jacquemotte, by such filth, hopes perhaps to recover "his leading role" in the Communist Party of Belgium. This slander concerning Blumkin is accompanied in the same issue with a flaming headline over an article about a strike: "Police, Trotskyites, reformists against the workers." No further enlightenment concerning Blumkin is produced. It is clear that "objectively" our Belgian comrades are in league with the police, probably because the leadership of the movement escapes from those whose policies have resulted in the virtual liquidation of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Φ

Railroad Workers to Meet on 6-Hour Day

MINNEAPOLIS—The proposed mergers of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific roads has aroused the railroad workers to the necessity of action, if a great number of them are not to be placed permanently in the army of the unemployed.

The next meeting of railroad workers is to be a delegate conference to be held on Tuesday, April 22nd, 1930, 8 P. M. at Woodruff Hall, Prior and St. Anthony Aves., St. Paul, Minn. Each local union of railroad workers is called upon to send three delegates to discuss the six hour day and five day week.

The above meeting is being called by a provisional committee elected for this purpose at a meeting on April 3rd, which was attended by 125 railroad workers representing various crafts, including Switchmen, Engineers, Trainmen, Stationary Firemen, Conductors, Electricians, Carmen and Locomotive Firemen. This meeting was enthusiastic for further meetings and discussion to consider the problems of the railroad worker. Nearly 20 workers took the floor to discuss the six hour day and five day week and kindred subjects.

—O. COOVER

Φ

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—2,000 jobless men and women applied for 260 available jobs as census enumerators in Luzerne Co.

subject—partisan politics. There were still those among the delegates who thought that something could be accomplished through the old policy of rewards and punishments; but they were not listened to very attentively. The acclaim of the house was for those who spoke definitely for a break with the parties of the bosses and for a labor party. To the gullible who think of the labor party in terms of a solution even for the immediate needs, we must of necessity say: Take a good look at his majesty's labor party government of Great Britain and its relation to the unemployed army there. But the labor party as a step away from the support of the parties of the bosses is surely in a forward direction.—A.S.

If the number on your wrapper is

41

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Five Communists Framed

Unite Working Class Forces for May Day Demonstrations

(Continued from page 1)

Youth Conference for May Day, called by the Young Communist League of New York refused to seat the delegates of the Youth Section of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the ground that they were "renegades"...The idiosyncrasy of the Party leadership evidently knows no bounds. It leads to further isolation of the Communists from the labor movement, and lowers steadily the prestige of the Communists in the eyes of the workers. Among other things, by rejecting the delegates of the Left Opposition from official participation in the May Day demonstrations, the Party objectively plays the game of the bosses, who are indeed pleased to see the Communists forces divided.

It is imperative to unite all possible forces for May Day. The slogan of the United Front remains valid as the means to rally the workers and their organizations with their various economic and political views for a united and solid demonstration. The issues around which to unite the workers are many: 1. The solidarity of labor against capitalism. 2. A struggle on behalf of the unemployed, taking the form of demands for: work or compensation, the seven hour day and five day week, social insurance, abolition of the speed-up system, the unity of the employed and unemployed workers, the establishment of wide-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government as a practical means to aid the unemployed at once, and recognition of the Soviet government by the United States. 3. A militant campaign for full civil liberties—unrestricted free speech, free press and assembly for the workers—now being ruthlessly taken in various ways from the Communists and other workers' groups by the capitalist class. 4. A broad campaign to mobilize the working class against the repressions of the workers and their organizations by the employing class and the government. 5. Mobilization of the progressive and Left wing movement for the organization of the unorganized masses into labor unions. 6. To rouse the masses for the Defense of the Soviet Union.

There are a few of the immediate issues around which to rally the workers on May Day. A prerequisite is the unity of all Communist elements to conduct a campaign along these lines.

The slogan of the official Communist Party for a mass political strike on May Day is without validity under the prevailing conditions. As promulgated now by the Communist Party, its only results will be to mislead the workers, particularly the Communist workers and sympathizers, about the true situation today. Its inevitable failure will only bring discredit to the slogan and to the Party. Phrase-mongering is the most dangerous game for revolutionaries.

In New York, reactionary organizations of World War Veterans and similar groups have secured Union Square for May Day and propose, with the full support of the Police Department, to prevent the workers from their accustomed use of Union Square for working class demonstrations on that day. Here is another direct offensive of the capitalists and the government to smash and limit the workers' and Communist movement.

May Day is Workers' Day; Union Square on May 1st, by usage and tradition, fought for and gained by years of determined organization and struggle, belongs to the organizations of the working class. The Communists and the Left wing must appeal to the masses of the workers against the insolent provocation of the reactionary forces, the militarists, the White Guardists—against the whole gang of anti-labor elements with the New York City government in the forefront. The Party cannot fight this battle alone. It must appeal to the masses. Upon the volume of support which the masses give to this appeal, clearly manifested beforehand, depends the question whether the Communists should accept the challenge to fight for the Square on May Day, or make a temporary retreat before

stronger forces of the enemy. All efforts in the next days must be concentrated in going to the masses with this issue.

The Hoover government and the capitalist class continue to do everything in their power to hide the facts about mass unemployment; to lie about and distort the situation of prevailing misery; to cover up the failure of capitalism to solve the unemployment crisis as well as other ills of capitalism.

Reports are given in other columns of the Militant of the huge profits during the past year made by the numerous corporations throughout the country. Of course, the workers got, instead of profits, low wages, long hours, speed-up and then—joblessness. The census reports now being compiled by the United States government itself indicate that in round figures there are 7,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States. The panaceas of the bourgeois apologists and agents for unemployment have proved just nothing. Frances Perkins, the State Industrial Commissioner of New York, now hopes for a solution in the "next quarter century"! Other apologies for capitalism are equally valueless for the needs of the workers now without a job and the means of livelihood.

Vaster trade relations with the Soviet Union, extensive credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government, should be vigorously put forward by the workers, by the Communists, as practical measures to alleviate the unemployment situation in the United States and thereby also to aid the development of the Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Of course, no measures under capitalism can solve the unemployment problem which develops out of the system of capitalism. The basis for the complete elimination of unemployment can only be laid under a Workers' Government, a Soviet system. But it must be impressed upon the workers that broad economic relations with the Soviet government are one of the ways to aid the present situation, and that demands must be made upon the U. S. government accordingly. It is particularly unfortunate that the official Communist Party does not utilize this concrete proposal as a major slogan in the unemployment campaign.

In New York a small demonstration against the murder of the anti-fascist, Carlo Mazzola, took place in Union Square on April 12 under the auspices of the Socialists, at which anarchist representatives also spoke. Mazzola was killed by one of Whalen's policemen at an anti-fascist meeting in Cooper Union. The Communists were not permitted to participate officially in the memorial services and anti-fascist demonstration. For this the socialists deserve the severest condemnation for dividing the workers and refusing to unite all working classes forces against the fascists and their murderous acts. A United Front movement against Mussolini, against Fascism is capable of organization and development. Those serve Fascism who refuse to permit the unity of workers' forces and organizations in demonstrations, meetings and movements against Fascism. That is the manner in which the Socialists acted at the Union Square meeting. Honest anti-fascist workers who think the Socialist Party is the enemy of fascism should ask the question why the most militant fighters against it were excluded from the demonstration.

—M. A.

EASTON, Pa.—(FP)—Hulmeville Hosiery Co. has applied for an injunction against the South Langhorne local of the Hosiery Workers Union, to prevent picketing of the plant. About 65 workers are on strike, following the lockout of several workers.

Φ

LYNN, Mass.—(FP)—Union carpenters here have adopted the 5-day week, in an attempt to provide work for the unemployed. There is no change in the wage sale. The agreement between employers and the union expired March 31.

DISPATCHERS NEED SHORTER HOURS

CHICAGO—(FP)—Nystagmus may be the ailment that will help train dispatchers to a shorter workday and workweek. Nystagmus is not a welcome assistant but it insists nevertheless. It is the name for a pathological condition of the eye and is believed to afflict dispatchers because of their eyestrain as well as nervous strain of their exacting duties, made much more onerous by speeding up of trains and by substitution of the telephone for the rail telegraph in many offices.

Dispatchers belonging to the American Train Dispatchers Assn. are now being examined medically not only regarding their eyes but generally as the basis for new wage and hours presentations to be made in new negotiations with the rail bosses. Men at New York, Birmingham, Ala., and Omaha have been examined as sample lots and others are in line.

Wage boosts of 27 cents a day to \$10.00 have been won by union dispatchers on the St. Louis-Southwestern.

Φ

WASHINGTON GOVERNOR PARDONS CROOKS, REFUSES WOBBLES

SEATTLE—(FP)—While Gov. Hartley declares he is not empowered to free the Centralia prisoners, Prosecutor Charles W. Greenough of Spokane charges that the state parole board acts "under orders of Gov. Hartley."

"Convicts are being paroled faster than they can be convicted because members of the board act under orders of the governor."

Advocates of the release of the eight Centralia prisoners are glad to see Hartley's alibi that the matter is "entirely in the hands of the Parole Board" punctured by such a "respectable" witness.

Atlanta Threatens Death to Communist Organizers

ATLANTA, Ga.—Charges involving execution or, "if the jury recommend to mercy", 5 to 20 years imprisonment, under a post-civil war statute regarding "inciting to insurrection", have been returned by the Atlanta grand jury against M.H. Powers, and Joe Carr, Communist organizers. They will be held without bail. At present they are out on \$1,500 bail on charges of "unlawful assembly" and distribution of "insurrectionary literature", which involves a penalty from 5 to 20 years.

Their "offense" was holding Communist meetings of white workers and Negroes together, advising them to join forces in the struggle against boss oppression, and to defend themselves against lawless attacks by police and lynching by private citizens.

Φ

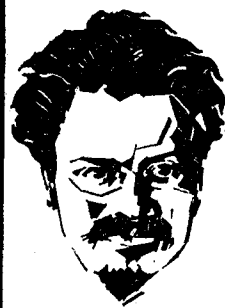
\$50,000 MINIMUM BUDGET FOR YOUNG N. Y. BANKER

NEW YORK—(FP)—You can't save on \$50,000 a year. That's the experience of a young New York banker, under 35, writing in Fortune. The Park Ave. apartment alone costs \$7,000 a year, he writes, and house expenses are \$650 a month. The nurse gets \$120 a month, the cook \$90, the maid \$80. Theatres and night clubs take at least \$1,400 a year, the doctor grabs \$2,250, the wife must have \$5,000 for clothes. The summer house expenses run to \$5,185 for three months.

Other little expenses, including charity, run the total up to \$48,475, the irreducible minimum. The young banker hopes, when his income runs to \$75,000, to be able to save some money.

"A great writer has here set forth his fantastic life in such a way as to make me wonder why people still read novels, or even write them. The book begins like Hamsun, and closes like a third act." . . . Emil Ludwig.

My
Life



Leon
Trotsky

IN exile on an obscure Turkish island Trotsky writes the story of his fantastic life—his country boyhood, his revolutionary passion, his friendship and work with Lenin, his seething participation in the brooding plots that transformed Czarist into Communist Russia, his leadership of the Soviet Army, his opposition to Stalin, and his banishment.

Trotsky avoids theoretical discussion. He describes the events which and characterizes the men who brewed a mighty drama of world history in our own times—the transformation of somnolent Holy Russia into a country of experimentation, ethical and economic. Trotsky has a flair for narrative, a power in description, shrewd humor, even when the joke is on him.

Born in a remote village in Little Russia, he was arrested at nineteen as a revolutionary and spent two years in unspeakable Czarist prisons. He was exiled to Siberia, escaped, wandered through Switzerland into Paris and London, and then returned to Russia for the unsuccessful revolution of 1905. Prison again, exile again, an incredible escape by reindeer. The war came, Paris, expulsion to Spain, and forced deportation to New York, and then—the revolution! Power, tremendous power, as the directing head of an army. Intrigue, dissension, Lenin's death, and a conspiracy, and Trotsky began his third exile. At fifty, as he writes his autobiography, he is marooned on an island, on "a planet without a visa."

\$5.00

a ll bookstores

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City

The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Dregs

By L. D. TROTSKY

The Farmer-Labor Party and the Class

The following article represents chapter seven from the larger work of L. D. Trotsky entitled "Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch", which, in turn, makes up the third section (yet to be printed in full in English) of the document "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" presented to the Vth Congress by the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky. The document was suppressed by the Stalin-Bukharin regime. The first two sections were published in brochure form by the Militant and copies may be obtained through the Militant. Chapter eight of the section "Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Epoch" was published in the April 5th, 1930 issue of the Militant under the title, "The Period of Right Centrist-Down-Sliding in the C.I."

After the period of the storm tide of 1923 began the period of a long-lasting ebb. In the language of strategy this means an ordered retreat, rearguard battles, strengthening of the position within the mass organizations, re-examination of one's own ranks and cleansing and sharpening of the theoretical and political weapons. But adoption of this attitude was characterized as liquidatory. As in general with this, as well as with the other ideas of the Bolshevik lexicon in late years, the very greatest abuse was practiced. No longer did they teach and train, but only sow dissension and confusion. Liquidationism signifies a renunciation of the revolution and endeavors to substitute the roads and methods of reformism for the road and methods of revolution. The policy of Lenin had nothing in common with liquidationism. Yet just as little did it have anything to do with an ignoring of the changes in the objective situation, or with the maintenance of the course of armed uprising with mere words, at a time when the revolution had already turned its back upon us, and a long-lasting road full of stubborn, systematic laborious work among the masses for the preparation of the Party for a new revolution lay before us.

The German Defeat of 1923

When a man ascends a stairs he needs one kind of motion, but when he descends it—another. Most dangerous is such a situation in which a man puts out the light, raises his foot to ascend when there are three downward steps before him. A crash, injuries and dislocations are unavoidable thereby. The leadership of the Comintern in 1924 did everything to extinguish a criticism of the experiences of the German October, like all criticisms in general. It repeated stubbornly: The workers are immediately approaching the revolution—the stairs lead upwards. Is it then astonishing that the directives of the Fifth Congress applied in the revolutionary ebb had to lead to heavy political crashes and dislocations?

In No. 5-6 of the Information Bulletin of the German Opposition, March 1, 1927, it says:

"The greatest mistake of the Lefts at the Frankfurt Congress in the Spring of 1924, when they took over the leadership, consisted in not speaking relentlessly enough to the Party of the heaviness of the defeat of 1923; in not drawing the necessary deductions, in not showing the Party, soberly and unembellished, the tendencies of the relative stabilization of capitalism and indicating a corresponding program for the impending period with its struggles and slogans. This would surely have been possible, just as well as a correct and absolutely necessary sharp underscoring of the individual program demands."

These lines showed us already at that time that a part of the German Left, who participated during the Fifth Congress in the struggle against our fictitious "liquidationism", seriously understood the lessons of 1924-25. That made possible a further approach on the foundation of principle.

The Bulgarian and Estonian Adventures

The main year of the turn was the year 1924. Nevertheless the recognition of this ensuing brusque turn ("stabilization") followed only a year and a half

later. What is astonishing here, since the years 1924-25 were filled with Left adventures and putschist experiments? The Bulgarian terrorist adventure, like the tragic history of the Estonian armed uprising, form an outbreak of despair evoked by the false orientation. The fact that these attempts to force the historical process by means of a putsch remained without critical investigation, led to a relapse in Canton toward the end of 1927. In politics not even the smallest mistakes are made unpunished, much less the big ones. And the greatest mistake of them all is when the mistake is veiled, when it is sought to suppress a criticism and a correct Marxist estimate of the mistake in mechanical ways.

We write no history of the Comintern for the last five years. We bring here only a factual illumination of two strategic lines in the fundamental stages of this period and at the same time—an illumination of the seclusion from the world of the draft program, for which all these questions do not exist at all. We cannot therefore, give here a description, however general, of the inextricable situation into which the Parties of the Comintern, placed between the directives of the Fifth Congress on the one hand and political reality on the other, had to land constantly. Of course, not everywhere were the contradictions solved through such deadly convulsions as was the case in Bulgaria and Estonia in 1924.

Falsification and Fiction Replace Facts and Truth

Yet always and everywhere the Parties felt themselves bound, gave no echo to the demands of the masses, went about with eye-flaps and stumbled. In the purely Party propaganda and agitation, in the work in the trade unions, on the parliamentary tribune—everywhere the Communists had to drag the decisions of the Fifth Congress behind them like a chain. Every single Party, one more, the other less, became a victim of the false positions of departure. They chased after phantoms, ignored completely the real process, transformed revolutionary slogans into howling phrases, compromised themselves in the eyes of the masses and lost all the ground under their feet. To crown all this, the press of the Comintern was robbed of every possibility, then as well as now, to gather, to arrange and to publish the facts and figures on the work of the Communist Parties in the recent years. The leadership of the epigones, after the defeats, mistakes and lack of success, preferred to accomplish the retreat and the accounting with extinguished lights.

Finding itself in a great and growing contradiction with the real factors, the leadership had to cling ever more to fictitious factors. The Executive Committee of the Communist International lost the ground under its feet and strove constantly to disclose revolutionary forces and signs where there weren't any. In order to balance itself, it had to cling to rotten ropes.

The Illusions About the Peasantry

In the same measure that an obvious, growing swing to the Right was going on in the proletariat, there began in the Comintern the line of idealizing the peasantry, a wholly uncritical exaggeration of every symptom of its "break" with bourgeois society, an embellishment of every possible peasant pseudo-organization and a direct hochpappeling of "peasant" demagogues.

The task of a long and stubborn struggle of the proletarian vanguard against the bourgeois and peasant demagogy for influence upon the village elements most deprived of rights, was always more and more replaced by the hope for a direct and independent revolutionary role of the peasantry on a national as well as on an international scale.

In the course of the whole year of 1924, that is, the main year of the "stabilization", the Communist press was constantly publishing completely fantastic re-

ports on the strength of the lately founded Peasants International. Dombal, the representative of the latter, declared that the Peasants International, six months after its formation, already unites within itself a few million readers.

Zinovieff on Raditch

There was enacted the scandalous incident of the leader of the Croatian "Peasants' Party", Raditch, who considered it advisable to show himself in Red Moscow in order thereby to strengthen his ministerial chances in White Belgrade. On July 9, 1924, Zinoviev, in his report before the Leningrad Party workers on the results of the Fifth Congress, told of a new "victory":

"At this moment an important turn

is taking place within the peasantry. You have all surely heard already of the Croatian Peasants Party of Raditch. Raditch is now in Moscow. There is a real people's leader... Behind Raditch stands united the entire poor and middle peasantry of Croatia... Raditch has now decided in the name of his Party to join the Peasants International. We consider this event very important... The building of the Peasants International is an extraordinarily great event. Some comrades did not believe that a big organization would grow out of this... Now we are getting a great auxiliary machine—the peasantry..." (Pravda, July 28, 1924.)

And so forth and more of the same.

The LaFollette Maneuver

The leader LaFollette corresponded on the other side of the ocean to the "genuine people's leader", Raditch. The representative of the Comintern, Pepper, in order to set "the auxiliary machine"—the American farmers—into motion at an accelerated tempo, drew the young and weak American Communist Party into the senseless and shameless adventure of creating a "Farmer-Labor Party" around LaFollette so that American capitalism might be overthrown in the quickest way.

The glad tidings of the closeness of the revolution in the United States on the foundation of the farmers filled the speeches and articles of the official leaders of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at that time. In the sessions of the Fifth Congress, Kolarov reported:

"In the United States the small farmers have created a Farmer-Labor Party, which becomes ever more radicalized, comes closer to the Communists, and is being permeated by the idea of the creation of a workers' and peasants' government in the United States." (Pravda, July 6, 1924.)

So; neither more nor less.

From Nebraska came Green—one of the leaders of the LaFollette organizations—to the peasants' congress in Moscow. For some reason or other he "joined" in order, as is customary, to help along later on at a conference in St. Paul to strangle the Communist Party when it made the weak attempt to go over to the realization of the great plans of Pepper. The same Pepper who was councillor to Count Karolyi and who put on an extremely Left air at the Third Congress as a reformer of Marxism. The same Pepper who was one of those who butchered the revolution in Hungary.

Pravda of August 29, 1924 complained as follows:

"The American proletariat as a whole has not even risen to the consciousness of the necessity even of so conciliatory a Party as the English Labor Party is."

And about a month and a half before that, Zinoviev reported to the Leningrad Party workers:

"A few million farmers are being voluntarily or involuntarily pushed by the agrarian crisis all at once (!) to the working class." (Pravda, July 22, 1924.)

And Kolarov immediately added: "to a workers' and peasants' government."

The press spoke continuously about the impending building of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States for the overthrow of capital, "on a not purely proletarian, but a class" foundation. What the "not proletarian, but class" character was supposed to mean, no sage either on this or the other side of the ocean could point out. In the long run it was only a Pepperized edition of the idea of a "joint workers' and peasants' Party" on which we will yet have occasion to speak in greater detail in connection with the lessons of the Chinese revolution. Here it is enough to establish that this reactionary idea of non-proletarian but class Parties arose entirely from the pseudo-Left policy of 1924, which, when it lost the ground from under its feet, clung to Raditch, LaFollette and the inflated figures of the Peasants International.

"We are at present witnesses,"—so proclaimed the academicians of commonplaces, Millutins—"of an extraordinarily important and significant example of the splitting away of the peasant masses from the bourgeoisie, the coming forth of the peasantry against capitalism and an ever stronger consolidation of the united front of the peasantry and the working class in the capitalist countries in struggle against the capitalist system." (Pravda, July 27, 1924.)

In the course of the whole year of 1924, the press of the Comintern did not tire of telling about the general "Leftward trend of the peasant masses", as though something independent could be excepted from this, in most cases only apparent, Leftward trend of the peasants in a period of the open Rightward trend of the workers, the strengthening of the social democracy and the consolidation of the bourgeoisie.

We meet the same mistake in political vision towards the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 with regard to China. After every great and deep crisis, in which the proletariat suffers a decisive defeat for a long time, the stirring still continues for a long time among the semi-proletarian masses in city and country, like the circles in the water when a stone has fallen in. So that when the leadership ascribes an independent significance to these circles and contrary to the process within the working class, points to them as a symptom of an approaching revolution, we know that this is an infallible sign that the leadership is once more going towards adventures, as with the Estonian or Bulgarian in 1924 or the Cantonese in 1927.

The Course Toward the Kuomintang

During the same period of ultra-Leftism, the Chinese Communist Party is driven for several years into the Kuo Min Tang, which is characterized by the Fifth Congress as a "friendly Party" (Pravda, July 25, 1924), without undertaking a serious attempt to investigate the class character of the latter. The idealizing of the "national revolutionary bourgeoisie" develops the greater. That is how the false Left course, with its eyes shut and burning with impatience, laid the foundation for the subsequent opportunism with regard to the East also. To give form to opportunism, Martinov was called upon, who was all the more a loyal councillor of the Chinese proletariat, having himself limped behind the petty bourgeoisie during the three Russian revolutions.

In the hunt after an artificial acceleration of the process not only Raditch, LaFollette, the mythical peasant millions of Dombal and even Pepper were clung to; a basically false perspective was also built up for England. The weaknesses of the English Communist Party gave birth at that time to the necessity of replacing it as quickly as possible by a more imposing factor. At that time arose the false estimate of the tendency of English trade unionism. Zinoviev gave us to understand that he counted upon the revolution finding an entrance, not through the narrow gateway of the British Communist Party, but through the broad gateway of the trade unions. The struggle of the Communist Party for the masses or-

(Continued on Page 8)

Throughout the World of Labor

In the Soviet Union

First Flutterings of a New Course

The recent address of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has two principal objects. It furnishes the directives in the collectivization campaign and for the atheist struggle. It will smash the mounting optimism of the official press which, each day, carried figures and percentages of the progress of the collectives. The letters from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, printed in the *Militant*, have already established the nature of the reentrance of the Kulaks into the collectives by examples of the slaughter of live-stock and the statements of the Kulaks to the effect that the collectives are a refuge. But this criticism, which takes into consideration the realities of the class struggle, is not at all the act of bureaucrats, hungry for crushing figures.

A Rebirth for the Kulaks?

The address of the Central Committee comes out against the methods of violence employed against the peasant class, which, under the cover of increasing numbers, artificially accumulated class antagonisms. Does this address mark a change in the face of difficulties of which they cannot be ignorant? Does it mark an apparatus zig-zag from "Face to the Country", to "Liquidation of the Nep"? In any case, what can one expect from contradictory orders issued without an effective analysis and without a concrete study of the class phenomena which impose their inflexible laws? The close of the address shows a desire for conciliation with the better-off sections of the peasantry: the rule regarding non-admission of the Kulaks into the collectives should no longer be strictly applied. Henceforth members of families in which there are red partisans or soldiers in the Red Army can be admitted, provided that they vouch for the members of their families. The door opens wide. Taking into consideration the study of L.D. Trotsky, who showed that because of their inadequate technical base the collectives could become a secret point of the renaissance of the Kulaks, it can be asked whether this "turn" in the bureaucratic strategy does not make a step towards a Bucharinist course under a cover of the liquidation of the Nep. In addition the address forbids the closing down of markets and authorizes the members of the collectives to sell their products on the market.

The Changed Course Toward the Church

Besides this, the address forbids the closing down of churches except in cases wherein an overwhelming majority of the peasants actually desire it. If this were concerned only with a letting up in the mechanical struggle against religion this paragraph—however mild—could be sanctioned. It has as its purpose to put an end to the bureaucratic excesses which can align the backward elements of the peasantry against the regime. But published at the time of the infuriated offensive of the clergy of all religions against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it appears like an effect of the pressure of reactionaries on the revolutionary state of the workers and peasants. It is, besides, normal that the Centrist apparatus, which, through its mechanization, is deprived of the influx of revolutionaries from the masses, should be exposed to the influence of external public opinion whose tunes are played by the world bourgeoisie.

Φ

The Elections to the Factory Councils in Germany

Berlin March, 1930

The elections to the factory councils have begun. The results already known fully confirm our previous prognostications. In many shops where the Party put forward red lists for the first time, it met with appreciable success. But where it recorded dazzling victories last year, and in consequence it should at present

realize the expectations and hopes of the workers, there does it suffer defeats which are sometimes disastrous. Let us take, for example, the case of the Berlin Transport Organizations where on the 15th of March the elections to the factory councils for 1930 took place. They were a heavy defeat for the Party. Against 10,797 votes in 1929 it obtained but 6,317, whereas the trade unions leaped from 5,934 (1929), to 10,146 votes.

The results of the elections to the factory councils in the red factory of Leuna, which has, with good reason, until now, passed for a stronghold of communism, are almost as catastrophic. Here the party dropped from 9,256 in 1929 to 4,763 votes, whereas the trade union list which had received 5,914 in 1929 attained 5,093, thus recording but a slight loss; the decrease in the number of workers evidenced itself almost exclusively by the decrease of Communist votes; whereas the fascist lists gained 500 votes.

These results are all the more alarming in that they refute in a very definite manner the theory of "unceasing revolutionary advances". But this is not all. The figures in these elections should not be considered alone; in relation to the figures of the syndicalist movement they characterize the fundamental processes which are taking place among the masses.

The Party Fails to Lead

Despite the rapidly increasing unemployment comprising more than three million workers, the number of trade-union adherents is constantly growing....

This turn does not at all signify that the evolution of the masses toward the Left (which we have already noted on several occasions) is now moving backwards. On the contrary, this turn proves once again, still more conclusively, that the degree of maturity of the leftward evolution is quite different from the appreciation of the role of the Party. The gathering of hundreds of thousands of workers around the trade unions characterizes the initial stage in the leftward development, the very first form of class-consciousness—the consciousness of the necessity for class organization.

If, during the past two years, when these processes become more and more distinct, the Party leadership had known how to follow a Bolshevik course, we would have today a mass Party, measured not by election figures but by its capacity for action. Instead of forming a strong Left wing in the trade unions, and gathering—without regard to the question of parties—the conscious elements into an organized minority on the basis of the class struggle, the leadership, by its lamentable oscillations, has led the Party into a state of extreme confusion.

Under these conditions the Leftward push, expressing itself through the influx into the trade unions, has resulted at the same time in a weakening of the Party and its capacity for action. Moreover, it is becoming more evident from day to day that the masses no longer have any confidence in the program of the socialist party. Dozens of Communist functionaries, determined opponents of social-democracy, have been expelled from the Party, but have refused to let themselves be pushed out of the trade unions, by obeying the Party which gave them childish and stupid orders.

The Left Is Assembling Its Forces

Up to the present, the Right wing only has benefitted from the growing dissatisfaction in the Party, but during the immediate past, significant symptoms have appeared: new oppositions are forming within the Party (especially in reaction to its trade union policies), which absolutely refuse to unite with the Right wing.

The first attempts of the real Left wing in the Party to reassemble once more, to free themselves from the traditions of the past and to adopt a new orientation on the trade union question, provoked commotions in the Right wing. In their daily *Die Arbeiterpolitik* of March 13th, they make a strong bid for a rapprochement with the supporters of the International Left Opposition who are still in the Party—the Wedding and the Palatine Oppositions. They give themselves up to the vain hope that some day there will be a common

struggle of the Right and Left against the Center.

The final developments will be a bitter pill for them. The Left which is regrouping itself once again, will in the future fight the Right as bitterly as it has in the past.

—K.L.

Φ

Strikes and Peasant Uprisings In Greece

Athens, March 12

The last two strikes of the gas and transport workers were caused by what we call the "third order" (end of year bonus) granted thus far at the beginning of each year and which certain enterprises wished to do away with, at one blow, although they represented an acquired right of the workers. The Venizelos government naturally took the part of the companies and placed at their disposal its police who were particularly brutal toward the strikers. But it was under this very same Venizelos government that this custom, now defended by the workers, was established a few years ago.

These strikes, which were not movements of a day, but lasted for a long time, were finally put down by the government and the companies, who subjected the workers to a regime of implacable terror. A large number of workers were imprisoned and deported and all the "leaders" were discharged.

The chief functionaries, sailors, officers in the navy and students in the upper classes of the polytechnic school took part in the repression. The students did not however take part of their own accord: they participated only under the threats of the school directors. This corps of strike-breakers soon found itself reinforced by a group of adherents to the yellow trade unions confederation who from the outset divested themselves of all signs of sympathy for the strikers.

The attitude of the government is neither new nor surprising to us. We had learned from its actions in a number of former strikes (the metal workers of Laurium, the workers of Elefsis, the transport workers of Piree). Thus, its reactionary role was exposed and its liberal mask torn away when it betrayed the workers at the August 1927 elections; where it clearly showed itself to be a capitalist government whose purpose was to stabilize the forces of production on the backs of the Greek proletariat.

Rationalization and Suppression

The carrying through of the projected plans in this field under the former ministry of Kafadaris (a bloc of all the bourgeois and democratic parties) could not be accomplished except through the most intensive exploitation of the workers. The heavy taxes bearing directly on the people, the successive measures directed against the workers (increase in productivity, maintenance of the twelve and fourteen hour day, frightful exploitation of women and children, reduction of wages, etc.), this was the course of capitalist stabilization.

Peasant uprisings broke out simultaneously in all parts of the country; they were extinguished by the same methods employed in the strikes (Aeropoli of Messina, Messaria of Crete, Langada in Macedonia, etc.).

In proportion as the stabilization widened, those enterprises which did not have a solid foundation, which were basing themselves on inflation, on hazardous speculations, or on fluctuations in the stock market, began to falter. It was in this manner that a certain number of important bankruptcies came about: banks (Bank of Thessaly, Anglo-American Express Company, etc.), corporations (Kyrkinis Wool, Alexopolis Soap and Oil), certain commercial enterprises such as the Palios Maritime Society.

Mass Unemployment Develops

In order to put an end to these bankruptcies which disturbed the economic situation in the country, the government adopted certain measures which increased still further the pressure on the working masses; it expunged from the order of the day in the Chamber the debate concerning the plan for social insurance, at the same

time that it reduced the taxes on the corporations.

Paralleling the rationalization of industry by the union of a number of enterprises in single branches of production there was created mass unemployment, and to this permanent industrial unemployment there was added that resulting from the stopping of work in the tobacco manufacturing of Maceonia and the raisin production of Peloponnesia.

Thus the number of discontented workers and peasants increase without limit; the illusions which arose as a result of the access of the "liberal" government are vanishing; everyone seeks means for defending himself against the worsening exploitation.

The necessity for a strong Party which should have for its task the complete demasking of the government and the gathering of the workers and of crystallizing their discontent into a struggle having concrete objectives is today clearer than ever before.

The Adventurist Party Course

Such a Party cannot be other than the Communist Party of Greece. Unfortunately, there is actually in Greece no Communist Party capable of carrying through a Communist course. The small group which leads and still exists as the Party, is composed of loud-mouthed sectarian and petty-bourgeois elements who oscillate unceasingly between opportunism and ultra-Leftism but are always incapable of laying down a Communist course. Deluded by the vision of a "third period" of capitalism they call upon the workers, almost every day, through the central organ of the Party, to take part in demonstrations which collapse in ridicule and compromise the communist movement. They have provoked the trade union split and thereby have separated from themselves a considerable number of workers who today furnish the cohorts for the monarchist or democratic leaders. The enormous majority of Greek workers is actually outside the trade unions and forms a "human material" which the bourgeoisie know well how to utilize.

Our Opposition group has struggled against the trade union split; it is now striving for a unification of the trade unions and for the organization of the unorganized.

—A GROUP OF MILITANT GREEK OPPOSITIONISTS

Φ

Spanish Opposition Endorse International Conference

We have been informed by the Communist Opposition of Spain on the project of an International Conference. Our Spanish comrades write:

"Already on several occasions we have clearly stated our position with reference to the necessity of a conference of the International Left Opposition. The immediate preparation of this conference is absolutely necessary. It must clearly fix our position, especially as the opposite of the splitting attitude of the Comintern, that is, it must clearly state our desire to establish unity and to revive Communist democracy within our organizations.

"The International Communist Opposition must work out its international platform immediately. The critical examination made by Trotsky of the Program of the Communist International should serve as a basis for our international platform. This platform should be the central point of the conference. We must clearly fix our estimation of the international political situation, of the trade union problems, of our position toward the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and of socialism in one country, etc.... We must not forget also to state our position toward the opportunists of the type of Paz and Urbahns. The Spanish Oppositionists, among whom there are no differences, believe it necessary to break immediately with all types of opportunists."

Φ

LETHBRIDGE, Alta.—(FP)—Militarist propaganda is responsible for the restoration in the high schools of cadet training against the Opposition of Lethbridge organized labor. The majority was 123 in a city referendum.

THE LESSONS OF CAPITULATIONS - - by Alfa

Necrological Reflections

In regard to the capitulation of Bucharin, Rykov, Tomskey there were many conjectures. Is it a shrewd manoeuvre on the part of the Rights, or else, is it a renewal of the Right-Centre bloc? These guesses in themselves are without much content. Maybe the Right Trinity dreams on the quiet about the approach of favorable conditions when it will once more raise its head; maybe, in view of the alarming economic symptoms, it is sorry for having been too hasty in repenting. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the Stalinists consider it useful to retain the Rights near power, in case of a new turn. But not these considerations are of significance. It is politically important, that, in the very heat of the ultra-Left course, the bloc between the Centrists and the Rights was renewed, at the time that the repressions against the Lefts were not weakened but strengthened. Rykov, regardless of everything—is the chairman of the council of commissars, but Rakovsky cures his diseased heart at Barnaul with frosts of 40 degrees. Tomskey and Rykov—are on the Politburo, Bucharin on the Central Committee, but Sokolovsky, B. Mdivani, Kavtaradze—are in jail, Uglanov—is the Labor Commissar, but Blumkin is shot (yes, Blumkin is shot!). These facts are politically decisive—appraising the Left course as a whole.

However, the capitulation of all the Right leaders after the capitulation of some of the Left is a fact of no little importance in itself. The significance of these ritualistic capitulations for the fate of the Party will become clear, if we look at them not from the angle of subjective intrigues, but objective symptoms. One lesson, one conclusion flows before any other from the twists and turns of the last six years: the stubborn, systematic, tireless, suffocation of the Party.

The "Leaders" Renounce Themselves

The Party is the selection of ideas. It remains a Party only so long as the voluntary tie of ideas lies at its basis. But what meaning can ideas and principles retain, if the leaders of the Party alternately renounce themselves, and the impersonal idea-less apparatus not only asserts its infallibility, once and for all, but even declares openly to the Party: "Us you can remove only through civil war!" (Stalin in 1927.)

We remind once more: Zinoviev—the formal "leader" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern (1923-25). Zinoviev—in the Opposition repents his false struggle against Trotskyism (1926-27). Zinoviev renounces the Opposition and once more declares war against "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyism (1928-29). Bucharin in 1922—a "Trotskyist"; in 1923-26—hand in hand with Zinoviev; in 1926-28—the theoretical leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, the inspirer of the Right-Center course. In 1928-29—the theoretician of the Right Opposition. In 1929 Bucharin repents his errors and renounces the very views that inspired him during the whole period of struggle with "Trotskyism".

If we take Stalin from the point of view of his ideas, we find that in different periods he covered himself with the ideas of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bucharin, at present he covers himself with fragments of the Opposition ideas, not having any of his own. But just as "truth is the result of a court verdict" (Schedrin), a reputation is the result of the apparatus manipulations...only for a certain time.

The automatization of the Party life has reached its highest limits. The apparatus does not demand the recognition of any kind of principles—it demands the recognition of its infallibility. The extortion of repenting documents does not have as its task the affirmation of a given sum of ideas. The purpose of the extortion is to instill in the Parties that any kind of counteraction or resistance, any kind of complaint, even a whisper against the apparatus, even a note in the diary, (Kamenev!) bring about only repressions or humiliation of one's ideas. "Self-criticism" serves the same purpose from another side, for it means that the Party members are obliged to criticize the same things that the apparatus "criticizes".

The Capitulations by the Right

The Party is the selection of ideas. The Party is the revolutionary tempering of characters. The Party is the shield of the class, for it is made up of the most con-

vinced, the strongest and the most steadfast. The unification of these elements occurs gradually, under the constant checking up on events. The live texture of the Party is therefore a very complicated and sensitive texture. The Party must not be kept under a vise, just as you cannot keep a human hand under a vise: the blood circulation is interfered with, and the texture dies away.

The process of the dying away of the Party texture occurs before our eyes with the growing material pressure of the Party bureaucracy. The alternating capitulations of all the "leaders" of the Party, in groups and singly, before the absolutely idea-less apparatus, shows an unheard-of power of pressure, that stage of it when the blood-circulation of ideas in the Party ceases almost completely.

The circumstances of the repentance of the Rights are particularly striking—with the transparency of the apparatus cynicism.

Unexpectedly and without preparation humanity finds out that three of the most eminent leaders of the Party and Soviet Republic—the leader of the Comintern, the head of the government and the leader of the trade unions—have been in sharp opposition to the central committee for nearly two years, and that they consider the official policy as detrimental. How is it that this did not come to the surface? The fate of the revolution was concerned! Where were the disputed questions considered and decided? The minutes of the Central Committee are printed for the knowledge of the Party. But it so happens that the apparatus leads a double life. The questions are decided behind the scenes, and on the official scene pretended argument and voting are enacted according to previously prepared procedure. With this the Party is fed. And what is more, during the sharp opposition of the three members of the Politbureau, it was officially declared, and primarily by the general secretary, Stalin, that the rumors and talk about disagreements in the Central Committee and about a Right deviation in the Politbureau, are but revolting calumnies of the "Trotskyists". Afterward, and in a belated fashion, it is ascertained that under "calumny" one must understand that correct and exceptionally important facts were hidden from the Party.

How the Capitulations are Obtained

The open agitation against Bucharin started about a month or two before his capitulation. But the name of Rykov, as one of the leaders of the Right deviation, was mentioned aloud only on the eve of the November plenum of the Central Committee. With particular mercilessness, however, Pravda started to drag about the name of Rykov only after his capitulation, expressing the suspicion that the repentance of the Right leaders is "insincere". In other words, the central organ of the Party considers quite possible, that a person placed by the Party in the most responsible position in the government, is capable of deceiving the Party and the masses in questions involving the fate of the Party and country. The suspicion is hurled in such a tone as if it was a quite simple and ordinary occurrence. Nevertheless, it is a question of political deceit, cynical unprincipledness and betrayal of ideas on the part of central committee members, who even today, when these lines are written, stand at the head of the Soviet government, or are on the staff of its most important organs.

In passing, and already at the conclusion, the Party learns that for a year and a half the head of the government and the head of the trade unions "have been playing with the fate of the Party and revolution" (literally)—"speculated on a catastrophe" (literally!)—all this somewhere in the bureaucratic underground. The help of the Party, it appears, was not at all required to repulse their criminal "game"...How else could the press keep quiet? Nevertheless the press did keep quiet. The Party was lulled and deceived. The Right deviation appeared to be personified in the figure of...Frumkin. Publicly Rykov and Stalin fought equally against Frumkin and Shatunski, and this hypocrisy was called the struggle against the Right deviation. Whether Frumkin fought against himself—

we do not know. At one time we even thought that, according to a decision of the Central Control Commission, Frumkin was sentenced beyond redemption, so that there could always be on hand a ready object for the needs of a struggle against the Right deviation. But these hypotheses were not verified.

Only after Rykov had capitulated—which would make it appear that any further struggle is rendered unnecessary—only from that moment Rykov and with him the whole trinity, were subjected to particularly unrestrained public abuse, before the Party, the population of the country and the whole of humanity in general. The Party was not at all needed for the struggle against the "conspiracy" of Rykov, Bucharin and Tomskey. The Party was assured that there is no struggle at all. But after the Rights were defeated behind the scenes, the Party was shown three political skeletons: see, this is how the general secretariat deals with and will deal with all those who get in its way.

And Radek Yelps, "Me, Too."

The method of dealing with the Right leaders is a new stage in the process of the Bonapartist transformation of the Party regime: on the stage they occupy themselves with fighting exercises against Frumkin, and afterwards, unexpectedly, the skeleton of Rykov is shown. The automatism of the struggle and the contempt for the Party are here given expression hitherto unknown.

The picture of the Party regime becomes clearer in view of the circumstances that Rykov, Tomskey and Bucharin capitulated a day after the Radeks and Smirnovs considered it necessary to capitulate "in the interests of a struggle against the Rights". On the return from exile to Moscow, Radek wailed at the stations that soon the two parts of the Central Committee will be arresting each other, and that it is therefore necessary to hurriedly aid the Center, that is, Stalin in the struggle against the Right, that is, Bucharin, Rykov and Tomskey. But no sooner did Radek finish writing the third or fourth repenting clause, then the stern leaders of the Right of the Central Committee hurried to declare that they, too, burn with the desire to help the Center in the struggle against all deviations, particularly against the Right. Thus, the encircling of Frumkin seemed to be assured one hundred percent. Smirnov and Boguslavski, who were a bit late found all the places in the raid taken. But here, as if for spite, Frumkin himself repented. The Right wing became completely transcendental.

In spite of the tragedy of the whole situation, it cannot be denied that the Left capitulators bring into it an element of buffoonery. Hurrying to join the apparatus in a struggle against the Right danger, the capitulators of the Left lead a struggle exclusively on the Left, that is, against...Trotskyism. And it is for this purpose that Yaroslavsky recognized them as "the best elements" of the Opposition. Yaroslavsky should know where are the better, and where the worse!

Zinoviev and Kamenev "Repent" Once Again

It is clear that Zinoviev could not but make use of such an explosion in the bureaucratic tangle, in order to remind everyone, that he, thank god, is alive, and as a capitulator of the first order, so to say, an aristocrat in the family of deserters, he should have all the privileges in the struggle against deviations, and before all, it is understood, against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".

Properly speaking, the need of a new and such a fiery repentance of Zinoviev ("conclusively fused with the Party") may appear puzzling at first: it would seem this man has already repented and could let others get in line. But in reality it is not so. The first repentance lacked the necessary enthusiasm. The lack of this element that is so hard to catch, became particularly clear to Yaroslavsky, since the Opposition published the minutes of negotiations for a struggle against Stalin, carried on between Kamenev and Bucharin, with Sokolnikov as the intermediary. Kamenev kept these minutes for the sake of Zinoviev who still remained at Kaluga for a time after his first repentance. While negotiating with Bucharin, Kamenev and Zinoviev, upon meeting Oppositionists, would sigh

deeply about the split in the Opposition, complain of the sharp attacks by Trotsky, and express the hope for common work in the future. When all this was incidentally revealed, these elders of the capitulationist clan took on a morose silence. Kamenev declared that he would write a book on Lenin, for he saw that he could not bake a pudding with Stalin. But at the very moment that the general secretariat waved the scalp of the repentant Rykov over the Party, Zinoviev, very opportunely, thought of his own scalp and repented for the second time, and this time with such mighty enthusiasm, that it should have touched even the tempered heart of Molotov himself.

But in vain. In Stalin's report to the agrarian-Marxists, the "Trotsky-Zinoviev" and even "Zinoviev-Trotsky" opposition figured more than once. A careful reader could not but notice it. The fact is that among the bureaucracy the opposition was always called "Trotskyite"—so as to underline Zinoviev's lack of independent ideas. Why is it now, after Zinoviev's numerous capitulations, when he has succeeded to "conclusively fuse with the Party"—why and what for is the talk about the Zinoviev opposition now raised? Accidentally? Oh, no, there may be accidents in the five year plan, but not in the apparatus maneuvers. The design became clearer yet in the utterances of the obliging Kaganovitch. This latter, in one of his recent jubilee speeches, spoke about the opposition of Zinoviev and Kamenev, as if we had been living in 1926. The general political sense of this reference to the long-silenced struggle was clear, even without special comment. The Stalinist apparatus "hinted" to Zinoviev and Kamenev: do not think, please, that we will let you raise your heads. The leaders of the apparatus "hinted" to their underhand men: Under no circumstances must you let these equivocal repentors raise their heads! No more and no less.

Stalin's Equilibrium is Shaky

The equilibrium of the present one-man apparatus leadership rests on an extremely artificial and constrained system of theoretical fictions, historical legends and the actual seduction of the Party. This system requires the further tightening of the screws and by no means their loosening. For this system even Zinoviev is dangerous. Every one of his puffed articles in Pravda puts the international upstart, Molotov, alarmingly on guard.

Now we find out the reason that prompted the apparatus marshals to remind Zinoviev and Kamenev that they should drop forever their "senseless dreams". It seems that Zinoviev attempted to imply, during his oral repentance, that the Opposition was not wrong in everything, as the struggle of the Rights proves. And Kamenev admitted (in the diary) that Trotsky was right when he warned him and Zinoviev, that capitulation is the road not to the Party, but to political death. Kamenev always showed more inclination and ability to make ends meet than Zinoviev. But as Lenin said in his Testament: "it is no accident" that Kamenev was with Zinoviev. "It is no accident" that he went with him through all the stages of degradation of ideas in order to come to the simple conclusion that was outlined to him before: this road leads only to political death. Whatever it is, both had to repent anew, this time with enthusiasm, which, by the way, did not protect them from the public slap in the face by Kaganovitch—the Amsterdamer.

The Danger of Bonapartism

More than once we had occasion to explain that the Party regime does not take shape of itself, but is a function of policy, which, in its turn, carries through the interests, and reflects the pressure, of classes. The bureaucratization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, beginning in 1922, continued parallel to the growth of the economic strength and political influence of the petty bourgeoisie, basing itself on the N. E. P. and parallel to the stabilization of the bourgeois regimes in Europe and the whole world, as a result of the successive defeats of the proletariat. But the Party regime is not merely a passive reflection of processes of a deeper order. The Party is a live force of history, particularly a ruling party, under a regime of a revolutionary dictatorship. Bureaucratism does not have an immaterial character. Its bearer is the large solidified bureaucracy with a whole world of interests,

(Continued on Page 7)

BOOK REVIEW

Karl Marx, the Man

KARL MARX: Biographical Memoirs, By Wilhelm Liebknecht, 181 pages. Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

The great figures who have helped to shape the course of history and to mould human thought are always the object of insatiable curiosity to living men. This is particularly true of those who leave a heritage of ideas on which the minds of men are fed. Light on the personalities of the great doers of the past stimulates interest in their work and aids in an understanding of it. Hence the great popularity and the great value of biography.

In this little volume devoted to memories of Karl Marx, the elder Liebknecht brings the founder of the Communist movement nearer to the proletariat as a man and father. Incomplete and inadequate as these sketches are, in consideration of the magnitude of the subject, they have a double merit. They come from one who lived in almost daily contact with Marx for nearly twelve years of his most fruitful activity; and one who, in a lifetime of struggle bore the proud name of "Soldier of the Revolution". Thus he speaks with an exceptional authority.

This is not a treatise on his doctrines. Liebknecht in the book under review, confines himself to a series of reminiscences regarding him as he revealed himself at work and play, the circle of his intimates, in the bosom of his family—in short, Marx the man, whom the world, seeing him from afar, did not know. He draws, if not a full portrait, at least an outline of that great figure which grows in immensity as the world moves to its remoulding on his ideas. And what a man emerges from that outline!

Marx forged the incomparable weapons of the workers' emancipation struggle in a lifetime of the most assiduous and painstaking inquiry and labor. Guesswork had no part in his philosophy; ignorance, especially in one filling the role of leadership, was anathema. Politics, to Marx was a study and the business of a proletarian to know, to understand. "How wild Marx could become when speaking of those hollow skulls who arrange matters for themselves with a few cant phrases." Reading these words of Liebknecht's one can imagine the lion rising from his grave to storm against those who transform his science into a system of catch-words devoid of reality and alien to his method.

Scientific Truth Was Marx's Guide

Marx was affected not a particle by the superficial judgment of the majority at the moment. Scientific truth was his guiding line. And, rejected in his own day while scamps won the applause and favor of the world, he solaced himself with the self-confident motto of Dante: "Follow your course and let the people talk." He was concerned only to establish the wisdom and verity of that course and that, thereby, it might become the course of humanity's future.

From his evaluation of politics as a science came his contemptuous disregard of "agreements" on a false foundation and his intransigence in questions of principle—a quality which marked the course of Lenin when his bolsheviks were but a handful against the world and which now marks the leadership of Trotsky in the struggle to reform the disrupted ranks of the proletarian vanguard. It was on this point that Liebknecht himself came into conflict with his teacher—not once but twice. The first time, in the days of his London exile, it led to an estrangement there, and the second time—some twenty years later, on a much larger scale—it led to Marx's trumpet blasts against the Gotha Program—a compromise knecht on this decisive question was surely his greatest shortcoming—a shortcoming he did not recognize, for he attempts to justify it in his book about Marx. But history has already answered this question in accents, which all revolutionaries must hear. On the welter of confusion which besets the Communist movement of the world, intransigence must be their motto no less than it was the motto of Marx and Lenin.

Marx knew his value, but the legends spread by his enemies about envy, spite, conceit and vanity—all this, says the author who worked under his direct guidance for

more than a decade—is pure fantasy. He simply insisted on scientific exactitude in the doctrines of the proletariat. Marx could tolerate no blunting of their weapons, whether from ignorance or any other cause. Unworthy personal considerations were not even within his comprehension, to say nothing of their actuating him. "Marx was the most generous and just of men, when it came to acknowledging the merits of others. For envy and jealousy as well as for conceit, he was too great. Only the false greatness, the artificial fame inflated by incompetence and vulgarity, he regarded with a deadly hatred—as he did everything false and adulterated."

He was no man of mush, as Liebknecht draws him, but a doughty fighter and an irreconcilable hater of the false, the superficial, the pretentious. Windbags were an abomination to this man, whose words always stood for facts and deeds. "Woe to him who indulged in phrases. There he was inexorable. 'Phrase-monger' was in his mouth the sharpest censure—and whom ever he once had recognized as a 'phrase-monger' he ignored forever. To think logically and to express your thoughts clearly—this he impressed on us 'young fellows' on every occasion and forced us to study."

Marx in Exile at London

In this book, Wilhelm Liebknecht paints an unforgettable picture of the group of exiles who gathered around Marx in London in the years 1850 to 1862. During that period he was almost daily in the company of the great teacher, and his reminiscences are a treasure to the present-day disciples of Marx who seek to know the man behind the doctrine. In these pages the legendary figure is brought near, made real, alive and human. We are drawn into the march of the author's charming narrative and move in that immortal company.

The first genius of the proletariat, dead these 47 years, rises and walks before us. We see Marx as Liebknecht saw him thru his days and nights of systematic and unrelenting labor on his monumental works; we watch his furious concentration on a game of chess and his child-like exasperation when he fails to win; we see him a play-mate of his children and a plaything in their hands; we walk with the group of family and friends on a holiday to Hampstead Heath, feast with them from the picnic basket and slake our thirst with them in unforbidden British beer; we are with the lion at the grave-side of his son and see him broken and humbled in the dust of grief.

The Marx that Liebknecht describes was a pure-hearted lover of children—his own and of all. The sight of a helpless child in misery tore his great heart with pity. "Time and again he would suddenly tear himself away from us on wandering through districts of poverty in order to stroke the hair of some child in rags or to slip a penny or half-penny into its little hand. He mistrusted beggars. But when a beggar or beggar women with a whimpering child accosted Marx, then he was lost without fail. . . . He could not withstand the imploring eyes of a child."

In Marx's day as now, society bestowed its honors and rewards on charlatans, cheats and swindlers; persecutions, hardship and poverty is the coin with which it paid those who served it truly. Such was the lot of Marx. He who held up to society the picture of its future and charted the way towards it worked with humiliating want and privation as daily companions. In his ability to endure all this, and to carry on his work and hold to his course in spite of it, he has set a stern example to all those who follow his path. For years, even when the worst of this was past, the pound sterling he received every week for his articles in Horace Greeley's "New York Tribune" was his only certain source of income.

"On 'Capital' he was at work forty years—and he did work! Only a Marx can work so. And I am not exaggerating when I say: The worst paid laborer in Germany has received more wages in forty years than Marx did for a salary."

The economic hardships suffered by Marx and his family were "not a solitary case of want, such as anybody may meet with, especially in a foreign country where points of recourse are scarce; the misery of exile lasted for years in its most acute form for Marx and his family."

Marx the Teacher

For the exiles grouped around him in London Marx was a teacher who forced them to respect knowledge as indispensable in a revolutionist and to labor to acquire it. In such an atmosphere his first disciples were trained. While the superficial revolutionaries, like many who have come after them, were substituting wishes for knowledge and reality, intoxicating themselves with phrases about the revolution which was to start "tomorrow," Liebknecht tells of the pupils of Marx "sitting in the British Museum and trying to educate ourselves and to prepare arms and ammunition for the battles of the future."

This was Marx's way to train the leaders of the proletariat and make them fit for their occupations. "To learn! To learn! This was the categorical imperative he frequently enough loudly shouted to us, but it also was expressed by his example, yea, by the sole aspect of this forever strenuously working mind."

These are golden words for the guidance and inspiration of the young Communists—and not only for the young ones—who are enlisting in the great battle for restoration of Marxism under the banner of the Opposition. Phrase-mongering ignorance has had its evil day in the ranks of the workers vanguard. Disorganization and defeat are the fruit of it. Those who aspire to re-form the disrupted movement will be successful only insofar as they master the basic truths of Marxism and learn how to apply them as a guide to action. This knowledge will not fall from heaven; it will be acquired only by those who have the mind and the will to study, as Marx required of his first disciples. Wilhelm Liebknecht's little volume of reminiscences will be an aid and stimulus in this direction. It ought to have a place on the bookshelf of every revolutionary worker.—J. P. C.

☐

Harvester Profits Soar; Lay off Men

CHICAGO—In the face of record profits disclosed in the annual report of the International Harvester Co., the farm machinery trust is laying off men by hundreds in its various plants, according to union reports. The 1929 velvet of Alexander Legge's corporation, the presidency of which he resigned to administer farm relief for Hoover, was \$36,779,998. This unprecedented net profit was just about as large as the entire gross profit in 1927.

At the Milwaukee division of the harvester half of the men have been laid off and in some departments he employment is in a still worse state. The crankshaft department has only 16 out of 46 men left and in the piston and sleeve department just three men are working in place of the former shifts of 48. The trust refused requests from the workers that the work be spread on a 8-hour day, 5-day week basis. The men still on payroll are being worked 9 hours a day and Saturdays.

Total assets of Legge's trust rose from \$346,120,486 at the beginning of 1929 to \$348,078,322 at the beginning of this year.

☐

NEWARK JOBLESS HAUNT NEWSPAPER OFFICE TO SCAN WANT ADS

NEWARK, N. J.—(FP)—Mobbs of ragged and hungry men, sometimes as many as 1,500 of them, crowd the street around the office of the Newark Evening News, day after day. They gather at dawn and wait, clutching pennies in their hands, to purchase the first edition and search the help-wanted columns for possible jobs.

Shortly before noon, when the first papers are carried from the building and offered for sale, the mob presses in and fights for papers. Many who haven't even 2 cents to buy a paper crowd around their more fortunate brothers to read over their shoulders.

The News, in a full page message in Editor and Publisher, addressed to potential advertisers says: "Always plenty of work and money to spend in Newark. Periodical Hard Times Are Practically Unknown. An industrial Status such as this accounts for the perennial condition of prosperity with which Newark is blessed."

☐

WISCONSIN FEDERATION MEETS JULY 15

LA CROSSE, Wis.—The annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor will open in La Crosse July 15.

The Lessons of Capitulations

Continued from Page 6

In this way, like many other secondary and superstructural factors, the Party regime—in known and very wide limits—acquires an independent role. Moreover it becomes the center of all deviations, errors, dangers, contradictions and mistakes. It now becomes that link in the general chain, through the medium of which it is possible to get to its other links. Maybe it is still more correct to say, that the Party regime became that Gordian knot which the Party must disentangle at all cost, so that there may be no chance for Bonapartism to cut it with a sword.

* It is understood that Kaganovitch in his time went through the whole policy of Stalin to the Right. In 1926 the Stalinites condemned the Profintern to liquidation, through its unification with the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Every reference of the Profintern was eliminated from the constitution of the Soviet trade unions. Getting scared of the Opposition, Stalin retreated at the very last moment. Kaganovitch succeeded, however, to read a report in Charkov, in which he defended the entry into Amsterdam with arguments that would do honor to any social-democrat. But no sooner did the book with the speeches see the light of day, then retreat was sounded from Moscow. Kaganovitch then declared in the press that...the stenographer understood him wrongly and that he did not at all have intentions of entering Amsterdam, but burdened with work he had no chance to edit his speech. Since then Kaganovitch got the additional name: the Amsterdamer.

☐

EXPOSE REVOLTING CONDITIONS IN CANNERIES

NEW YORK—Conditions in fruit and vegetable canneries in New York state are ghastly and revolting, it is revealed in the report of a thorough investigation conducted last summer by the Consumers League of New York. The report was read at the League's annual meeting.

Conditions since an official state investigation in 1911 are virtually unchanged. The industry largely is carried on by overworked women and girls, working in unsanitary and unheated shacks, for from \$10 to \$12 a week. Illegal overtime is common and housing conditions are wretched, the league reports. As a result of the overwork, the women are too fatigued to make proper selection of the food, and much is canned that should not be eaten. More than 5,000 women do seasonal work in New York canneries.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912.

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1930.

State of New York.

County of New York.

I, before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Martin Abern, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Editor: None.

Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 25 Third Ave. New York, N. Y. Business Manager: Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Max Shachtman, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Arne Swaback, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities, in a capacity other than of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Martin Abern, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29 day of March 1930.

Geo. J. Lambert, Notary Public. (My commission expires March 30, 1931)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE ESTHONIAN PRESS HEWS TO PARTY LINE—THE RESULTS

Dear Comrades:

One foreign language Communist paper that does not need constant coaxing and reminding by the Party to keep straight on the "Line", is the Estonian weekly, *Uus Ilm*. This paper, in fact, tries its utmost to keep away ahead of the fixed line, by multiplying all the exaggerations of its editor—the *Daily Worker*, in the hope of putting its front beyond any question of possible "disloyalty".

When the *Daily Worker* reported after the 6th of March demonstrations that a "hundred thousand workers demonstrated in Union Square", and "two were killed" (in Germany), the *Uus Ilm* came out and printed in large type over its front page: "200,000 workers fight police; four killed in Union Square". Believe it or not—there it stood, black on white, for the tomfoolery and misguidance of the Estonian workers who still read the sheet. And, remember that the last statement was made seven days after the demonstration—14th of March, when all accounts, including the number of dead (?) were supposed to be checked up and gone over!

Such insane exaggerations and misstatements, that have systematically appeared on the pages of *Uus Ilm* for the last two years, and particularly for the last six months, ever since the Party strong-arm squad forcibly took the paper and plant over from the alleged Lovestoneites, have brought the Communist movement among the Estonian workers in this country near to its ruin. The paper which one time, in the early days of the Party, appeared twice-weekly, and boasted of nearly a thousand readers, has shrunk—thanks to the strict Party-line—to a mere weekly bulletin (and a poor one at that), with, according to the last secretary-treasurer, only 130 paid subscribers; and it sinks lower with every issue.

Workers' Clubs Disbanding

The "Workers Clubs" (headed by the Party) are breaking up all over the country. From Chicago it is reported that the last two "reds", who have been the readers of *Uus Ilm* for the last 22 years, since its establishment, have joined the recently organized nationalistic "liberal society". In Detroit, where about 150 known Estonians live, and where two years ago a relatively strong Communist group existed, only one Party member is left, who writes in *Uus Ilm* that all the rest have drifted away into the great unknown, and asks—what is he going to do about it? From Hamilton, Canada, another worker writes that where formerly powerful Communist groups existed, namely in Winnipeg, Lethbridge and Calgary, none could be found now. The small Boston group, consisting of petty-bourgeois elements, has gone with the Lovestoneites, while Philadelphia is completely out of the picture, so far as Communist activity among Estonian workers is concerned.

The *Uus Ilm* with its strict "Party-line" does not seem to be interested in mass work in deeds—although words know no bounds—but appears to be primarily concerned with its immediate business ends at home, such as running the restaurant, having regular dance parties, etc.

When the writer of these lines called the attention of the Editorial Board to the fact, that nationalistic and patriotic organizations are springing up everywhere, where formerly the Communists had their strongholds, and that immediate steps should be taken to counter that, the loyalists, with their self-acquired reputation of being the "old guards," answered in the columns of *Uus Ilm* with seeming satisfaction, "...let them do it...we live in the third period...now we know who they are!..."

Stalinism Wrecks Estonian Movement Also

The Estonian Communist movement in this country is gradually but surely sinking into oblivion. It degenerates because of its isolated bureaucratic policies and its attempt to keep with and ahead of the Party "Line." Workers who have stood with the movement for years, are now talking with their feet: they drift into inactivity and to certain fascist societies. More patient comrades are repeatedly asking: Why is Trotsky in exile? Why was Rakowsky replaced by Bessedowsky? Why did Stalin shoot Blumkin? etc. Failing to get any

answer at all, they become suspicious, disillusioned, and disappear from the ranks of the Communists.

Those few new members that were recruited in the recent membership drive are sure to stay out also, as they wrote their names on the dotted line as a personal favor toward their friends, without paying down even the initiation fee. The majority of them are ignorant, indifferent or so to say—"set" in their ideas, and would not listen to the argument that Communism does not mean dividing up all the money in the banks, and that Karl Marx is not the man who sells clothes on the installment plan.

The weekly has not done anything in the line of class-education in the past two or three years, and does not intend to. All the more important articles start and end with the familiar but much abused slogans—for satisfying the Party—that have no meaning to the average worker. The rest of the text is taken up by lies and slander against "renegades" (whoever they are) translations from the *Daily Worker*, some silly novel and plenty of steamship ads. No wonder if such a "Line" finally leads into the great abyss!

However, the disillusioned Estonian workers, and for that matter workers in every other language group as well, should not lose their hope and initiative, but join with the Communist League of America (Opposition), which is at present the only true standard bearer of Leninism in America, that will light the path of Communism in the dark alleys of confusion.

— P. S.

Φ

LOVESTONE SPEAKS HIS PIECE

Dear Comrades:

Lovestone is in a penitent mood these days, as I noted at a recent meeting of the Lovestoneites that I attended. The machinations for which he has won such deserving notoriety when in the Party, have left their mark on his political reputation. The honest workers who follow him cannot but feel some element of distrust toward the Lovestoneite leadership. Consequently the speeches of Lovestone overflow with repentant sentiments for the sins of the past.

"I, too, was an expert in writing such resolutions," remarked Lovestone in the course of a recent speech on economic events in the Soviet Union. He was speaking of the complete ignorance which existed among the leaders of the Party on the five-year plan in the early days of its application. But this ignorance was no barrier for producing resolutions in wholesale quantities praising the five-year plan. There were some words of regret for the resolution demanding the removal of Bucharin passed at the last convention. It is a good feeling to know one's hands are clean, said Lovestone.

Unprincipledness is an inseparable attribute of Right opportunism. All the condemnations of former unprincipledness will not change the situation in any way. To remove this unprincipledness it would be necessary to extirpate its roots. The opportunist idea behind all of Lovestone's maneuvers was that the national tasks of the Party could be torn from their international background. In view of this it was necessary to pretend loyalty to the Comintern in order to be left unmolested to execute the national task as one pleased. The theory of national socialism is the basis for the opportunism of the Right.

"It is not at all a question of individuals," said Lovestone, "but it was Rykov who introduced the five-year plan. However, the trouble started when the slogan 'Five-year plan in four or bust' was raised, or in other words, the 'Trotskyfication' of the five year plan. Just as there is the saying that Germany lost the war but won the peace, so Trotsky lost the Party but won the Party line." But here there develops something unexpected. Lovestone quoted from L. D. Trotsky's article, "The New Course in the Economy of the Soviet Union" printed in the *Militant*, March 15, 1930, in which Stalin's adventurist line is criticized. Lovestone designated the article as a monumental document. Mind you, he stated, Trotsky the Left of the Left, the god of the Left, Trotsky, attacks ultra-Leftism. Lovestone expressed the greatest amazement. Then he wound up by explaining, "This is unprincipledness!"

On the whole it was most amusing. It is not to be expected that the Right could be capable of understanding in the least degree the nature of a genuine Left line.

As if in mockery of himself Lovestone concluded his speech by emphasizing among other things the necessity for principledness.

Among the questions asked there were three which hit the mark. They were: why did Stalin borrow Trotsky's platform; what is the class basis of Stalin; what compels Stalin to continually zig-zag? To which Lovestone gave no satisfactory reasons.

—G.R.

Φ

AMERICAN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

New York

Dear Comrades:

The *New York Sun* of April 11, contained an article on the growth of American exports, which lends considerable light on the new role of the United States as the leader of world economy. The item traces the development of exports for three periods of 100 years each. It traces the development of the United States from its colonial period to its present position of the highest developed capitalist country in the world.

In 1730, the approximate value of American exports was \$7,000,000. By 1830, it had increased ten times, to the amount of \$71,671,000. Today, one hundred years later, the exports amount to 5,157,000,000, over seventy times the exports of 1930.

An interesting change has also taken place in the character of the exports. In 1730, during the colonial period, the exports consisted mainly of foodstuffs, horses, tobacco, fish, etc. Today there is a complete reversal in the character of the exports which indicate the huge development of the United States as the leading industrial country in the world. Cotton is the leading export, just as it has been for the last hundred years. But its lead is seriously threatened by exportation of machinery. There follows in regular order the export of petroleum, automobiles, foods, iron and steel, copper, etc. Such is a picture of the huge development of American capitalism.

But such tremendous development took and continues to take place only through the intense exploitation of the working masses. The immense wealth indicated in the export growth lends additional light to the concentration of this wealth in the hands of the capitalist class, while the masses become daily more impoverished. This huge development of American capitalism takes place at the expense of the working masses.

—C.L.

Φ

The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Dregs

(Continued from Page 4)

ganized in the trade unions was replaced by the hope for the swift possible utilization of the ready apparatus of the trade unions for the purposes of the revolution. Out of this false position sprang also the later policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which, after the defeat in China, dealt us the second heaviest blow, a blow against the Soviet Union as well as against the English working class.

The Party and the Proletarian Revolution

Already in the *Lessons of October* written in the summer of 1923, the idea of an accelerated road—an accelerated road through friendship with Purcell and Cook, as a further development of this idea—is rejected as follows:

"Without the Party, independently of the Party, in an evasion of the Party, through a substitute for the Party, the proletarian revolution can never triumph. This is the principal lesson of the last decade. It is true that the English trade unions can become a powerful lever for the proletarian revolution. They can, for example, under certain conditions and at a definite period, even replace the workers' Soviets. But they can never play such a role without

the Communist Party and certainly not against it, but only under the condition that Communist influence in the trade unions becomes decisive. For this lesson and conclusion—in relation to the role and significance of the Party for the proletarian revolution—we have had to pay too dearly to be able to renounce it lightly or even to have it weakened." (Trotsky, Volume 3, page 9.)

The same problem is dealt with in even greater detail in the book, *Whither England?* This book, from its very first page, is devoted to the presentation of the idea that even the British revolution cannot avoid the gate of Communism, and that with a correct, courageous and intransigent policy which steers clear of all illusions with regard to circuitous routes, the English Communist Party can grow by leaps and bounds and mature so as to be equal in the course of a few years to the tasks before it.

The Left illusions of 1924 were forced up with the aid of Right yeast leaven. So as to be able to conceal the significance of the mistakes and defeats of 1923 from others as well as from oneself, the progress of a Right swing that was going forward in the proletariat had to be denied and the revolutionary processes within the other classes optimistically exaggerated. That was the beginning of the down-sliding from the proletariat to the Centrist, that is, to the petty bourgeois line which, in the course of the further developing stabilization, had to free itself from its ultra-Left shell and reveal itself as a coarse conciliatory line, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in China, in England, in Germany, as well as everywhere else.

Φ

SPRINKLER FITTERS TAKE 5-DAY WEEK

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Local 183 of the plumbers, known as the Milwaukee Sprinkler Fitters Union, signed a five-year agreement with the bosses. The daily rate is \$11, an increase of \$1, but the weekly wage is \$55 just as before.

This is the first union in any Milwaukee mechanical trade to win the 5-day week.

Φ

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 605 Tent St. N. W.

PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.

CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britsche's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We. 1st St.

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington; Adelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buchler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. Cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. Cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. Cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. Cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. Cor.

NEWARK, N. J.: Aher's Stand; 53 Prince St.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above. The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 17,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, April 26, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

International Labor Day

May Day, 1930 is before us. The mobilization of the working class to show the solidarity of labor before the ruling class is an elemental task for all class-conscious and revolutionary workers. It is the duty of every worker to participate in the meetings and demonstrations of the workers on that day. All forces must unite to present a common, broad, militant front before the common enemy—the capitalist class of this country.

Outstanding on May Day, 1930, is the 13th year of the existence of the Soviet Republic, the first Workers Republic of the world, the fortress of the international proletarian revolution. The defense of its heritage, its victories, the fight for its preservation, is the first major task of the workers of all lands.

In the United States, mass unemployment is the gaunt spectre haunting the lives of million of workingmen and women. Labor on May Day needs to demonstrate and demand from the ruling capitalist class either work or compensation for the unemployed. Immediate fighting tasks for the American working masses are the struggle for the seven hour day and the five day week; for social insurance at the expense of the bosses and government; for the fight against the deadly speed-up system.

The masses of American workers are unorganized into any labor organization. Before the militants, the Left wing, the Communists, is the common responsibility to engage actively for the organization of the unorganized into fighting labor unions. The capitalist class in the United States is still on the offensive, endeavoring to smash all organizations of the working class. The united resistance of the progressive and Left wing of the labor movement is needed to resist the capitalist offensive and to prepare the forces of the workers in due time themselves to take the offensive against the bosses and the capitalist government.

A duty of the American masses is to demand the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government and especially to demand that the United States shall extend long-term credits to the Soviet Union, which, at one and the same time aid partially to relieve the unemployed situation in the United States and the economic development of the Soviet Union.

The common struggle for the abolition of capitalist society and the establishment of workers rule, for a society without exploitation of one class over another remains as before. On May Day, 1930, let the workers join in solidarity against the capitalist system and resolve to carry on a fight for its overthrow.

I. L. P. «Turns Left»

The Birmingham conference of the I. L. P. has just passed by under the leadership of the Left wing led by Maxton. What is of the greatest significance is the formal decision not only to endorse the opposition to the MacDonald-controlled Parliamentary Labor Party, but to instruct the 30 members following Maxton to establish themselves as a separate group in the House of Commons with the purpose of organized opposition to the MacDonald regime. This in itself will not, of course, lead to the fall of the Labor government, since the 59 liberals will make up for the loss. But the Birmingham decisions are of immense significance as indicative of the trend developing in the ranks of the I. L. P. which include many revolutionary, if temporarily confused militants. An article giving a more detailed analysis of the significance of the conference appears next week.

MAY DAY IN NEW YORK

With the Militant Workers - Against Whalen and the Legionaries!
ALL WORKERS OUT TO RUTGERS SQUARE ON THE FIRST OF MAY

The pure democracy of Walker and Whalen has spoken and the right to the streets on May Day has been granted equally to all citizens of good conduct! Here the American Legion, the Russian White Guards and the thousands of police armed to the teeth to protect and assist the reactionary forces—all on Union Square. There the militant workers of New York, with the Communists in the van—at Rutgers Square, with permission to march along a democratically prescribed route to Union Square after it had been "cleared" of the Legion and its Russian thugs-in-law. Elsewhere the respectable "socialists", who gather in the dark in quiet halls to condemn the un-democratic Communists and demand the removal of Whalen so that he may be replaced by another good democrat who will club only Communists: not "innocent citizens and bystanders" as well.

No more democratic arrangement could be expected from the guardians of American capitalist liberty. The socialists are given full rights to spew their mean venom upon the revolutionary movement. The black hundreds of the American Legion and their Russian co-blackguards are generously handed the Square which is traditionally the meeting place of the militant workers. The police are given the liberal right to use their clubs and tear gas bombs against workers who demonstrate their solidarity on May Day. The militant workers are given the right to be threatened by police club and machine gun if they don't behave on the streets like Sunday school boys. The Communist leaders Foster, Minor, Amter, Raymond and Lester are given the right to rest in democratic prison for demonstrating on the free streets.

Capitalists on the Offensive

The capitalist class in New York, the wisest in the country, has shown its power. It is not on the defensive! It is on the offensive! It knows the possibilities given the revolutionary movement in the unemployment situation, and it is curbing it from the outset. It granted Union Square to the Communists on March 6th, and then

showed its power by the savage, unprecedently brutal, manner in which it broke up the demonstration. As pious lovers of democracy, it did not refuse the Communist Party a permit for Union Square on May Day. No! It merely organized its band of toughs in the American Legion, allotted 10,000 well-armed police to help them, and installed them in Union Square.

It calculated on the weakness of the revolutionary movement to contest the holding of the Square with the armed Legionaries, White Guards and police. They would have reckoned in vain had the leaders of the official Communist Party succeeded in mobilizing such a mass movement of workers as would enable them to challenge the usurpers of our May Day meeting place. But the irresponsible, false policies of this leadership have compromised the chances for such a success in advance.

The Communist Party has decided to retreat from its original plan to start its demonstration in Union Square and contest for place with the Legion. It will, instead, hold its demonstration in Rutgers Square. The step is a correct one. It was indicated by us previously in the Militant and under the circumstances was not to be avoided. The isolation to which the leaders of the Party have doomed the membership made the Union Square contest difficult. But the fact that it has been a retreat has not been acknowledged; and that is necessary. The workers must learn to distinguish a retreat from an advance. Those who tell the workers that a retreat is not really a retreat but a victory, are criminally misleading them and preventing them from judging their own future. Upon the Party leaders and the Daily Worker fall the guilt of this light-minded mis-education.

The alleged "majority group" (the Lovestone Right wing) is overjoyed at the retreat. They speculated upon it and the hopes that the blunders of the Stalinist leaders would lead to a crushing defeat in Union Square for the Party and a justification for the cowardly policy of perma-

ent retreat which is the present line of Lovestone and Company. In the past, Lovestone went along with, and initiated, every criminal adventure for which his whole regime in the Party was noted. Today he has developed under the tutelage of that master of falling backward, Brandler, to the policy of criminal and permanent retreat.

The Militant, on the contrary, declared in its last issue: "The Party cannot fight this battle alone. It must appeal to the masses. Upon the volume of support which the masses give to this appeal, clearly manifested beforehand, depends the question whether the Communists should accept the challenge to fight for the Square on May Day, or make a temporary retreat before stronger forces of the enemy. All efforts in the next days must be concentrated in going to the masses with this issue."

The Party leaders failed to do this. They made the retreat inevitable with their narrow policy. But for Lovestone, retreat is a constant inevitability. May Day will show: Upon the strength of the Rutgers Square demonstration, upon the numbers which have responded to the call, upon the tempo of workers assembled, still depends the question of whether Mr. Whalen and his Legionaries shall be allowed to usurp the workers center in Union Square unchallenged.

Organize Labor's Resistance

The New York May Day demonstration is the most important one in the country. It is confronted with a growing offensive of the capitalist class and it must strengthen the resistance of the workers. It is the enemy that is on the offensive; the workers are on the "offensive" only in the fantastic proclamations of the Daily Worker. It is the enemy that dared to carry through the scandalous trial of the five Communists, with a denial of jury trial, of bail, of defense witnesses, in Star Chamber, and with the imposition of brutal, maximum sentences. It is the enemy that dared for the first time in years to take over Union Square with its Legionaries. For the first time in history the White Guard rats are out of their holes and offering to join the Legionaries to fight Communism in America.

The workers must answer at the May Day meeting. But the Party leaders make a well-organized and concerted answer difficult. Their slogan of the "general political strike" under present circumstances is unrefined stupidity, guaranteed only to discredit this valuable slogan. The workers must rally to Rutgers Square, around the demands for work or compensation, for the 7 hour day and five day week, for social insurance, for extensive credits to the Soviet Union as a measure of alleviating unemployment misery, for the defense of the arrested Communist leaders.

The workers must give voice to their solidarity and demand a fighting united front against unemployment, the main problem of the American working class today. The Party members must press upon the bureaucratic layer that stifles Party democracy and initiative, and compel a united front of all revolutionary elements. The Communist Opposition is in solidarity with the May Day demonstration and will be found in its ranks. A solid mass of workers, capable of acting intelligently and militantly, will be our reply to the provocative, Cossack attacks of Whalen and his paymasters.

ON MAY DAY—ALL NEW YORK MILITANTS TO RUTGERS SQUARE.

UNEMPLOYMENT UNRELIEVED

The situation remains dismal for the millions of unemployed workers in the United States, who are occupied with the discouraging task of seeking non-existent jobs. Neither Spring nor Hoover have brought the awaited acceleration of employment. The report on industrial activity for the month of March, issued by Francis J. Jones, director general of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, Washington, has to admit continued wide-spread unemployment and depression in the outstanding trades, manufactures and industries. The report in part, states:

"...There was no great improvement in industrial activity during March...The iron and steel industry has not reached normal operations and unemployment continued among the workers..

"Curtailed schedules continued in the boot and shoe industry, particularly in the New England States, where a large number of workers were employed on a part-time basis, with quite a number idle..."

Nor is the picture a prettier one for

the cotton textile workers.

"The cotton-textile industry remained unchanged, with a large volume of textile mill laborers working part-time and many unemployed..."

Pittsburg reports for the steel trades, expressed both publicly and privately, are gloomy. As per New York Times report, they "have a strongly conservative tinge". As we have stated before, the economic reaction is world-wide and is taking its immense toll everywhere through added joblessness and misery for the workers. The reports from Germany are that the steel market has grown more inactive, both in ingot steel and in the rolling mills. The steel trust is about to discharge 5,000 workmen and the Siemens & Halske company, 2,000, according to Berlin dispatches.

Φ

LOWELL, Mass.—All union bricklayers in Lowell are on strike for the 40-hour week with a compensatory wage increase from \$1.50 to \$1.65 an hour. Employers would not grant the increase.

The Policy of Bluff in the N. T. W. U.

Instead of sticking to the facts of the present condition of the National Textile Workers Union, Clarence Miller, the "third period" secretary of that organization, in a recent statement issued to the Federated Press makes the usual bombastic account that has become the style in all unions and other organizations controlled by the Stalinized leadership of the Communist Party.

Anyone who has the least knowledge of the past activities of the N. T. W. U. can readily notice the Munchausen remarks made in behalf of the union by the incompetent Miller. It is in line with the present policy of the Party to disregard the true conditions and to broadcast those things which look good in print.

After reading the statement in question, the unacquainted reader gains the impression that the N. T. W. U. is many times more powerful than it actually is. It starts off by announcing that since the union convention last December, half a million leaflets have been distributed. Of course, if the organization had distributed that many pieces of working class literature to the hundreds of thousands of unorganized textile workers of this country it would be quite an achievement. However, it is far from the truth.

The Southern Membership and Organizers

The imaginative Miller adds that at the present time the N. T. W. has 4,000 dues paying members in the Southern districts of the union. This also is exactly the opposite from the facts of the case. From the time that the Gastonia strike started, practically none of the Southern textile workers who joined the union has paid any dues. Especially is this true in the Gastonia section where the strike made it impossible for them to do so, due to the lack of funds. When the strike was ended, not only did the workers find it impossible to pay dues, but they practically were unable to hold any union meetings whatsoever, due to the terrorist Committees of One Hundred organized by the mill owners.

Up until several months ago, the national office of the N. T. W. U. had no record whatsoever as to how many Southern textile workers signed application blanks in the union. Actually the N.T.W. had practically no Southern dues paying members several months ago, or at the present time, when Miller issues his colorful statement to the Federated Press which, while it may make nice reading, is just hokum.

Miller also stated that the N.T.W.U. at the present time has 40 full time organizers covering 15 districts, including 16 in the South. Without going into detail as to the rest of the country, it is sufficient to remark that in the South, where the chance for real organization work is bright, organizers have been withdrawn from the field, so that at the present, only a skeleton of the union remains, giving almost a clear field to the United Textile Workers Union, with its policy of betrayal.

The possibilities for the growth of the N. T. W. U. are good, but only by following a correct policy. To issue statements such as Miller's, undermines the workers whom the union is appealing to. Will the official Communist Party continue its bluff policy in the N. T. W. U., as it also does in other unions which it controls, or start a real organization campaign?

The continuation of the former policy will mean the withering away of the N.T.W. The latter policy will result in participating in the day by day struggles of the textile workers and the building of the organization. The issue is clear and a decision must be reached. It is up to the rank and file members to demand the adoption of the second line of action. —FRANK BROMLEY

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—Several San Diego locals including the Culinary Alliance report to the Federated Trades and Labor Council that 50% of their members are jobless. Machinists reported that the navy is using enlisted men for work formerly done by shore workers, alleging lack of funds.

Max Shachtman, editor of the *Militant*, has just returned from Europe, after spending a number of weeks with comrade L. D. Trotsky in Prinkipo, attending the unification conference of the German Left Opposition, and the International Conference of the Opposition in Paris. In coming issues of the *Militant*, beginning with next week we will print a number of articles by Shachtman on the international conference, the prospects of the Opposition in Europe, especially in France and Germany, on the visit to comrade Trotsky, when many questions were discussed which are of interest and importance not only to the revolutionary movement as a whole but for the American movement in particular. Watch for these articles and insure getting the *Militant* regularly by subscribing for it now.

BLUMKIN ISSUE WILL NOT DOWN

In Bulletin No. 8 of the committee of the 9th district (France) we read the following:

Blumkin Affair: In a few words, Meche described what Blumkin had been—a militant Bolshevik who, until the 24th of December, the date of his death, held a responsible position in the U. S. S. R. About the 15th of December, after having paid a visit to Trotsky, he brought back a letter from the latter, a letter which was intercepted by the G. P. U. It is believed that Blumkin was thereupon condemned to death and executed. These are rumors which are neither confirmed nor denied by the Communist Party press. Meche believes that it is the role of the International Red Aid (in the United States the International Labor Defense—Ed.) to institute an inquiry for the exact facts. Rouquin objects that Meche puts the question in a political manner. As far as he is concerned, it is not at all the role of the I.R.A. to make the inquiry, but that of the Opposition; that afterwards, if the rumors are well founded, perhaps the I. R. A. will have something to say.

The Bulletin adds that discussion on the question will continue, for it has not been settled, and it seems to have deeply interested the rank and file militants.

Those of our comrades from the Opposition—or sympathizers—who are active in the I. R. A. should take advantage of the 50 days between now and the National Congress of the I. R. A., to ask at the meetings of the basic units questions which should be linked with the deportation of militant Communists to Siberia and the murder of Blumkin. LA VERITE

Ford Makes Profits on Men

DETROIT—(FP)—The balance sheet of the Ford Motor Co., just made public, discloses that the company made nearly \$82,000,000 during 1929. This contrasted with a deficit of \$72,000,000 during 1928. Thus, a net gain of \$154,000,000 was registered during the past year.

This huge increase was in large part sweated from the thousands who work for Ford. During 1929 speedup and wage cutting became notorious at the Rouge. So much so that workers would go to the Rouge only as a last resort. It took the present depression to drive them there in thousands. Only workers who have never been in Detroit have a good word for Henry.

The speedup which accompanied the 5-day week was so successful that Ford admitted himself well pleased with results. Workers, who were promised a wage increase commensurate with their increase in production, were not at all pleased with results—they got wage cuts instead of increases.

Ford Cuts Wages

The wage cuts took place in the following manner: Workers are promised a periodical raise when they go to work. Up until the beginning of last year these increases took place rather regularly. Then the company not only stopped granting the increases but began cutting high wage men by "transferring" them to another department. Thus, \$7.20 workers found themselves getting \$6 and \$6.80 a day. Whatever grumbling they might have on that, was quickly stifled when they saw the thousands clamoring for jobs when Henry had the Associated Press advertise for 30,000 men for him. The

almost incredible jump in unemployment which took place in October last finally "put them in their places."

Besides that, the company has broadened its policy of letting out parts contracts to outside firms—that is, to sweat shops. In this way thousands of high wage workers have been laid off and the company is getting the beneficial results of \$3 a day labor while getting none of the odium which attaches to so frank exploitation.

By such methods did Ford pile up his millions last year.

\$25 MINIMUM FOR N. Y. GIRL

NEW YORK—Confronted with the problem of finding living quarters for many girl workers who come to New York City expecting to find jobs and live alone on their wages, the Welfare Council has issued the following warning: "Stay away from New York unless you have an assured income of at least \$25 a week. This allows only \$8 for rent, \$10.50 for food, \$3.85 for clothing, \$1.25 for carfare, \$1.40 for recreation and nothing for laundry, medical care or emergencies.

WINNIPEG—(FP)—The biennial convention of the Canadian shopmen organized in the American Federation of Labor meets in Winnipeg June 2.

NEW ORLEANS—Union railroad trainmen have protested the confirmation of Yellow Dog Parker to the supreme bench. The Polly of bluff in the National ext Union

POLICE CHARGE INTO CROWD OF JOBLESS

CLEVELAND—(FP)—Four workers were hurt as mounted police charged a crowd of unemployed when a speaker allowed a red kerchief to fly in the breeze for a second. The unemployed were gathered in the Public Square to listen to the report of a committee which had demanded aid for the unemployed from the Community fund. The police were waiting for the slightest provocation to charge the crowd.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.—(FP)—Despite business men's promises to Hoover, wage reductions of 20% have been put into effect at the Royal and Arctic Mills of B. B. and R. Knight.

SAN FRANCISCO—1,200 union taxi drivers are asking a wage increase of \$4 to \$5 a day and a 9-hour day to replace the 10-hour shift.

PITTSBURGH CAR MEN STAND PAT FOR MORE PAY

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—By a vote of 1,819 to 112, union street car men are standing pat on their demand for a 5 cent increase on 2-men cars and a 15 cents boost for 1-man car operators. The increases would mean 75 cents an hour on the larger cars and 90 cents on the smaller. The union is also seeking six days' work with seven days pay.

FURNITURE WORKERS GET 49 CENT WAGE

WASHINGTON—Average hourly wages of furniture workers in this country last autumn were 49 cents, and the average full-time week's work was 51.9 hours, according to the report of a study made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Employment in representative New York factories continued to decrease in March. Every month since October has shown a decrease in employment compared with the preceding month.

CHICAGO—The bakers union has signed up five hitherto non-union shops in Chicago.

JOBLESS TOLD TO LEAVE DETROIT

DETROIT—(FP)—The automobile industry has been inflated to such an extent that only a "migration of labor" will seriously affect unemployment here, says a report issued by the Union Trust Co. The review tries to be optimistic in its outlook for Detroit but has to admit that the only grounds for its optimism, "did not occur in any branch of industry or trade, but were financial in nature."

The report concludes, "Indications do not point to a complete solution of the unemployment situation in the immediate future."

As though to give added emphasis to this comment reports are current here that the Hudson Motor Car Co. has laid off 8,000 men. At the end of last week 2,000 were laid off, it is known. Workers say that an additional 6,000 were laid off this week-end.

Workers from the Ternstedt Mfg. Co., a General Motors subsidiary, have furnished the following revealing table:

Spring 1929	Spring 1930
6-day week	4-day week
Two Shifts	One Shift
9 hours	8 hours
Night and Day	Reduced force on days

"Nothing Doing"

Former workers who applied for jobs at this company were told that "there won't be anything doing for at least a month."

Downtown department stores have also been forced to retrench on their already severely reduced staffs. Two shifts are being installed—one from 9-1, the other from 1-5. This will bring salaries of counter girls and checkers down to about \$5-6 per week. Salesgirls may be able to squeeze out \$10-12 on the new schedule.

Welfare department officials admit 20,000 families dependent on the department during March—an increase of 6,000 over February.

Figures assembled by the Union Trust Co. indicate February, 1930 automobile production as 33% below that of February, 1929. Building permits have declined 70% below normal.

The local situation has become so acute that the city council admitted the existence of unemployment by adding five councilmen to an unemployment committee of eminent Detroiters. There is no labor representation on the committee. Workers expect no help from that quarter—committees have been committing since last October but idleness increases and hunger is ever more harsh. The workers want action.

BANKERS MOVE PHILA. HOSIERY CO. SOUTH TO GET SCAB LABOR

PHILADELPHIA—Over 350 union hosiery workers will be jobless here when the Cadet Knitting Co. recently purchased by southern bankers, moves its plant to Columbia, Tenn. At the new location the plant will operate non-union.

The purchaser is Caldwell & Co., Investment Bankers, Nashville. At the present time they are operating an open shop plant at Decatur, Ala., where workers are forced to sign yellow dog contracts. Products from both the Alabama and the Tennessee plant will be finish-processed in Philadelphia.

BOSTON—Over 4,500 workers in Massachusetts factories were added to the unemployed army in March, according to state department of labor figures. A decrease of 15% in hosiery workers' employment was caused by mills which shut down entirely "for reorganization". In 19 of 25 cities canvassed only half the plants employed 50% or more of the workers full time.

If the number on your wrapper is

42

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

The Autobiography of Leon Trotsky

MY LIFE, by Leon Trotsky. Chas Scribner's Son. 600 pages. On Sale by the Militant for \$5.00 per copy.

The profoundest contribution the average bourgeois thinker has made to analyzing the struggle between the principal currents in the modern revolutionary movement which have clashed most violently in the Soviet republic has been that it is a struggle between Trotsky and Stalin "for power". Particularly is this the conception of the petty bourgeois and his intellectual off-spring, that hopeless section of modern society which constantly seeks salvation from the hammer and anvil by the intervention of some great man who has no relation to the classes and stands above them. It may be added that this idea has not failed to find nourishment in the hideous propaganda against the Russian Marxists conducted for almost seven years now by the ruling apparatus, especially in the whispering campaign of the earlier periods of the fight in which slanders were circulated against Trotsky that nobody—at least in those days—dared to say or write publicly.

Such a notion is not a new one. It did not arise for the first time in connection with the fight of the Opposition against the backsliding apparatus. Similar profound struggles have been explained in this way by philistines and small minds: one need but refer to the seas of ink expended in showing that the First International was wrecked on the reef of personal antagonism and place-seeking between Marx and Bakunin. The same shabby criterion will undoubtedly be applied in future social battles where outstanding personalities or outstanding mediocrities occupy a large place on the canvas of events. And that is so perhaps because there cannot yet be established, in the welter of ideas that make up social thought, a law against stupidity and ignorance.

The Role of the Individual in History

This does not mean to deny, but rather to affirm, that individuals play an enormous role and often a decisive one in the development or retardation of historical processes. It is on the reverse side of the philistine's blind adoration for all-sufficiency and omnipotence of "great men" that he frequently marks his mystic awe before the course of social forces which he does not understand and is incapable of influencing or guiding forward—an inability which he sometimes erects into a universal law. Man does not make history out of the whole cloth, said Marx; but nevertheless he makes it. And great men make great history. They are produced by social convulsions and conflicts and in turn they influence their production. Therein lies the inter-connection between the conflict and harmony of outstanding men and outstanding events, of individuals and the social struggle. And therein lies the great value, the permanent significance of comrade Trotsky's autobiography. It is as much a vital contribution to the conflict and harmonies we have mentioned as it is their product. It could only be written as a result of a social war on a huge scale. In itself it is a battle fought—and won.

That it is, as the reviewers everywhere have remarked, a work of extraordinary literary qualities, (it is one of the greatest literary works of our time), that it is uncommonly absorbing reading aside from all other considerations, that the book has a brilliant arresting style, an unusual power of narrative, that warm sense of humor, the wealth of imagery and color which has placed him in the front ranks of the modern writers—all this only enhances its worth, but does not determine it.

The Making of a Revolutionist

A review of a book is obviously not the book. In this case it can only be a quite insufficient comment on some of its most interesting sections, a comment which grays before the vividness of its subject.

Trotsky's life has of course been intimately bound up with the development of the most important event of our age, the Russian proletarian revolution, since the end of the last century. Fifty years of age, by far the greater part of his life been unchangingly devoted to the accomplishment and furtherance of the proletarian revolution and its aims.

The breath-taking variety of the circumstances under which he has pursued

this life-work makes his book read like a romance of adventure. At the age of 18, he had already plunged up to his ears in the earliest revolutionary organizations, in Odessa, where he immediately occupied an active and prominent place. At 19, following a czarist raid, he was given his first taste of prison life. From prison he was sent into his first Siberian exile, the first of three, from two of which he escaped, and from the last of which he was deported to Turkey by the usurpers who are so cruelly squandering the glorious heritage of the Russian revolution.

In his first exile abroad he made the acquaintance of the leaders of the then united Russian social democracy, also in exile: Lenin, Plechanov, Martov, Deutsch, Zussulitch and others. He had come before a crucial moment in the history of the Russian movement, the split between the majority (Bolsheviks) and the minority (Mensheviks), a split that involved his first break with Lenin which the record-forgers have so monstrously exaggerated and misrepresented in recent times. On the eve of the 1905 revolution, he was back again in St. Petersburg under an assumed name, and when the uprising occurred, he was named the president of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers Deputies after the unmissed disappearance of its first chairman, the democratic lawyer, Khrustalyov. The leader and spokesman of this dawn of the more lasting revolution to come more than a decade later, he was arrested after its defeat together with the other deputies and following a sensational trial, exiled once more to the Siberian wastes, only to escape abroad again.

Trotsky's Activity in Exile

For years in the teeming life of the emigrated and exiled Russian social democracy, he was head over heels absorbed in the struggles of the two principal factions (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks), denounced now by the one, now by the other, but at all times energetically laboring to assemble an armory for the inevitable second Russian revolution. True internationalist, he did not confine his activities to the Russian movement. He was found at the international congress, at conventions of the then imposing German social democracy, in Austria, in the Balkans, making life-long political and personal acquaintanceships in one place, as with Rakovsky, or venomous and implacable foes in another—Trotsky is hardly noted for any gentleness or hypocritical softness in his relations with political opponents!

After the fearful collapse of the Second International under the earthquake of the imperialist war, the fighter is again in the front ranks, raking the German social traitors with the same ferocity as the French "Defenders of the Fatherland", and condemned alike not only by them but also by their warring masters: in contumacious by the German Junkers and by expulsion from France. Expulsion also from Spain. Then a voyage to the new world—his only trip to the United States. In this country, an editor of the Russian Marxist journal, *Nevy Mir*, and a foundation layer—with emigrated Russians, with Lore, with Fraina and others—of the movement which took form in the Socialist Propaganda League, and later formed one of the elements that organized the necessary split of the corrupt Socialist Party and formed the Communist movement in America. En route back to Russia with the first news of the Kornilov revolution, he is interned in a Canadian concentration camp, deported, and then the arrival in Petrograd to be, with Lenin, the organizer and leader of the great victory. The Truth Confronts the Stalinist Liars

His activities in and after the revolution itself, in the best years of the young dictatorship and of the Communist International are rich and indelible, and not all the oceans of mud, not all the befogging clouds of official propaganda can succeed in concealing them now for any length of time or for any substantial amount of people. History was too deeply engraved in that period to be recarved today or erased by filling the tracings with the permanent putty of official fraud factories. The simple re-telling of the events which really took place are sufficient to bring out the original precision of those carvings in highest relief. The few hundred pages of the book are a mortal blow to the whole

new school of what, for lack of a more appropriate designation, is called the Stalinist historian, bought and paid for to write history as it never happened for the purpose of weaving a monstrously inexact legend about the equally monstrous figure of Stalin. It is as though all the labors of these dark figures were brought together into one misshapen form and crushed under the concentrated truth of Trotsky's book. It is in this connection that Trotsky runs to questions that have frequently been posed by revolutionary workers: To precisely what extent is the struggle between the Marxist wing and the bureaucratic apparatus a "personal" struggle, one of "individuals"; and why is it that the Opposition, the leaders and foremost fighters for the revolution, was defeated in the Party which was in the best sense of the word its own? The answer is not too difficult to find.

A period of social convulsions and surge, a period of revolutionary advance, brings into the foreground the great individuals of the advancing class. But for a period of stagnation, or for a period of reaction, men of colorless talents are required—not a period of counter-revolution, it is clear, for that also requires men who are in a certain sense great men, but of a period of peaceful reaction, so to speak.

In a conversation with Trotsky, his friend Skylansky said: "You know, it is amazing how, during this last period, the mean, the self-satisfied mediocrity is pushing itself into every sphere. And all of it finds in Stalin its leader. Where does it all come from?"

"This is the reaction after the great social and psychological strain of the first years of revolution," Trotsky replied. "A victorious counter-revolution may develop its great men. But its first stage, the Thermidor, demands mediocrities who can't see farther than their noses. Their strength lies in their political blindness, like the mill-horse that thinks that he is moving up when really he is only pushing down the belt-wheel. A horse that sees is incapable of doing the work."

How Mediocrity Likes a Little Arise

The period of reaction that set in in Russia after the tragic defeats of the revolutions in Germany and Bulgaria in 1923 and the subsequent retardation of the revolutionary movement in Europe—the only real salvation for an isolated Russian Socialist state—"produced" its Stalin with the same inexorable force that it "required" the organizational beheading of the revolutionary section of the Party. It "required" the campaign against the pestiferous Trotskyists and their internal din and bustle, their "sectarian" insistence upon the "permanent revolution", their contempt for the sweet lulling music of socialism in one country, their constant prodding of the soft and self-contented, the revolutionist of yesterday who had become a "solid" Soviet citizen, who had "made" the revolution in the sweat of his brow and was anxious to settle down quietly to enjoy the fruits of it without being interrupted by the clamorous requirements of the international revolution. Only a period of social and political reaction could—to continue with inadequate "personal" similes and analogies—accomplish the monstrous historical perversions, these sleight-of-hand tricks by which a Lenin and a Trotsky are changed for a Stalin or a Molotov, the rebel English miner for a Purcell, the Chinese coolie for a Chiang Kai Shek, the Russian factory workers for the office bureaucrat, the poor peasant for the smug kulak who will "grow into socialism". No other answer to the two questions, which are one question, can find a place in the mosaic of recent events.

The Stalinist Intrigue against the Bolshevik Revolutionists

But for such an enormous displacement of things, for such a turning of values upon their head, a most intricate and elaborate mechanism is needed, for processes in social life are not entirely realized by themselves. It is with an examination of the mechanics of the change, and not only with its dynamics, that a good section of the biography is occupied. With an uncommon meticulousness and respect for facts, Trotsky traces every intrigue against the revolutionary wing of the Party, and against himself, in particular, as its most notable exponent. He takes all the otherwise un-

related figures of the time, all the events, all the disconnected threads of men and things, and puts them together in their proper place. The result is a completely woven fabric, distinct in every intertwining of its cords, that enables the reader to understand and follow that horrible enormity that has been the beginning and end of wisdom in the official Communist movement since Lenin died: the campaign against a so-called Trotskyism. Not every lie can be replied to: that would require a Britannica; but the new ones and the old ones served up with a new sauce which are important or characteristic are destroyed with a surgical efficiency and completeness. It is much less a defense than an attack. It takes the men and less than men who are in today's high places. It tells us who they are, how and why they got there. We are startled by things we formerly only suspected or never knew. We learn for the first time for instance that scores upon scores of those self-labelled "Old Bolsheviks", who we had been taught for years, had been "loyal disciples of Lenin and Bolshevism" for anywhere from 20 to 30 years—the while Trotsky was a scoundrelly Menshevik, conciliator or what you will—were in cold reality (before the revolution, and some afterwards as well!) not only in the camp of Menshevism, but even further to the right. Between 1905 and 1917, many of these two-for-a-penny "Old Bolsheviks" were at best revolutionary democrats, or else had quit the movement entirely and retired to a quiet bourgeois life. We begin here to learn something about these sturdy "Old Bolsheviks" like Gussev who left the movement for ten years in the hard days of the reaction and turned up in 1925 in the United States to teach us that the essence of Bolshevism in this country consisted in the cabled manufacture of Lovestone, Pepper and Ruthenberg as the consecrated Leninistic leaders of the American Party. Trotsky mentions many others like Gussev to one extent or another, Yaroslavsky, Ordjonikize, Petrovsky of the Ukraine for instance, and their heroic deeds of the past. Had Trotsky been guilty at any time of half of their colossal blunders and conceptions that had not even a hat-tipping acquaintance with Marxism, Stalin would undoubtedly have dared to exile him in 1924 instead of waiting four years longer! It is precisely such people who find a place in the present period; in the first five years of the revolution the movement went forward without ever suspecting their existence—it never mattered.

A Great Political Document

Of them all, naturally, Stalin emerges the worst. The full length portrait Trotsky draws of him is a murderous one—for Stalin. No man can live long as a political figure of any consequence with so deadly an epitaph written for him, one may say, in advance. In regard to the history of the campaign against "Trotskyism", the facts, events and persons involved, the book stands as a challenge to every serious revolutionist. It is no platitude, but a profound truth, to say that he who dares read it, enemy though he may be at the commencement, must end by being, at the very least, tremendously influenced by Trotsky's point of view. We hope that every rebel worker, and particularly every worker in the official Communist Party, will accept the challenge.

The conclusion of the book—where Trotsky so splendidly castigates the democratic illusionists of the whole world on the subject of his application to the right of asylum—shows him at once oblivious to any "personal tragedy" and quietly confident of the future. Anybody who has been fortunate enough to be with him even for a few days on the deserted islet of Prinkipo and seen him at work with the same energy, devotion and self-assurance that marked him when he led the victorious Red Army, will know immediately that what he says about the future is not pretty literature but a natural conviction, the certainty that the course of events, interrupted and diverted from their proper line of march though they may be for the moment, must eventually vindicate the foreseings and foretellings of revolutionary Marxism. The work of the Communist Opposition is a contribution to this vindication. The autobiography of comrade Trotsky is another. It is a battle fought—and won.

—MAX SHACHTMAN

«PURE AND TRANSPARENT AS CRYSTAL»

By ALFA

Mysterious things are happening in the headquarters of the Communist International. The Apparatus has grown so powerful that it does not feel any longer embarrassed to perform its secret "functions" in the open. Articles and documents are being published that obviously have some very special—one may say, occult, meaning. In these articles the priests of the first rank speak a language which can only be understood by the priests of the second rank. To those of the third circle, the occult meanings of their language is unintelligible, and ordinary mortals can only guess what it is all about.

Number 1 (1930) of the magazine *Bolshevik*—the principal cook-shop of bureaucratic mysticism and mystification, contains three speeches of Stalin, which he made in May, 1929, at the Praesidium of the Comintern and its Committees.

The editors of the magazine have painstakingly emphasized, in the case of each speech, that it "is being published for the first time". But they have not explained for what reason these old—and alas, very poor speeches are set up in type at all. The speeches belong to the period when Lovestone, being still a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern, was competing with Foster for the position of priest of the first rank. The description of their competition, given in the speech, is not without a certain cynical precision. Here is how realistically Stalin has pictured the fight between these two clans for the right to represent in the United States the last revelations of Leninism.

The Race Between Lovestone and Foster

"The Foster group, wanting to demonstrate its loyalty to the Russian Party, declares itself 'Stalinist'. Very well! We, the Lovestoneites, will go farther than the Foster group, and we will demand that comrade Bucharin be recalled from the Communist International. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! We will show those people in Moscow how we Americans can play the market! The Foster group, wanting to demonstrate its intimacy with the Communist International, demands that the decision of the Communist International about the removal of Pepper be carried out. Very well! We, the Lovestoneites, will go further, and expel comrade Pepper from the Party. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! We will show those people in Moscow how we Americans can play the market." (The *Bolshevik*, 1930, No. 1 page 10.)

To value these lines adequately, one must remember that the talk is not about brokers, after all, but about two factions, one of which had been leading the American party for several years, and had put through the renowned campaign against Trotskyism. The other has subsequently been placed at the head of the American party in order to fulfill the tasks of the "third period".

Why Does Stalin Publish These Speeches Now?

One can not help asking: What purpose does Stalin pursue in publishing these speeches today, many months after they were spoken, and thus publicly placing on Foster, who is holding so high the banner of Stalinism, on the same level with Lovestone who was expelled from the Communist International? The mystery is great. Such an unexpected publication of speeches, made in the most secret conferences, would be simply incomprehensible, if one did not assume some new machinations behind the scenes, about which the priests of the first degree consider it timely to forewarn the priests of the second.

But can one be permitted to make such a disrespectful assumption? From other remarks in the speech of Stalin it would appear not. The general theme of the speech is—although you might not believe it—revolutionary morals. Yes, yes. No joking. Here is what the gifted orator has to say about it.

"Either we are Leninists, and our relations with each other, as well as the relation between the different sections and the Communist International, must be built on mutual confidence, must be

pure and transparent as crystal, and then there must be no room in our relations for rotten diplomatical tricks... Or else we are not Leninists, and then..."

...and then, of course, everything is permitted: intrigues, falsity, dark hints, vile slanders, murder from ambush.

However, in so far as Stalin is a Leninist, he is, according to his own attestation "pure and transparent as crystal". To what extent this is true of him has been, as is well known, once and forever testified by Lenin himself in describing his character as disloyal. What then is the meaning of this unexpected publication of an old speech? For there must be a meaning.

Was it done only in order to completely discredit the expelled Lovestone? Suppose we admit that. What then about Foster? Why does the pure and transparent moralist cast mud at the same time on the present leader of this Party?

Let us read further!

The Mud upon the Crystal

"To characterize the way in which pure Communist morals are being distorted and covered with mud in the process of factional struggle, we could refer to such facts as, for instance, my conversation with comrades Foster and Lovestone... I am talking about the conversation which took place at the time of the Sixth Congress. It is characteristic that in correspondence with his friends comrade Foster alludes to this conversation as something mysterious, something that should not be mentioned aloud... Where does this mysticism come from? And what is it for, dear comrades? What could there be mysterious about my conversation with comrades Foster and Lovestone? To hear these comrades, one might think that I was talking to them about things which I would be ashamed to tell you about. But this is absurd, dear comrades. And what is all this mysticism for? Is it so difficult to understand that I have nothing to hide from comrades? Is it difficult to understand that I am always, at any moment, ready to relate to the comrades all the contents of my conversation with Foster and Lovestone from the beginning to the end". (Page 11, emphasis ours.)

Thus Foster is accused of no more and no less a crime than "distorting" and "covering with mud the Communist morals". But Foster is the head of the Communist Party in the United States! Foster is a member of the Praesidium of the Communist International. How are we to understand this?

We do not demand that every Communist, even though he belong to the breed of the leaders, should be necessarily "pure and transparent as crystal". That would be a too high, indeed a superhuman criterion. But still, between "crystal" and "mud" there are many intervening gradations. How shall a simple mortal explain to himself the fact that a player of the market, Lovestone, has been replaced by Foster, who covers with mud "the pure Communist morals". And why—this is the point of the question—does the pure-and-transparent-as-crystal leader of leaders, find it necessary to disclose this hidden disgrace so many months after the muddy Foster has replaced the gambler, Lovestone, at the wheel of government?

Arriving at a Decision

At least we learn from these speeches—what, to tell the truth, we did not doubt before—that Foster won his victory, not at all against Stalin but on the contrary, with the help of some conversation with Stalin behind the scenes. "Where does this mysticism come from, and what for, dear comrades." Precisely: where from and what for? Is it so difficult to understand that Stalin has nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it so difficult to understand that Stalin is "ready at any moment to relate to the comrades all and everything from the beginning to the end"—all, decidedly all?

In spite of our bewilderment, we can not resist the temptation of a hypothesis: Isn't this a... just a first step towards

overthrowing Foster? It seems impossible otherwise to understand the necessity of slandering a recently appointed leader, mixing him with mud. Nor is the situation simplified by the following words in Stalin's speech:

"Where is the solution?" he asks himself, and answers: "Comrade Foster suggested one plausible solution. According to his proposition it is necessary to transfer the leadership to the minority (i. e., the Foster group). Can this solution be accepted? No, it can not be accepted. The delegation of the E.C. C.I. made a mistake when it sharply dissociated itself with the majority group (the Lovestone group) and did not at the same time dissociate itself with the minority groups. The proposition of comrade Foster with all its consequences falls of its own weight." (Page 12.)

It seems that in May 1929, Stalin flatly refused Foster the right to inherit Lovestone's place. Was it quite flat, though, his refusal? At that time it was understood that Foster had still to show proofs of his "loyalty".

Foster Proves His Loyalty

Stalin was accusing Foster, as if incidentally, of having been ready, in the interests of factional struggle with Lovestone, to use the "hidden Trotskyists". That was, in May 1929, the chief accusation. The task of Stalin's sermon, then, was not to discredit but to intimidate Foster. And it was wholly successful. Foster produced in abundance all the demanded proofs of loyalty. In his struggle against the Left Opposition he outdid himself. And in consequence, after a private conversation with Stalin in Moscow, Foster receives into his own hands the American "apparatus" and... from being a minority became a majority. During this operation while Foster was successfully "covering with mud" Communist morals, Stalin kept silent. But now, when Foster has completely received into his hands the destinies of official Communism in the United States, Stalin publishes his previous sermon with a mysterious note: "Published for the first time".

The matter is complicated still more by the following quite unexpected attack: "Foster and Bittelman"—the orator here becomes indignant—"do not see anything improper in declaring themselves 'Stalinists' in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the Russian Communist Party. But this is really indecent, dear comrades. Do you not know that there are not (!), and there must not be (!) any 'Stalinists'? Why should such indecencies be permitted from a minority?" (page 9)

It appears that to declare oneself a Stalinist is really indecent. Who would have thought so? In the same number of the *Bolshevik*, another "crystal", smaller in size, but no less transparent—Kuusinen—proves in 20 closely set pages that to be a Stalinist is the first, and as a matter of fact, the only duty of every official seriously interested in his own fate. The article of the incomparable hero of the Finnish revolution of 1918, is even entitled: "Stalin and the Bolshevisation of the Party".

Kuusinen Mumbles «Amen»

With his usual brilliancy, the author proves that all its successes in China, England and other countries, the Communist International owes to Stalin—all its defeats to someone else. On his part, Stalin praises Kuusinen highly in his speech. But we have to believe that all this is just a mere accident, which has nothing to do with the case. If Kuusinen in January 1930 declares himself a Stalinist to the length of 20 pages, it is his private business. But when in May 1929, Foster made similar announcements, he was trying to play on a rise of the market, and it was "really indecent, dear comrades".

Can it be that all this taken together is just a sad misunderstanding? It seems that we shall have to believe so, because—"Comrades, the Communist International is not a stock market, after all. The Communist International is the Holy of Holies of the working class. You must not confuse the Comintern with the Stock Exchange." Such are the incomparable, purely-Stalinist formulae. They are taken from

the same speech.

But nevertheless we hold to our conviction—that everything in the world has its cause, and everything in politics its purpose. Is it possible to assume that this speech is "being published for the first time" only in order to prove once more the political incorruptibility of Stalin?

What Next for Foster?

Taken by itself such an assumption is not absolutely incredible in the present "third period"—a period characterized above all by its monstrous, arch-American, shamefully-indecent advertisement of the personalities of the super-leadership. Still it is difficult to imagine that the reputations of the as yet undeposed leaders of the second rank might be dragged in the mud without any evident necessity—just casually besmirched in passing. If this is really so, it means that a new phase of the Bonapartist degeneration of the bureaucratic regime has arrived—a phase in which even the nearest associates are regarded in the same light as the "mob".

But we think that the nub of the matter is not only there. All the precedents—and there are more than few—point to the conclusion that in Stalin's faction the Foster stock is going down. Why? We do not know. We know only that it is not for reasons of principle. In that field it is doubtful whether Foster is inclined to cause any difficulties. What is the matter then? The mystery has not yet emerged from the keeping of the priests of the first two ranks. But why not ask the author of the speeches about it? He is the one who has no taste for mysteries. "Is it so difficult to understand, that (he) has nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it so difficult to understand that (he) is always ready, at any moment to tell the comrades, from beginning to end—everything, everything" ... except, perhaps, how and why he murdered Blumkin? (We intend to have an answer to that question too.)

...But Foster, it seems, ought to be getting ready for a change of life—unless, indeed, the publication of this article should save him.

* * *

P. S. Pravda on March 7th brings the news that Stalin's speeches on the American question are published in the form of a pamphlet. The first edition is 100,000 copies. We were right. The matter is much more "profound" than it could have seemed to an outsider. However, such an unexpected circulation of such insane speeches (except for cynical casuistries there is nothing in them)—does not offer any key to the mystery. 100,000! Then it was really meant for the masses. But what will the masses make out of this sudden commentary on the sudden career of Foster? Is this new edition merely designed to show Foster that the boss is not joking? Or is this apocalyptic circulation only a by-product of the efficiency of the administrators as in the case of collectivization? It certainly becomes more and more difficult to find your way among the zig-zag of the general line. —A.

⊕

POLICE HELP AUTO PLANT SUBDUED NEGRO WORKERS

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(FP)—Two hundred Negro workers, at the gates of the Murray Wood Products Co. to protest against the abusiveness of white foremen and the brutality of company detectives, were forcibly dispersed and the mill placed under guard.

Police clubbed one young Negro unconscious recently for arguing with another employee and on another occasion detectives hired by the company called for police aid because a Negro truck driver objected to being cursed by a white foreman.

Murray Wood Products Co., manufacturers of auto bodies, does not believe in wasting money on wages. Unskilled men are started in at 20-25 cents an hour, but even this apparently is not low enough to suit Murray, which has been operating in Memphis for nearly a year. A large number of colored women have been brought in to do men's work at half the pay. For a nominal 10-hour day which in practice extends to 12, 13 and even 14 hours, they get \$1.25 plus a bonus. A bonus however doesn't amount to more than \$1 or \$2 a week for women or \$3-4 for men.

THE CRISIS OF ITALIAN FASCISM (FAENZA AND) MILAN

This much is certain—the economic crisis in Italy is growing more acute every day. The phases of this worsening are not the common manifestations of the crisis of capitalism to which the influence of foreign capital or some displacement in the international constellation of the "state of industry" might bring temporary relief, artificially reviving this or that branch of production. On the contrary this intensification of the crisis assumes the form of a reckoning to which we once applied the term, "the balance sheet of the blood and misery of the Italian proletariat".

Besides this sanguinary adjustment of the balance of class forces, fascism is faced with problems that a mortal crisis impose on the capitalist regime of every country. The fascist solution of these problems is to guide industrial development along the lines commanded by the lenders of capital who have come to the support of the Italian industry in difficulties, through the action of the world exchanges, because their interests demand it, or rather because the contradictions between the rival imperialist groups force such a course on them.

Agriculture, on the other hand, which has been orientated towards the alleged possibilities of Italian independence from foreign exports, has reached the limits of its natural resources and is moving in a closed circle—a condition from which the state-subsidized financiers and big land-owners derive all the advantages, leaving the losses to be borne by the middle and impoverished strata of the "rural population".

The Economic Stages of Fascist Development

Elsewhere capitalism has been able to solve economic problems by virtue of the important factors of colonial possessions or the possibility of expanding the apparatus of production. In Italy, where these factors are lacking, capitalism can find no way out other than by the increasingly intensified exploitation of the working class. After the initial triumph of capitalism over the workers' agitation of 1922, came the second stage of the capitalist offensive preceded by the consolidation of the bourgeois power (march on Rome) which marked the capitalist success against the agitation of 1924-25. Following the second stage came a third, opened by the strengthening of the political domination of capitalism by means of the exceptional laws which violently strangled the working class in 1927.

This latest phase has now ended with the presentation of the balance sheet of fascist economic policy from 1922 to 1929. One must add that this economic policy has not even the merit of originality: it is a caricature of the economic policy inaugurated and defended by the "anti-fascists". It is Nitti who is the recognized engineer of the "anti-Fascist concentration". The only difference lies in the fact that Mussolini accompanied this policy with his system of violence and terror while the anti-fascist would have applied the less expensive and surer method of democratic deception of manoeuvring with the middle classes and backward section of the proletariat, limiting repression to the proletarian vanguard.

Nitti or Mussolini?

That it has been Mussolini and not Nitti who for seven years has represented the Italian bourgeoisie is due solely to the fact that only terrorism could ward off the revolutionary menace to capitalism. This does not prevent capitalism now, however (thanks to the results obtained by seven years of terror and the plight to which the Communist movement has been reduced by Centrism) from believing itself capable of successfully intervening in the working class movement by attempting to substitute Nitti for Mussolini, or to engineer a combination of Nitti and Mussolini.

After the first victory of capitalism, there was a second and then a third. At the very moment when Italian capitalism is obliged to present its economic balance, the classic proletarian belt has had to be tightened to its last notch. But after this balance, what is the outlook for capitalist economy? A radical change is impossible. This is implied not only in our general thesis of the mortal crisis of capitalism, but also in view of the actual and specific conditions of Italian economy which can live only by the intervention of foreign capitalism and the bloody attack on the living standards and wages of the workers.

Let one of these two conditions (the in-

tervention by repeated spurts of foreign capital) begin to fail, and where will Italian capitalism turn? The answer to this question is obvious—the re-inforced oppression of the working class, at the very time when the inevitable sharpening of antagonisms will furnish the propitious condition for a movement of organized resistance to fascism and the bourgeoisie.

The "Concentrationist" (Anti-Fascist) Aim for a Social-Democratic Government

In good time we outlived the terms of this problem—and were continually repulsed by the Centrists who have turned not their first and not their last hand-spring. We tried to show that the essential factors in the manoeuvring of fascist policy (Vatican, plebiscite, tentative overtures to the concentration) and the internal dissensions of the fascist party were to be found in the economic reasons which forecast in the near future a new offensive on the miserable wages of the Italian workers.

And the news recently made public clearly shows this capitalist offensive against which transpired the episodes of resistance in Pouilles, Sulmona, Turin, Faenza and Milan. The "Concentration" (anti-fascist) press which is anxious to prove to the bourgeoisie the futility and dangers of fascism, and the benefits and advantages of a social-democratic government, tried to point out that these incidents, which followed each other in rapid succession, were without any inner connection. But the "Concentration" deceives itself when it pretends that the substitution of an anti-fascist for a fascist governing personnel can take place as a pacific transfer of power from one hand to another. In actual fact, however, the "Concentration" for whom this perspective is bound up with its direct and indirect relations with the foreign powers, and the forces of Anglo-American imperialism, understands perfectly that the perspective which would permit its accession to power is very different.

The Proletarian Insurrection Only Can Defeat Fascism

The struggle against fascism can only be settled by a proletarian insurrection; it is therefore in the proletarian camp that it is necessary for the "Concentration" to conquer such positions so that, in the course of the insurrection, it could intervene to direct the proletarian movement from its revolutionary development and into the channel of the conservation of the capitalist regime. This explains why a considerable element of the Centrist anti-fascist ideology of the Italian Communist Party has found its way into the "Concentration" (popular revolution, constituent assembly, Labriolism of the latest cut). The fact, moreover, that many of the political views of the Left Communists have been fraudulently adopted by Centrism—for domestic requirements in the struggle against us—can only increase the confusion. Far from acting as a stimulus to the struggle, Centrism is an element of disintegration, leading the workers to doubt the correctness of a proletarian policy instead of getting them to realize that what they ought to doubt, by unmasking its artificial shifts of scenery—is Centrism itself.

The evolution of the "Concentration", owing to the necessity of deceiving the proletariat and that of Centrism from the need of fighting the Left—these are the political barriers between which the movements of resistance and rebellion against Italian fascism, are condemned to oscillate. They are the political barriers upon which the events of Pouilles, Sulmona, Turin, Faenza and Milan supervened. One thing is sure: either the workers will succeed in smashing these barriers, or their movements will follow an extremely bloody and painful course, permitting Italian capitalism to register new successes.

The two most recent movements, the character of which we must closely analyze are those of Faenza and Milan.

The Outbreaks at Faenza—a Signal of the Future

At Faenza the collisions occurred at two different times. In the first, Donati, who had reached the breaking-point of endurance, killed a few of the most notorious fascists. Thereupon the fascists immediately mobilized their forces; their objective was not, however, as on many other occasions, to wreak general devastation, but to cover the ground with corpses by means of floggings. During this fascist

mobilization, a family in the suburb of Santa-Lucia, offered up heroic resistance and some of their assailants were killed. These two incidents bear not the character of an explosion of individual hatred, but of an encounter which fits in with events, which elsewhere too, preceded and followed it. These peasants aimed to make a breach in the apparatus of brutal repression—worsening of the living conditions of the workers. By their sacrifices, they demonstrated that only violence could make this breach.

It is interesting to observe what was the reaction of the defensive mechanism of fascism, and why it did not have recourse to the usual form of reprisals. The present plan of Fascism is to "individualize" the reprisals on the peasants who resist and are already at the disposal of the Special Tribunal. It is consequently because Fascism understands that, if mobilization and carnage in any given locality may still be possible—the conditions now exist (verified by the simultaneous character of the recent anti-fascist incidents) which could transform an expedition into one or several districts into a revolutionary movement.

Faenza showed that the possibility of enduring fascist persecutions has now reached its extreme limit; that against these persecutions violent and aimed resistance is developing; and that the apparatus of repression, instead of pursuing the familiar tactic of collective reprisals, is hesitating, and from fear of the growing unrest, is "individualizing" its reprisals.

The Economic Causes of the Milan Movement

At Milan, the motives which occasioned the manifestations of Sesto and Miani-Silvestri, rise more or less directly from the economic situation.

It is a familiar fact that capitalism, before or in the course of an offensive for wage reductions, embarks on dismissals. To effect these staff reductions, in connection with the reduced possibility of the sale of commodities, the employers have decided on wholesale let-outs. The workers set themselves in motion to prevent this plan of the bosses from being put into effect with a struggle—the scope of the movement and the conduct of the dispute again proved that fascism did not resort to the system of wholesale violence and destruction out of fear of the consequences that would follow a fresh massacre. The federal secretary of the Milan Fascist Organization, speaking of the workers' movements of Miani-Silvestri, tried to prove that the workers were not guilty of the manifestations attributed to them. The old Fascist tactic would have been to mobilize the apparatus of repression against the "adversaries of the regime".

Italy is gripped in the frame-work of an economic policy which has no other possibility of development than a new offensive against the standards of the workers, the safety valve of capitalism in the sharpening economic crisis. What are the conditions which could enable the proletarian movement to uproot and crush the capitalist dictatorship?

The Proletariat Must Lead the Struggle Against Fascism

We have always protested against the pretended analogy between the fascist and Tsarist dictatorship. In Italy you have a dictatorship of capitalism; in Russia you had a government of the class which preceded the bourgeoisie in its historic role and which one cannot confound with the bourgeoisie at all. For this reason, in Russia the break-down of the Tsarist machine could result from a workers' and peasants' movement, and also from the conflict and friction between capitalism and the feudal classes. In Italy on the other hand, the overthrow of the fascist apparatus can only be brought about by proletarian movements. If these movements do not develop, if they are not gathered together and coordinated, the enemy apparatus will maintain its repressive force. This very aspect of fascism as a representative of the interests of capitalism, and the specific conditions and social relations in Italy, where the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, bring into relief the regime in Poland or the Baltic countries, differences between the Italian regime and

In view of the weakness of its political position, Centrism would like to maintain its prestige by procuring the following species of "revolutionary theorem" to the masses: "the more perfect the operation of the repressive apparatus of capitalism,

the more is the political path we choose correct." This curious childishness, applied to the Italian situation, would mean that the road of the revolution is one that proceeds not through the weakening of fascism, but through its consolidation until the happy day when capitalism can appeal to all its imposing fascist and social-democratic forces, and set in motion all the forces at its disposal in the present situation of balance of class forces. On that day the machine-guns of the proletarian vanguard will be recognized by the enemy as in the right.

For Marxists, however, the road of the revolution runs through the consolidated blocs of all the leading forces of capital, fascist and social-democratic; to the point where their control disintegrates and the proletariat can advance and conquer.

Policy of Centrism Has Been Ruinous

Practically speaking, the crumbling of the enemy forces depends on two essential factors: the economic situation and the activity of the proletariat through the channel of its Party. In the present Italian situation, the element of "economic crisis" exists—what is lacking is the activity and capacity of the proletariat. In place of a real capacity for struggle by the Party, we have in reality the political obstacles which have been mentioned—the action of the social-democracy and the ruinous effects of Centrism on Communist policy.

As regards the social-democracy, the experience of the Italian proletariat these last ten years speaks for itself.

As for the Centrists, in their analysis of the Sulmona and Faenza events, they put themselves to needless trouble when they try to infer from a distribution of leaflets etc. the existence of an organization able to lead the movement.

In the present situation, where organization is illegal, the elements permitting of the establishment of an organized force or of a force capable of creating an organization, when the situation will permit, are those who show the capacity of a Party to politically envisage events, and assuring the confidence of the mass in the Party, a confidence capable of assuring leadership and development to the movements that arise.

Influence of Stalinized Communist Party at Minimum

Faenza, Sulmona and Milan show clearly that the influence of the Party as an organizing factor in the masses has been reduced to its minimum. If individual militants in the Party fight very actively in the movement, that is not enough to replace the enormous loss of prestige of the Party as an organization. This loss flows from the international mistakes of the movement, and particularly from the fact that those who ought to be leading the revolution in Italy are at the same time helping to exercise their repression on the revolutionary vanguard in Russia.

There are numerous indications that many elements of the Party are opposed to the disastrous tactic of Centrism and are evolving in the direction of our group. The Centrist bureaucrats are greatly mistaken if they believe that plenty of money and plenty of lies can perpetuate their leadership. The latter arises not from our "will" but because there are revolutionary reasons and requirements, as recent events prove.

The fact that Sulmona and Faenza preceded Milan, the fact that the manifestations of violence were of a much clearer character in the former than in Milan, raises the question of the relative influence of workers and peasants in the development of the situation.

The Policy of the Left Unites the Masses for Struggle

The well-known thesis of the Left is that the sole path to liberation lies in the unification of the workers' and peasants' movements under the leadership of the proletariat. This central position is again brought into full relief by the assassination of Gorton. But the fact that it is the peasants' movements which have been the most violent by comparison with the feeble movements in Turin and Milan, shows in itself the seriousness of the situation.

The development of the revolution in Russia also taught us a lesson on this head. If the beginnings of the revolution were embraced in the workers' movements of 1905 and the magistral policy of the Bol-

(Continued on Page 7)

A New Science of the International Communist Opposition.

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Opposition, called by Vladimir the field of his, can never in a Marxist sense be a substitute for the principle. The political line is long considering between the Russian Opposition and the German Opposition. It is a matter of course that the abrupt turn in the course of history is futile. The Russian Opposition in Europe is passing through a process of differentiation which leads to a stronger selection and higher level on the basis of organic unity. The theoretical and tactical confusion revealed in certain groups by the Sino-Russian conflict was a necessary warning. The world situation (Young Plan, London Conference, Locarno Plan, Indian ferment, World-unemployment etc.) may at any time subject the Opposition to a crucial test. The "Third Period" stundities of the official Comintern make it all the more incumbent on the Communist to give Bolshevik leadership.

The compass by which the revolutionary vanguard steers through the waters of events, striking the necessary balance between enthusiasm and objectivity—is the analysis of class relations in dynamic development. This is the method of Marxism, and for decisive reasons—the rich experiences of three revolutions, ceaseless preoccupation with theoretical fundamentals, pre-eminence of its leadership—it finds its finest living expression today in the Russian Opposition. Because as against the Thermidorian Right and bureaucratic Centrist factions, its basic line is still that of the Party under Lenin—the Russian Opposition is the Left. The Russian Opposition is the contemporary embodiment of Bolshevism hardened for decades in the struggle against opportunism as the main danger inside the labor movement, but also against "otsovism" against every form of ultra-Left adventurism. The Russian Opposition represents the spiritual heritage of October and the first four congresses of the Third International. The three issues which L.D. Trotsky proposed as the touchstone of adherence to the Left—Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese Revolution and Soviet Economy (national socialism)—are no more "merely" tactical differences than the divisions of Bolshevism and Menshevism over the character of the 1905 revolution. They go to the root of the Communist program. They involve questions of the estimate of the epoch, the character of the Russian revolution, the role of the vanguard, the significance of the soviets, the national and agrarian problems.

It is clear that between the Marxist Left that is the Russian Opposition and the "Left" groupings in the Comintern before 1924, there is a yawning gulf. Conjointly with Lenin, in the period of the Second Congress, Trotsky demolished the sectarian abstractions of Gorter and Pankovsk, the theoreticians of the German Communist Labor Party (K. A. P. D.). Conjointly with Lenin, Trotsky at the Third Congress no less vigorously engaged the ultra-Left adventurism (the "Offensive Theory") of the eminent "Leninists" Bela Kun, Maslow and Thalheimer. The severe correction proved such a shock to Thalheimer that he lost his balance and ultimately staggered into the camp of the extreme Right, while Maslow declared a permanent vendetta against the Third Congress as the work of the Mephisto Trotsky who had seduced the innocent Maslowite Lenin.

These reminiscences of the Second and particularly the Third Congresses, unfortunately possess more than purely historical interest. They have a direct bearing on the subsequent fate of the Leninbund. For years a whispering and press campaign was carried on among the Left-inclined workers of Hamburg, Berlin, the Ruhr and elsewhere to depict Trotsky as the Right Danger and Zinoviev and Bucharin as the patron-saints of the Left! This gross disorientation of the German Left, the obstinate Opposition to the Third Congress, the failure correctly to distinguish the tendencies in the Russian Party, were bound up with the ideological perversions of Maslow. The blunders of the Leninbund, the Urbahns theory of the so-called "hybrid" state, its fallacious analysis of the Thermidor, its bankruptcy in the Russo-Chinese issue, its oscillation between Brandier and

Korch, all show that the ghost of Maslow has not yet been laid and the evil of Zinoviev lives after him.

Maslow's method of approach to the problems of the Russian and international revolution was essentially eclectic. It was the method of the editorial writer who upon being asked to compose an article on Chinese Metaphysics read up the Encyclopedia Britannica under China and Metaphysics and combined his information. Maslow learned that Lenin's slogan in the revolution of 1905 was the democratic dictatorship (bourgeois democracy) and that there were two revolutions in 1917. He therefore instructed his associates that if the world revolution did not come to the assistance of Russia, the Bolsheviks would have "to retreat to the positions of 1905", that is, the bourgeois revolution. This fundamentally Menshevik theory is the prop of Urbahn's conception of "Thermidor". If Kamenev and Zinoviev would have had their way in 1917, the Bolsheviks would never, of course, have advanced beyond "the positions of 1905"—and there would have been an end to the revolution. The proletarian revolution is not followed by the bourgeois revolution, the proletarian dictatorship can be liquidated only by a Bonapartist or Fascist dictatorship. To conceive of a Thermidor as the threshold of bourgeois democracy in Russia in the epoch of imperialism, and civil war the epoch of the essential decay of bourgeois democracy is a grotesque misreading of history... In conversation with the writer comrade Urbahn's once confessed that he had learned "a great deal" from Maslow. In retrospect, it would have been better if he had learned less and forgotten more.

III

The concrete issue of the Defense of the Soviet Union brought with it more than just a settlement of accounts with the Leninbund leadership. It urgently raised the problem of the unification of the whole International Opposition, which was far from homogeneous in its origins, its traditions and ideology. Here the mature leadership of the Russian Opposition proved indispensable, and it exerted the pressure of its natural prestige in favor of ideological clarity and against a bloc of motley opposition tendencies. Already on his arrival in Constantinople, Trotsky uncompromisingly put an end to all speculations on an unprincipled bloc with the Brandier Right. In equally decisive fashion, he rejected the contraband of "neo-syndicalism" of the Revolution Proletarian (Monatte-Loriot) group. Concurrently, he sharply dissociated the Russian Opposition from fraternity with those for whom the Opposition entailed no obligations of mundane political activity, for whom Opposition had become stagnation, routine and a refuge from Party discipline.

But of supreme importance in the ideological fusion of the International Left is the question of the Permanent Revolution, which comrade Trotsky has placed on the order of the day for discussion. The Opposition must be absolutely clear on the significance of this question. Those who reject the epigone-manufactured legend of "Trotskyism" must realize that the Permanent Revolution is the concentrated anti-thesis of the revisionist program of national socialism, the bloc of four classes, the theory of stages (colonial revolution), Workers and Peasants Parties, the peaceful cohabitation of socialism and capitalism the kulak growth into socialism (Bucharin). Why is it necessary to bring the Permanent Revolution up now, laments Radek, justifying his capitulation. During the period of the first four Congresses of the International it was not necessary to discuss the theory of the Permanent Revolution because its substance was the strategy of the International. It is the revision of Leninism by the epigones that brings the Permanent Revolution into relief as the essence of Bolshevism. It is the attempt of the epigones who before Lenin's April Theses had not advanced beyond the position of the bourgeois revolution, and who would now inflict the international working class with their reactionary theory—that has raised the question. It is the experiences of the Chinese Revolution that have raised the question.

The recently published theses on the Permanent Revolution are the re-affirmation in the present period of the April Theses of Lenin in all their implications. They link up the national with the international, the democratic with the socialist, the agrarian with the proletarian revolutions. They re-affirm that the emancipation of the peasantry can only come from the leadership of the proletariat. They repudiate the idea of two-class parties and maintain the necessity of the independent leadership of the Communist Party.

The misrepresentations and distortions of the theory of the Permanent Revolution—which is Marxist to the bone—was made possible by the domination of the Party and Comintern apparatus by the Right-Center Bloc under the pressure of alien class elements, the growing influence of the Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat.

IV

The American Opposition sees in the establishment of an International Bureau of the Opposition, an International Bulletin and Conference—a tremendously significant step forward in the struggle for the revolutionary line and the winning of the Comintern from the opportunist-Blanquist zig-zag of the internationally organized Stalin faction.

The American Opposition was formed under conditions that permitted no illusions of swift victory—or capitulation. It was organized after the Sixth Congress, that is, after the rupture of the bloc with Zinoviev and the capitulation of the Zinovievists. Our group in America attracted militants who realized the consequences of

the step they were taking—who saw the main stream of the Russian Opposition in the Moscow Opposition of 1924. We are a "Trotsky" Opposition, if we may say so without misunderstanding. We repudiate all admixtures of Zinovievism and Maslowism, the theories of Souvarine and those of the Smirnov-Sapronovs. In our Platform we justly recognize L.D. Trotsky as the foremost living teacher and leader of Bolshevism, the foremost representative of the legacy of Marx and Lenin.

With the Russian Opposition we are in complete accord that the Rakovsky declaration was no gesture of capitulation but a necessary demonstration of the united front with the Party. In the same sense do we regard the declaration of October 16, 1926 of the Party loyalty of the Opposition—to which Urbahn's takes so much exception.

The situation in the American Communist movement has been immensely clarified since the Sixth Congress, and the greatest contribution in this direction has been made by the militants who formed the Left Opposition. None of the former Party groupings are any longer what they once were. Never was the Lovestone group such an undisguised and outspoken Right wing. Never was the unprincipled swamp-like character of the Foster faction more apparent. Never was there the clear and outspoken conscious Left wing that the American Opposition constitutes today. The limits of the old unprincipled factionalism and intrigue had their rise in the Zinoviev-Bucharin and Stalin regimes. The American Opposition has in the short space of its existence achieved a great revolutionary educational work for the movement that will sooner or later bear its fruit. For this the American Opposition recognizes its historic debt to the Russian Opposition.

MEXICAN WHITE TERROR CONTINUES

Taking advantage of the organizational weakness and demoralization in the ranks of the Mexican Communist movement, the government of the native bourgeoisie at Wall Street's service continues its series of repressions against the Communist and the labor movement in general through a series of arrests of the leaders on trumped up charges and the regular smashing of labor organizations.

On February 5 the new president-elect, Pascual Ortiz Rubio was officially inaugurated to office. Even the elements that supported him realized that the election would not have been won on legal grounds over the two opposing candidates, Jose Vasconcelos on the one hand and Pedro Rodriguez Trilana, candidate of the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" on the other. Terrorism was used to keep the enemies of Ortiz Rubio from the polls and then he was proclaimed elected by over two million votes as against a few tens of thousands for each of the opposing candidates. As an expression of the popular sentiment against this fake election Daniel Flores, a youth of liberal-patriotic tendencies, attempted to assassinate the new president on the very day of his inauguration, inflicting several serious wounds. But wild hogs and Mexican presidents oftentimes have tough hides and the incident was utilized by the governmental forces as an excuse for a whole series of repressions against the leading elements in opposition to the existing regime. Numerous Communists, syndicalists, anarchists and "Vasconcelistas," supporters of the candidate Vasconcelos (who was supported simultaneously by large elements of the workers and peasants in spite of being sympathetic towards the Catholics). Flores was tortured as were several of the other detained elements, including several Communists, to secure a declaration that the whole thing was a Communist plot. During a demonstration of the Left wing forces in Mexico City where by a great effort the C.P. could mobilize 400 workers on March 20, still more comrades were imprisoned including several leading members of the Left Communist Opposition.

Communist Oppositionists Deported

According to latest reports it appears that due to the government's inability to bring concrete charges or the holding of a trial

most of the comrades detained in the capital and also the five who had been sent to the penal colony in the "Islas Marias" have been freed again, with the exception of two foreigners, Esteban Pavletich, a Peruvian attached to the general staff of the Nicaraguan leader, C.A. Sandino, and Russel Blackwell (Rosalio Negrete) of the Left Communist Opposition, both of whom were deported from the country.

There appeared recently in the press of this country notices to the effect that the Mexican authorities had nipped in the bud a "Communist revolution" in the State of Veracruz. Although we have no definite information as yet it seems that once more the same method is being used to give an excuse to the government for continued repressions against the revolutionary movement. We do not believe that the adventurous course of the Stalinist leadership in the Mexican party can be so bad as to attempt an insurrectionary movement at this time.

The candidate of the Workers and Peasants Bloc that took part in the last presidential election in Mexico under direction of the Mexican Communist Party, in the midst of the repressions against the movement, made a public declaration congratulating Ortiz Rubio for having won at the polls (!) and pledging the elements of the Workers and Peasants Bloc to support the present regime.

Φ

MOONEY INCENSED BY LIBERTY MYSTERY YARN

SAN QUENTIN, Cal. — (FP) — Tom Mooney is incensed by falsified accounts of the San Francisco preparedness day explosion contained in a "mystery" series in Liberty, reactionary weekly. He declares the article was prepared from prosecution records and that no attempt was made to interview defense counsel or himself.

"To them," Mooney remarked, "it means money, a bit of public sensationalism, and perhaps a few extra magazine sales. To me it means vindication, freedom. Why didn't they bother to get their facts accurate and fair?" Liberty has offered \$1,000 for the best solution to the Mooney-Billings "mystery", which is no mystery to those familiar with the frameup.

THE EVENTS IN INDIA

The Naval "Pact"

In recent weeks the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry against the intense exploitation of British imperialism and their home bourgeoisie, and for independence has been intensified. In Calcutta 19 were killed and over 100 injured in a demonstration against the domination of British capitalism. One killed and over thirty-three injured in Karachi. Similar conditions are to be observed everywhere. Trolley cars turned over and burned, telegraph wires cut, means of communication destroyed, are evidence of the temper of the masses. The British government is using every conceivable form of repression against the Indian proletariat. Armored cars, police armed with guns, lances, and sticks, militia, and civil troops are mobilized to thwart the struggle.

Thus far the movement is under the leadership of the Swaraj Party, the organization of the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. Under the head of Gandhi with a policy of non-resistance, the movement is being misled into channels that will spell its death. When the Indian Nationalist Party, through the initiative of Gandhi, adopted at their congress in January, the resolution calling for "complete Indian independence" it only expressed the pressure of the masses. Gandhi's "march to the sea," with the intentions of boycotting the salt laws, and in this manner struggle for independence, carried with it elements that destroyed the original purpose. It must be remembered that the policy of Gandhi and the Party is that the independence of India can only be gained through a boycotting of the products of Great Britain and a "struggle" for independence with a policy of non-resistance (non-violence) to the British government. "Non-resistance" to the severe exploitation that the Indian masses undergo, to the shooting of striking and demonstrating workers, can only result in the betrayal of the revolutionary movement in India.

The Masses Struggle Despite Gandhi

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhi's mobilization of the masses, on the basis of non-resistance has already taken the form of militant struggle and RESISTANCE to the masses to the brutal regime of the British "Socialist" government. The demonstrating workers have taken the only possible course in the struggle against the domination of the British government—open struggle and resistance. It has as always overstepped the limits which the policy of Gandhi places on the movement for independence.

India is the foundation rock of the British Empire. The British investment in India today is over four billion dollars. Over fourteen percent of the British exports are sent to India. It is easy to understand, then, why the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry for independence will meet the stubborn resistance of the British government. That stubborn resistance is already exhibited in the present reprisals. One can easily see how much fiercer will be the resistance of the British government when the movement for independence outstrips its present stage and reaches the point of an open conquest for power.

The British Labor Government Defends the Empire

The role of the "socialist" government of Great Britain is highly illuminating. The policy of Baldwin and the Conservative Party and MacDonald and the Labor Party alike is the use of violence against the Indian masses. Both defend the interests of British capitalism with enthusiasm. This is understandable, when we recall that one of the planks of the MacDonald administration is to save the tottering Empire. One cannot say that efforts of MacDonald and his "socialist" government in this direction have been lacking. The role of the Labor government in India is only an additional commentary to the fact that the only solution for the proletariat is the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One of the sad features in the present situation in India is the almost total lack of a Communist Party. The policy of the Communist International in India calls for the organization of almost every kind of Party except that of a bona fide Communist

Party. The Stalin leadership continues to carry over the same policy that was responsible for the glaring defeat suffered in China. The organization of a Workers and Peasants Party remains on the agenda of the Comintern in India. This flows from its false orientation that the revolution in India must be accomplished through and together with the national bourgeoisie. It led to the subordination of the Communist Party and its eventual collapse in China. It can have no other result in India. Neither the big bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie can lead a successful revolution for the overthrow of British imperialism. Neither can this be done by the most revolutionary trade unions. For that, the leadership of a Communist Party, which centralizes the political action of the masses, which gives it direction in the struggle, and prepares the revolution, is necessary. Without a genuine Communist Party capable of carrying out such tasks, one cannot hope for a successful struggle of the revolutionary masses in India. —A.G.

The Persecutions of the Indonesian Revolutionaries

Hundreds of comrades in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) have been deported in recent years to the island New Guinea for their participation in the revolutionary movement of their native country.

Immediately after the revolts of November, 1926 and January, 1927 (in West Java and West Sumatra), the colonial government took revenge by the arrest of several hundred of comrades all over the Archipelago. The greatest part of them were not involved in the revolts. They were leaders of Indonesian labor unions, local leaders in the political movement. All of them have been isolated in a special camp—three hundred kilometers inland on the borders of the river Digoel at Tanah-Merah.

After some time the government split the camp and established a new one for the comrades whose mentality was "irreconcilable." At least 1500 Indonesians have been brought to Tanah-Merah, of whom some hundreds are inside the new camp at Tanah-Tinggi.

They have to stay there indefinitely; the power of the governor-general could deport them without any sentence (leure de cachet!)

In the most important daily paper of Holland, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant of March 7, a telegram from Batavia was published. From this telegram we know that since August 1929 many efforts have been undertaken by the deported comrades to escape from the camp. In the so-called People's Council at Batavia, the representative of the governor-general declared (March 6th) that 61 comrades disappeared. Until now, all of them except 8 have been brought back, though 41 passed the boundary and may have thought that their march of more than 600 kilometres with terrible difficulties and dangers had the result that they had regained their liberty.

Demand the Right of Asylum

The authorities of Papua territory annihilated finally their hope. They were thrown in jail because...they had acted against the regulation for immigration! The court sentenced them for this reason and decided their deportation. In this way the Dutch authorities got the chance to send a steamer to Thursday Island. We learn from the "Statesman's Year Book of 1929" that the governor of that territory, who is the responsible man, has to obey the orders of the governor-general in Australasia. Obviously, the power of the colonial department, in London counts with these colonial officials. Will the Labor Government of England, of Ramsay MacDonald respect the right of Asylum regarding coloured revolutionaries? It recently abandoned and refused this Right of Asylum for politicals in the case of comrade L. D. Trotsky who applied for admission to England.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of all workers to declare their solidarity with the Indonesian comrades. Every effort should be made to prevent the return of these coloured fighters into the hands of the Dutch government which viciously treats the political prisoners.

The final text for the Three-Power Naval agreement is being prepared for its signing. The farce in London lends additional knowledge to the fakery of the imperialists in their pretensions of disarmament. The conference could not overcome the contradictions of the powers present and resulted in a sham treaty of three nations. Even the capitalist press is forced to recognize this. E. L. James in the New York Times of April 18, cites as the shortcomings of the conference, the following:

"One, failure to achieve any radical reduction in the war fleets of the world; for limitation of the navies of America, England and Japan involves no great cuts and leaves the world facing additional construction by the other powers.

"Two, failure to limit the fleets of the five nations as proposed when the conference began.

"Three, failure to make three-power limitation absolutely definite, since the contingent clause will permit greater building by England, and consequently by America and Japan, should the French and Italian building increase.

"Four, failure to agree on the eventual abolition of battleships, as desired by the English.

"Five, failure to abolish submarines, as suggested by America and Britain."

The "Safeguard Clause"—Build Larger Navies

The "safe-guard clause" in the treaty which will permit additional naval construction tears the veil from the agreement. The "socialist" Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, denies very sharply that the clause had in mind the construction of armaments by other powers thereby giving permission to further construction by those countries making up the treaty. The Americans are more blunt.

Senator David Reed, one of the leading delegates of the United States declared: "It is perfectly reasonable that we should be protected against a sudden outburst of building by some other power. . . Yes, without consultation. . . Great Britain would simply notify us and begin to build. . . Then the United States and Japan would get in touch—through diplomatic channels and not by a conference. . . Each of us would be free to build. . . I want to say again that this agreement has been reached in an atmosphere of perfect good will. . . Nobody was forced to give up anything."

And so, we have "disarmament"! The conference concludes with the greatest lessons for the working class. The proletariat must be on guard constantly against the menace of war. The conference met only to gauge the strength of the various capitalist powers; and to agree that their common enemy was the working class of the Soviet Union. The three-power treaty carries with it all the explosives for the conflict, and was a last minute resort to keep the conference from collapsing without even a show.

☐

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE UP 61%

NEW YORK—Soviet purchases and sales in the U. S. from October 1929 to April amounted to \$98,000,000, a gain of 61% over last year's first half figures, according to an announcement of the Amtorg Trading Corp. The purchases of American industries, agricultural and automotive equipment and supplies, totalling \$56,700,000, were nearly four times those of the corresponding half-year of 1928-29. Orders for industrial and transportation equipment, totalling \$24,800,000, increased 2 1-2 times, while purchases of agricultural equipment, valued at \$24,700,00 increased more than six times.

☐

PHILA. SHOE WORKERS AWAIT MILITANT UNION LEAD

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Shoe workers in the Quaker City are awaiting leadership to unionize their industry. The example of the Laird-Schobler strike last year has proved that cobblers can fight and stick.

Never have conditions been worse than now. Cutters are earning \$18 to \$25 a week, where formerly they got \$40 to \$50; fitters get \$15 to \$25 against a previous scale of \$70-80.

Formerly wages averaged, year around, about \$32 a week for shoe workers but now they feel fortunate to knock out an annual wage equivalent to \$20 a week.

WAGE CUTS THREATEN DENVER LABOR

DENVER —(FP)—While the state industrial commission is blocking wage increases on the basis of the request of Pres. Hoover, wage cuts and layoffs continue without interruption.

Union bakery workers have just been served notice that their scale of \$32 a week is to be cut to \$26 a week on May 1. During a previous strike the union conducted a cooperative bakery and whipped the bosses in a strenuous fight.

Railroad shops are laying off men steadily; the tramway has just consolidated lines in such a way as to cut down its force; Montgomery Ward has fired 140 within 6 weeks; the building trades are hard hit.

☐

MINNEAPOLIS—(FP)—Over loud and boisterous protests of the American Legion and several civic organizations, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union has obtained the city auditorium for a protest meeting on unemployment April 23.

Clashes in Italian Fascism

(Continued from Page 4)

The Bolshevik Party during the war, the first mass movements which accompanied the face of Tsarism emanated essentially from the peasants in the army and countryside. We know that the spontaneous tendency of these movements, from the political point of view, resulted in the "defensism" of Kamenev and Zinoviev, whose position was beaten down by Lenin in April, 1917, and that the proletariat was able to intervene in the course of events, to rise and conquer in the name also of the interests of the peasants.

The agrarian zone of capitalist economy is that destined to feel the first reaction of the economic crisis by virtue of its secondary position in the economic fabric. On the other hand the tentacles of the capitalist defensive apparatus on the countryside are lighter and more tenuous than in the industrial cities. Police forces are very inferior and at the same time the fascist ranks are depleted by the development of the economic situation and can no longer serve as "shock troops" of the reaction. In the cities the shock troops are recruited by the police forces and not by the fascist organization. Today Mussolini authorized the "free withdrawal" from these organizations. He remembers that in the Matteotti case, many of the forces of Fascism deserted in the face of danger.

The inferior quality of the capitalist defence in the country provides a quicker chance of explosion than the city. But if in the country, revolt is easier than in the city, resistance there is incomparably more difficult. A local movement in the country is fated to be rapidly strangled by the mobilization of another locality. In the city the local movement has far greater chances of resistance.

Unite Faenza and Milan under Communist Leadership for the Proletarian Revolution

For real results in Italy it is necessary to coordinate the movements in both town and country.

The fact that the event in Milan was separated from Faenza by only a few days, justifies us in establishing that a change is effecting itself in the fighting capacity of the Italian workers. But to organize its resistance, a force capable of leading to battle is required. At the moment when the new offensive of capitalism on the workers is opening, in a situation which compared with that of the Matteotti period, is far more favorable to revolutionary developments, we must examine recent experiences objectively and without illusions. They teach us that, bounded by the limits of social-democracy and Centrism, the anti-fascist movements in Italy are fated to result in a new success for capitalism.

These experiences confirm for us that only with a Communist program, and thanks only to Communists (and not to the Right or Centrism which have been definitely compromised in the Italian and international movement) can the liberation of the Italian proletariat be realized.

To unite Faenza and Milan, the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry, to give these movements the possibility of developing, can only be the work of the Communist program applied by Communists in their own Party.

—From **PROLETARIO**

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE NOOSE ON THE "NEW LINE"

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

Dear Comrades:

That the sounding of a personal opinion within earshot of the caricature Communist Party of the U. S. A. has become, to the American agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a bugle call for loosing the terror upon the dissident voice, is surely no longer news. Nor does the unanswerable charge, levelled against the "third period" Bolsheviks, Foster, Minor, Browder and Co., of having delivered the death-blow to the International Labor Defense as a broad, non-partisan workers' organization any longer retain the ring of novelty.

But that personal initiative in the class struggle, no less than personal opinion, now opens the most "loyal" of Party members to persecution, and that the services of the I. L. D., such as they are, are refused to the worker who has displeased the Centrist drill-master, is not yet very widely known.

A sympathetic and morally exhilarating incident showing to what lengths that two-lung power revolutionist, Engdahl has "Bolshevized" his Party bureau has just been brought to our attention by the victim himself, a Philadelphia comrade. It is superfluous to state that neither the *Daily Worker* nor the *Labor Defender* has ever been moved to "Bolshevik self-criticism" of the crime perpetrated against him; nor have the responsible machine-people been taken to heel.

An Active Party Rank and Filer

Thomas Dunn, the young worker involved, was admitted to the Party two years ago and from the first was marked out as a loyal, courageous, active comrade, heart and soul in the movement. Shortly after being assigned to a unit, he took part in a Washington, D. C. demonstration, was arrested with 25 other Communists and served a 30 day sentence in a Virginian dungeon. He had been back in Philadelphia less than a week when the demonstration of solidarity with the Colombia banana strikers was staged before the United Fruit Co. pier in that city; and numbered among those who refused to break ranks despite police "persuasion", he was again hauled in and slapped with a 30 day sentence to Moyamensing, the notorious Mellon-Vare shambles.

Between vacations in the capitalist jails, comrade Dunn gave virtually all of his time to rank and file Party work, serving on half a dozen committees, distributing leaflets, assisting at open-air meetings, doing clerical jobs in the district office when unemployed, etc. Finally, he was elected secretary-organizer of his unit, located in the proletarian Kensington area.

A Strike Is Called

At this time he got a job as a food-handler in a certain warehouse and almost immediately he set about organizing a strike of the ruthlessly exploited clerks and truckmen, who had long been nursing their grievances and lacked only leadership to plunge into struggle. When the walk-out was called, Dunn found that a fink had prepared the boss for a counter-action—the "ringleaders", with himself at their head were summarily fired, notwithstanding which, a picket line was formed outside the warehouse. Running into the same fink later in the day, the young strike leader demanded an accounting. He was attacked at first with curses and, since these proved ineffective, with fists. The stoolpigeon's blows were returned in kind and with interest, whereupon the boss, probably prompting the attack from ambush, sent in a hurry call for the bulls.

Dunn was clapped into jail. Charges of conspiracy, assault and battery, inciting to riot and divers assorted crimes were lodged against him. All this occurred in April, the case coming to trial on the first of November, when the International Labor Defense covered itself with "glory" by refusing to lift a hand in the young militant's defense. So Dunn, with a state lawyer "defending" him was railroaded to Moyamensing for a six months stretch.

The Failure of the I. L. D. to Aid the Arrested Striker

What was the principal reason for this indubitably class-conscious, this laudably Leninist, this utterly revolutionary act on the part of the now thoroughly Stalinized I. L. D.? Was the comrade in question tainted with the concepts of the Left Bol-

shevik Opposition? On the contrary, he was a loyalist of the loyalists, against whom not a breath of suspicion had been directed. Even allowing for this insane "Third Period" ideology, under which no class-war prisoner with political beliefs running afoul of the Stalinist corkscrew "line" can expect aught but contumely from the bureaucrats; even supposing that Engdahl and his fellow jumping-jacks fight the capitalist courts only on behalf of yes-yapping Party automatons, the International Labor Defense was in duty bound to put up a struggle for comrade Dunn. It failed ignominiously.

Let it go on record that the Trotsky-eating Herbert Benjamin, then Philadelphia district organizer, and his wife, Jennie Cooper, as district head of the I. L. D., formulated the truly new Bolshevik tactic which helped to railroad a Party member in good standing to prison. The contribution of this precious pair to Stalinist "strategy", though not up to Stalin's own achievements along this line, exemplified in the cold-blooded murder of Blumkin, yet deserves signal mention.

The strike broke out so suddenly that Dunn had no time to inform Benjamin or Murdock, the T. U. U. L. organizer, even if they could have been located at the district office. Before he knew what had happened, the strike leader was in prison. He was bailed out, but not by the I. L. D. When the time for trial arrived, Cooper made it clear, that so far as the Party and I. L. D. were concerned, he could go up the river for life—because he had called the strike without orders from the Communist Party or the T. U. U. L. Consider the political implications of such a stand by these comrades.

His family got the comrade out on parole after he had spent nearly three months behind the bars. Later he brought charges against Cooper, but nothing resulted from them except a genteel vote of censure, which was hushed up at the source by the hand-picked "control-commission". The commission also "ruled" that the money expended by Dunn's fatherless family on the lawyer who obtained his release was to be replaced by the I. L. D. This little reparation has still to be made.

Isolationism is being carried out to its logical, albeit grotesque, conclusion. The American Party bureaucracy more and more isolates itself from what small measure of sanity it retains in the "third period."

—J. ARCHIPENKO

Φ

COMMUNISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO

— III.

Dear Comrades:

One of the most important problems facing the Communist movement in America today is the Negro problem.

The dark-skinned proletarian is destined to play, along with his white comrades, an important part in the world proletarian revolution. The Negro is one of the most brutally exploited of the American proletariat. Along with this goes Jim-Crowism, peonage, concubinage of Negro women and lynching.

The task of the Leninist Opposition in dealing with the Negro problem must be a determined assault upon these evils in particular and the social caste system in general. The Negro masses must be taught that the only way to social, economic and political equality is through the gateway of proletarian revolution, the key to which is scientific communism, as embodied in the Leninist International Opposition.

The Negro "leaders" will only betray the dark masses to their imperialist masters. They are doing that very thing today. Hundreds of Negro workers are awakening to that fact. The Negro workers can now see their sorry economic plight. They can see the fruits of years of "leadership" by Negro preachers, politicians and social workers.

Negro business is failing year after year. It cannot keep pace with the mergers, chain stores and industrial monopoly. It is approaching its doom. Unemployment, that creeping paralysis of capitalist society, mercilessly squeezes and saps the very existence of the Negro workers. White chauvinism is a bed-fellow of Negro unemployment.

Now that the International Left has formed a Provisional International Secretariat, I think that more attention should be given to the Negro question and the special organizational needs and problems dealt with. The Opposition must recruit as many Negro workers and radical students as possible into its ranks; wage a determined fight against white chauvinism both inside and outside the Communist movement.

The Negro's future liberty and salvation are inextricably bound up with international Communism and its inevitable victory over world capitalism.

J. M.

Φ

ON ORGANIZING THE SEAMEN

New York

Dear Comrades:

This fact has been established with all those familiar with the marine industry for years. In 1917 Andy Furuseth, speaking on the possibilities of organizing the Eastern Coast where the backbone of the industry lies, said: that even the Salvation Army, if so minded, could organize seamen. That is basically even more true today.

However, since 1917, a number of things have taken place, among which is the outstanding fact that by 1919, the International Seamen's Union claimed a membership of 115,000 out of a possible 140,000. After succeeding in this almost unprecedented manner, in knitting together this tremendous mass into a labor organization, the organization was almost completely disorganized a year later by the first test which the union was called upon to face.

Two years later, despite the defeat and disillusionment, the I. W. W. succeeded in carrying on organization work to the point where in 1923 they could count 25,000, but only soon to have their organization smashed, not by internal rottenness, as in the case of the I. S. U., but by lack of coordination and perspective. However, the sharp and significant difference between the Marine Transport Workers Union of the I. W. W. and the I. S. U. before the war was the fact that the I. W. W. for the first time brought to life a real rank and file organization. All organization work was done as a result of tremendous effort from below. It seemed as if all the latent militancy in the marine industry centered itself in Industrial Union 510 of the I. W. W.

To go into the detailed reasons for its failure would require more than the allotted space. It is sufficient to say that it was possibly the last time a real working class revolt was wrecked by the machinations of stupid bunglers in the General Office of the I. W. W. With these introductory remarks one can safely approach the convention called by the Marine Workers League.

The Narrow Line of the Marine Workers League

In the first place, to those familiar with the facts, the strong efforts to force the official Communist Party, in control of the Marine Workers League, really to permit seamen to carry through the organization of a union are, one may say, two years belated. Two years ago, the need for organization in the industry became so forcibly noticed by all members in it that elements who ordinarily would not come within smelling distance of anything remotely related to the Communist movement were drawn into the Marine Workers League or its counter-parts, whatever the names that may have been given to them in the past.

Leading elements who for years had distinguished themselves in the bitter organization battles in the I.S.U. and I.W.W., threw themselves into the organization with the question: "When do we start to organize a union?" They were told to "Wait until the the Party faction fight is over". When these new elements answered that they were not interested in Party factional fights, but interested in organizing a marine union, they found themselves attacked on all sides for being motivated by syndicalist impatience, or whatever the "third period" equivalent is termed.

However, at last the mountain has come to Mahomet or vice versa—after all the "third period" preparation—which first of all made certain that anyone who isn't simon pure in hewing to the Party line to the last degree is eliminated from any po-

sition where he may in any way have any influence. After two years of careful combing, persuading and expelling, we are told that for April 26, 1930 a convention has been called in New York City. Led by those deep-sea seamen, Mink, Sparks, the doughty Hines—there is to be launched a real revolutionary marine union under the sponsorship of and pre-arranged by the T. U. U. L. Of course, it is understood that none of the "disrupters", such as the Russells, McDonalds and many others, will be there.

Unite All Militants to Build Seamen's Union

There is serious need of a real working class approach to the problem of the marine industry. There is no basic industry that is so strategically placed in the working class scheme of struggle, especially with inevitable war developments. In the unquestioned development of the merchant marine as a naval arm, which is provided for by the Jones-White Act, an effective industrial union, having a real base among the workers in the industry, can serve as the most powerful weapon in the coming struggles of the American working class.

Adventurist speculation that may wreck the ground of appeal by militants is criminally inexcusable. Certainly, the revival of I.U. 510 of the I.W.W., though doomed to failure, is an indication that the reaction against cheap adventure has set in. The time for a real marine union is here, provided the militants who through years of struggle have established a claim to leadership, can be utilized. We must remember that in this industry that all militants have gone through the organization of the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. and to imagine that one can build a militant union without these elements is to give birth to one more of the still-born unions of the official Communist Party leadership. There is still time for the genuine Communist elements to realize that there is needed a real united front of all militants in order to organize an effective union in the marine industry.—M. R.

Φ

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 1/2 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 205 1/2 Tent St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britske's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wey St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington.; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. Cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. Cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. Cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. Cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. Cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Blederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained from our members and branches of the Communist League of America

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 18

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, May 3, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

A BIG STEP FORWARD CONFLICT SHARP IN INDIA

The International Conference of the Left Opposition

On April 6, a step of the greatest consequence for the world Communist movement was taken in Paris. In response to a call signed by the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition), the Communist League of France (La Verite), and the Communist League of America, delegates from practically all the important groups of the Left Opposition in the Communist movement gathered for their first representative international conference. They decided to issue an international bulletin, and formed a secretariat to direct the work of our fraction and the discussion of those questions which still require clarification.

The Conference Representation

Representing the French group, were comrades Rosmer and Naville; for the United Left Opposition in Germany, comrade Oskar Selpold, Communist member of the Prussian Landtag; for the Belgian Opposition, comrade Hennaut, with comrade Lesoil from the Charleroi federation; comrade Gorkin for the Spanish Opposition; Fraenkel for the Czechoslovakian Opposition (Leonovics group); Peri for the Italian Left (Bordiga group); Szilvassy for the Hungarian group; Obin for the Jewish Opposition group in France; and Shachtman from the Communist League of America. Endorsements of the conference were received from the Russian comrades, from the group in Greece, and a second Czech Opposition group, composed of students, in Prague. Financial and other pressing difficulties prevented these latter from sending delegates, as was also the case with the Chinese, Austrian, Mexican and Argentine groups. Subsequent correspondence has already shown that virtually all these groups will collaborate in the work of the International Secretariat and the Bulletin.

The same spirit that actuated the militant groups of revolutionists that gathered at Zimmerwald and Kienthal to salvage the movement from the ruins of socialist betrayal in 1914, pervaded the Paris conference. All the comrades were motivated by the ever more urgent need of firmly uniting on a world scale the Marxist core of the Communist International. The conflict between the formation of groups in every important country on the basis of the struggle for internationalism, and the lack of organized international coordination was, to a great extent, brought to an end by the conference. The first step was taken—a big step made imperative not only by the situation in the official movement which requires our united intervention, but also by the conditions prevailing in the Left Opposition itself.

The Communist Opposition is a product of the development of the Comintern, with which it is indissolubly bound up by its whole past. The weakening of the International, therefore, could not fail to involve the Opposition, at least in the first stage. Even more: insofar as the weakening of the International was caused by a series of defeats of the revolution and a strengthening of the social democracy, that process had effect most heavily the Left wing of Communism. The moods of disillusionment and decline was directed primarily against the revolutionary tendency.

The Centrist apparatus, which became stronger with the weakening of the revolutionary movement, utilized all the advantages (Continued on Page 4)

The Left Wing and the Amalgamated Convention

The national convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is scheduled to open in Toronto on May 12. Outside of one or two sympathizers with the Left wing movement there will be no Left wing group among the delegates. The Party policy in this union has revealed its own bankruptcy by the virtual elimination of the Left wing from any influence. The only semblance of a fight at the convention may be an open struggle between the Hillman and Beckerman cliques, i. e., half a dozen of one or six of the other. With all the talk of the "third period", of very, very revolutionary action of winning the masses over night and the rest of the empty phraseology of the "new line", the Party, and the official Left wing it controls, have done nothing—absolutely nothing—to prepare for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America convention! Only at the last minute, two brief weeks before the convention, the General Executive Board of the Left wing needle trades union has appointed a sub-committee to meet with a committee of the T. U. U. L. and then bring in recommendations for a policy! With the excellent situation for the Left wing created in the A. C. W. A. by the corruption prevalent and the crude class collaboration policy of the bureaucracy—coupled with genuine dissatisfaction in the ranks—the Party controlled Left wing has neither program, nor policy, nor has it made any efforts to organize a fight.

The criminal neglect of this situation—not only of the convention, but of the union as a whole which is the only organized expression of the men tailors—stamps the Party leaders properly: Phrasemongers. Their "mass work", their "winning the masses for the new line", and all the rest of their bluff, begins and ends with manifestos and proclamations in the Party press. With or without them, or in spite of them, the Left wing must take form again in the A. C. W. A. It is up to the rank and file to speak and act. The columns of the Militant are open to them. Readers will find the first of a series of articles on the situation in the A. C. W. A. on page 6 of this issue.

The Popular Militant Spirit

So serious has the situation become in India, that the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, has found it necessary to proclaim a new ordinance to censor the press which goes further than the notorious press act of 1910. Despite the rigid censorship, sufficient news has managed to leak out to indicate that there is a genuinely revolutionary temper pervading the masses of the miserably exploited Indian masses.

Conflicts Increase

Conflicts between Indians and government forces have become a daily occurrence. Scores upon scores have already been arrested, 26 in Calcutta alone in one day, after the shooting of a British soldier. The native regiments are not being counted upon by the British imperialists as they had hoped. During the Peshawar riots last week, it was later disclosed, at least two platoons—that much is officially admitted—"were found to be unsatisfactory", that is, to do murder work for Britain's financial lords.

So serious has the feeling of the masses become that the so-called Nationalist leaders, from Gandhi down, have felt compelled to "do something again" the government" in order to retain their hold upon the millions. Gandhi, under the guise of an opposition to British rule which he will give up (as he has done in the past) at the first sign of a genuinely revolutionary force appearing on the scene, is actually conducting a reactionary campaign. He is spreading the thoroughly reactionary idea that the primitive fabrication of native cloth is not only superior to the advanced manufacture of machine cloth, but is one of the ways of unloading the burden of British rule!

The great difficulty for the Indian liberation movement is that it is still dominated by such people as Gandhi, who can lead it only into a swamp of betrayal. A substantial revolution by movement, a Communist Party, does not, or as much as does not exist and the mis-leadership of Gandhi is not yet challenged. The Indian masses are showing their militant spirit, however, and Gandhi will not be forever able to direct it into theatrical, mystic, and—to Britain—harmless channels.

ATTENTION!

Just as we go to press, the committee in charge informs us that the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue, has been obtained for a mass meeting on Thursday, May 15th, to hear Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, who has just returned from Europe. Comrade Shachtman spent a number of weeks in Paris, where he attended the International Conference of the Left Opposition as delegate from the United States, and in Berlin, at the unity conference of the German Communist Opposition. In addition, he paid a lengthy visit to comrade Leon Trotsky in Turkey, and at the meeting he will bring the American militants a greeting from the great Bolshevik leader. Shachtman will speak on the situation in Russia and the prospects of the revolutionary movement in Europe and the United States, reporting also the viewpoint of the Left Opposition in general, and especially of comrade Trotsky. All workers are invited to attend this important lecture. Questions will be asked at the end. Admission will be 25 cents.

The Marine Workers Convention

By S. M. Rose

The seamen's convention held in New York from April 26 to the 27, unquestionably represented a number of highlights in the history of the movement. The first and most significant one was that for the first time in years a real, representative convention, in the sense that genuine seamen and dock workers from all the leading ports of the country, came together to organize a real union. The first day of the convention was shot through with an evident feeling and desire really to launch a marine workers' industrial union, and all the "third period" preparations seemed to have no effect. By the end of the second day it was quite evident to any understanding observer that most of the men in the convention were satisfied that a union had not been properly organized, at least beyond the formal act of naming the result a "union".

The convention was opened with the customary blessings of the Mink, Johnstone (representing the T.U.U.L.) reading a letter of political direction penned by Foster in the Tombs, and from that point the seamen started making motions as if they seriously meant to get down to business. Suggestions were made from the floor for the organization of the usual committees to facilitate the work, only to be silenced by a "broad" proposal made by the chairman, Harvey, that the national committee of the T. U. U. L. had certain definite recommendations about a general committee which was to perform all these functions. This took most of the men unawares, and without much discussion, the committee was accepted. It consisted of hand-picked, "reliable" Party members. Not a single "outsider" was on it.

The Mink Explodes

The first stir of any opposition in the convention emanated from a ship's dele-

gate, Bill Drennan, a member of the M. T. W. (I. W. W.) who raised the question of serial adoption of the constitution. This gave the great Mink an opportunity to vent all his ignorant bile against the I. W. W., Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, and all those not baptized by the proper holy water. In ignorance and vilification, there has rarely been anything like it. After the Mink got through with his illiterate explosion Jack Johnstone with a benign smile, got up and "explained" that things were not quite so bad as the Mink would have us believe; that the I.W.W., of which about half the men present had been members at one time or another, did make militant history on the waterfront. With this bit of blarney, he proceeded to exhort them to use this background as a basis for building the new union. Good; only he neglected to explain in addition why so many Wobblies or ex-Wobs who had been associated with the Marine Workers League, and dared entertain ideas or thing for himself, had been chiselled out of the organization by mechanical manipulation of Messrs. Mink, Sparks and Co.

Here it might be in place to note that one of the paradoxical occurrences was the fact that in the back of the hall sat about 15 or 20 men who, within the last ten years or so, had at one period or another played a leading role in the industry. At one time or another within the last two years, most of them had either been part of the League or very close to it. And here they sat in the back of the hall, apparently having no formal influence upon the proceedings, yet constantly being turned to by those on the floor. These men could find no place in the "third period" scheme of organization.

(Continued on Page 4)

Printers' Privileged Position Doomed

Revolutionary developments in the printing of your newspaper may within the next decade swallow up the jobs of thousands of union printers, and within a quarter century relegate a craft dating from Gutenberg's days to the pages of history books.

Two Threats to "Labor Skill"

From two sides come mechanical threats to the army of printers who operate typesetting machines. One is the teletypesetter which substitutes John Robot for the man at the linotype. Another is the photo composing machine which entirely scraps both typesetter and typesetting machine. Both processes were reviewed before the recent publishers convention in New York by Frank E. Gannett, owner of a chain of dailies and owner of the teletypesetter process.

Gannett now boasts that his robot typesetter has been at work in a small Illinois daily newspaper for six months. "At last," he said, "it is now ready for the market. A large number of machines are now going through the factory and the complete outfit will soon be available to publishers."

The machine is operated by a perforated tape produced by a machine printer for receiving telegraphed news. The machine printer itself displaced the Morse code telegraph operator. To begin with the teletypesetter will handle stock quotations and sports bulletins, but Gannett foresees the day when the complete newspaper, including wire and local news, will be teletypeset. "The teletypesetter tape," he said, "can be transmitted with greater rapidity and the composing machine acts with greater accuracy than a hand operated machine."

The only worker left when teletypesetter gets going will be the linotype machine. But even he will lose his job if Gannett is correct in saying that "I feel confident that some day photocomposing will displace metal casting machines." This device will photograph columns of type as they are set on a machine similar to a typewriter, backed by camera apparatus. The plate will then be engraved and given to the pressmen.

May Scrap Pressmen, Too

Revolutionary departures that will scrap press room workers are also foreshadowed in the prediction of Owen D. Young of General Electric that you will read your morning or evening paper through a device in the living room, operated by wireless mechanism.

The International Typographical Union facing in the 5-day week demand its stiffest battle since 1922 when it fought out the issue of the 44-hour week in job plants, must reckon on a new type of strike-breaker in the robot designed by Gannett and now in actual operation. If the pressmen and other printing trades unions will follow the union policy of working while the printers are on strike, publishers will be able to make shift temporarily while assembling scab crews.

Meanwhile the scab recruiting goes on apace, according to reports by Chairman H. W. Flagg of the "open shop" division of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. and Chairman Harvey J. Kelly of the special standing committee. Kelly speaks of "special defense preparations" undertaken by the committee, which are said to have caused many printers unions to relinquish 5-day week and other demands. In both Lawrence Mass. and Hamilton, Ont., these "defense preparations" were undertaken.

Discussing the 5-day week, Flagg says: "In all cases involved where the newspaper has prepared in advance to take care of its publication in any case, a new agreement has been reached with demand for the 5-day week eliminated."

STREET CAR MEN DEMAND 6-DAY WEEK
PITTSBURGH—This city is wondering whether it will walk or ride after May 1. 2,800 car men turned down a proposal of the Pittsburgh Railways Co. to replace the expiring wage agreement.

THE SEAMEN'S CONVENTION

Bureaucracy Perfected!

About 118 seamen and longshoremen, the most representative body of workers that have ever come together on South Street wound up the marine workers' convention last week after a two days' sitting.

There was no lack of enthusiasm. In fact this very enthusiasm prevented the seamen and longshoremen from taking the problem of building their industrial union into their own hands, a task which they proved, throughout the sessions, to be more than capable of handling.

Johnstone's Manipulations

But in the noise of their enthusiasm they failed to consider the manipulations of the T. U. U. L. leaders as represented mainly by Johnstone who was bent with all his "eloquence" upon preventing the seamen from taking control of the convention. This was clearly shown, for example, when a motion came from the floor in accord with procedure, for the election of a national secretary, the opposition to Mink being unanimous. A "well-trained" Party member, whom the writer knows to be in ardent opposition to Mink, took the floor and amended that this task be left to the incoming national committee. Opposition to this insincere amendment was demonstrated in the heated discussion that followed when it appeared that it was getting out of control and a few Party members made only half-hearted stands for the motion, the big gun of the convention, Johnstone, rose to explain to the delegates the meaning of "centralized democracy", a phrase with which many miners, textile workers and needle trades workers have become very well acquainted in the last few years of Party mechanical control.

The writer was very much impressed on meeting one of the Party members after the convention who, in an apologetic tone, said: "Well, we had to do it (that is, support Mink) or it would have gotten out of the hands of the Party!"

Johnstone, in pointing out why no officials should be elected from the floor, stated that it was so easy for some one to get into a position of power that he could in the course of time, with the greatest ease, divert the organization into reactionary channels. The test of this shameful proclamation of the legalized bureaucracy can be seen in what the associated Johnstones have made out of the Left wing miners, textile and needle trades unions—shadows and wrecks.

It further shows the great fear the Party leaders have of the workers, contrary to the radicalization characteristics of the period which they claim to have analyzed so thoroughly, and which says correctly enough that we are in a period of sharpening class struggle when the militant elements of the working class come to the fore. What Johnstone fears is precisely these elements. Isn't the program and constitution of the T. U. U. L. leadership strong enough and clearly applicable to the period? Isn't the functioning of Commun-

ists in the union and its leadership, organized in fractions, good enough guarantees for Johnstone? No, he has to have one million person, brass-bound, choking control. The Party, after four years, was afraid to trust leaders from the delegations like McGrath, Harvey, Morgan and Hegeny, who were popular at the convention, and had proved by their activity in the ports that they are able to work without Johnstonian wet-nursing.

Organization a la Mode

Another outstanding feature of the convention was the obvious ignorance of the industry shown by Johnstone. Instead of simplifying the enormous task with which the convention was confronted, he proceeded to complicate matters so that no delegate could conceive just how they were to set about building the new union.

He proposed as one of their main tasks to organize a Negro section, a women's section, a youth section, and repeatedly stressed their importance. This will appear good in the Daily Worker, splendid in the T. U. U. L. and Party minutes, magnificent in the Executive Committee of the C. I. and the R. T. L. U., but ridiculous on the water front. But Johnstone is superior to such little matters as the waterfront, or else he would have known much better.

The Party fraction did not do itself proud at all. Most of the comrades are inexperienced, since the older ones have been driven out or become disgusted. No attempts have been made at training or educating the comrades; none is needed, most likely in the Third Period. It was comical, if it were not so tragic, when it came to the election of delegates to the R. T. L. U. Congress. The ones in greatest opposition to Mink approved of the slate previously drawn up. Can Mink contribute anything at the Congress? It is doubtful if even Mink believes that. But the faithful must be rewarded. Nobody must be allowed to think or act independently of the Party lash, for they might begin to think of how they are being used as chess men by the Party bureaucrats, instead of the Party working in fraternal harmony with the union.

The seamen and marine workers have had an "educational" meeting, but not a convention. They could learn from the sessions that so long as the T. U. U. L. leadership oversteps the boundaries of legitimate relationships to the unions affiliated to it, by not allowing it the necessary possibilities to develop initiative and elbow room to function as a real union of workers in the industry, instead of an advertisement for the latest Party line, there will be a cancer eating away at the organization from the beginning. The further realization of its aims, the organizing of the marine workers for a fight against the ship-owners, will be seriously hindered without the establishment of these proper relations between leaders and ranks, union and Party.

—JOHN HORN

200 Men Control U. S. Industry

Concentration of power over the living conditions of 120 millions of people in the hands of less than 200 men was revealed by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, in a speech before the National Democratic club. Wheeler quoted a banker as saying:

"In my estimation about 50 or 60 large companies in this country, each controlled by two or three men, do about 80%, through their various subsidiaries, of the industrial business of this country. There are hundreds of thousands of small corporations and individual business men in this country, but taken together they do only about 20% of the country's industrial business."

Φ

ILLINOIS JOBS MUCH SCARCER THAN A YEAR AGO

CHICAGO—For every available hundred jobs in Illinois in February there were 245.6 persons ready to take them, according to the state employment office. This was a slight improvement over January when 257.2 persons wanted every available hundred jobs but it was very much worse than February 1928. At that time the ration was 169.4 applicants for every hundred jobs.

The office makes the situation look blacker by reporting that the little improvement noted since January was not due to more jobs being open but to fewer applicants, indicating that people got tired of looking in vain for a job or perhaps moved to other states in search of one. Fewer boys were looking for jobs in February than in January.

That bosses seem to have been cutting wages appears from the detailed report for Chicago where employment in factories increased 1% but payroll totals increased only a tenth as much. More than three times as many workers applied for jobs in Chicago in February than could be placed.

Φ

ON SEATTLE: A CORRECTION

A comrade writes us from Seattle, correcting an error in No. 12 of the Militant.

"We have 17 cases. Two comrades got 60 days: \$50.00 fine, one got 30 days: \$50.00 and all others were fined \$25.00. All are out on appeal bond, their cases coming up next month. The 32 cases are the old ones from Armistice Day and are out on bonds. Now we have more cases, since they just pick up the boys for having a drink on 12th and Jackson Streets and for not working. I wonder why the Opposition is not taking a more active part in the I. L. D. We surely need them."—E.

Φ

IN OUR NEXT NUMBER

Pressure of space compelled us to omit from this issue a number of very important articles. Our promised article on the developments within the British Labor Party will surely appear in the next issue. We will also have an analysis of the new group that has been formed in the Socialist Party in New York, the "younger" elements who obtained almost half the votes at the S. P. city convention. Then there is the introduction by comrade Trotsky to the American edition of his book "The Permanent Revolution", which will appear. Further, a reply to the Chinese "specialist" who hides behind the name R. Doonping, and who has written a particularly stupid article in the Communist "The Rising Revolutionary Wave and Trotsky Liquidation in China". Also an article by Max Shachtman on his recent visit to comrade Trotsky.

If the number on your wrapper is

43

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

~ SINCE LENIN DIED ~

By Max Eastman

The book that first told the inside story of the struggle between the Opposition and the bureaucracy in the Communist Party in Russia. The details of how the conspiracy was hatched against Leon Trotsky by Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and others, was recounted originally in this excellent volume. It is invaluable for an understanding of present day events in Russian and the world Communist movement.

158 pages

Cloth bound: \$1.00

Paper: 60 cents

Send All Orders to

The Militant, 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Throughout the World of Labor

EXIT MONDE! EXIT HENRI BARBUSSE!

We have not hurried to give our opinion on the journal of Henri Barbusse, *Monde*, the darling of *l'Humanité* in France as well as the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses* in the United States. We wanted to wait serenely to see this journal adopt a fairly clear line of conduct. Now it seems that we have waited in vain, and that *Monde* continues to be what it always was, that is, a literary publication of the democratic, whining phrase-mongering petty bourgeoisie who are so well personified by Barbusse. There is no doubt that *Monde* is not a journal of the Communist Party, neither is it a social democratic publication; it is something worse and more inoffensive at the same time, that is, a miscellany of the swamfiest, the most confused, in short, the most anti-proletarian slops produced by the politico-literary circles of the petty bourgeoisie.

The quality of the principal editors already tells a good deal. Of course, the Directing Committee which appears under the head is only a pure front. The director, Barbusse, is already known as a notorious anti-Marxist. For some time his lucrative literary activity has been divided between works of a Christian mysticism (novels, criticisms, plays on Jesus) and crude plagiarisms from the official Soviet economic press in praise of Stalin. The politics of the journal are directed by Paul Louis, a veritable living statue to the glory of "democracy", a scribbler at the service of every political sheet which offers a trough, be they republican, radical, socialist or Communist, from *Soir* to *Monde*, traversing a multitude of sheets of every species. This venerable leader of the Socialist-Communist Party spins out a vaguely radicalizing and pacifist prose every week in *Monde* on international politics.

The economic questions are dealt with in the pedantic manner by Delaisi and Laurat. The first of these two authors is notoriously ignorant of the A B C of Marxist economic science. In his recent works, like "The Two Europes", amiably commented upon by *Monde*, he shows himself a complacent critic of some "imperfections" of imperialism, which according to him, the trusts and alliances between the capitalists can remedy. *Monde* publishes from time to time comic, economic controversies between Delaisi and Laurat, the one explaining himself in the liberal and free-trader's tone, and the other replying with extracts from "Das Kapital" purged of any catastrophic consequences. If we add that the other collaborators are people like Habarau, Berl, Alraud Bernard, etc., etc., the question arises as to how how, why, in what respect and in what manner *Monde* can really be a journal which speaks, if not to the revolutionary proletariat, at least simply to the proletariat.

The real face of *Monde*, its pseudo-theoretical countenance, appeared at the time it undertook a so-called inquiry "On the Doctrinal Crisis of Socialism". The manner in which this inquiry was presented and the replies that were made to it, put *Monde* in its precise place. In the introduction, one could read: "In speaking of the doctrinal crisis of socialism, we understand the term in its vastest conception, detaching it from the daily struggles to which the various proletarian organizations devote themselves in the name of their respective doctrine". This phrase has only one meaning: The doctrinal crisis of socialism is above the class struggle. We are therefore not wrong in saying that *Monde* placed itself outside of revolutionary Marxism, outside of the proletarian struggle, in order to take refuge in the nebulous world of literary discussions. This does not prevent the editor of the introduction to the inquiry, who is no longer a Marxist—if he ever was one—from writing: "The doctrine (socialist) is passing through a crisis because it is in fact or in appearance—our inquiry will enable us to judge—in conflict with reality on a goodly number of points." What reality? We ask because it is not a question of the reality of political parties, nor consequently of classes, nor, finally, of the principal elements of

capitalist society in which we are now living. That is to say that we, the Marxists and Communists, who ask it, for evidently the editor of *Monde*, lost in his abstractions, does not. Doesn't he write further that he intended to submit to his readers "the opinions of the most qualified representatives of the tendencies confronting each other in contemporaneous socialism, right as well as left, in the second and third international"?

For *Monde*, then, the only difference between social democracy and Communism is that of being the right and left wings of "socialism". This statement would be quite in place from the pen of an editor of *Temps*. But one wonders what it is doing in the pages of a journal which speaks in the name of Communism and the teachings of the Russian revolution. Moreover *Monde* has not been able up to now to publish anything but propaganda texts from Vandervelde, De Man, Renner, Deat and a few others, that is, of the theoretical screens for the bankruptcy of the second international and its irrevocable passage to the side of the democratic bourgeoisie. The opinions of the theoreticians of the Communist movement are still forthcoming. This could only be the consequence of the fact that the best leaders and theoreticians of the Communist movement are today expelled from the International by the Stalinist apparatus, in which M. Barbusse participates directly, while only the perverters of Marxist thought have the right to speak there today. But such is not the case, for no Communist belonging to the Left Opposition movement would want to soil himself in the Barbussean pot.

It is in reality the result of another fact whose developments we shall soon see: it is that the bureaucracy of the International is beginning to tire of the lucubrations of M. Barbusse, of the hotch-potch of slops of the revolutionary movement which he has made of *Monde*, and that it has begun the rupture with this journal. We are not afraid of any denial. The Soviet bureaucracy of the C. I. has despised Barbusse for a long time. This contempt reared at the time when Lenin was astounded because the French Communist Party distributed so idiotic a pamphlet as "The Knife between the Teeth". But now this contempt for the man it utilized has taken on a new form.

In the *Vestnik Inostranoy Literatury* (No. 5, December, 1929), Bruno Jazhinsky administers a superb bureaucratic reproof to the director of *Monde*. This reproof is naturally accompanied by organizational measures: The sale of *Monde* is prohibited on the news-stands and the book-stores in Russia and the journal no longer comes to the subscribers in the U. S. S. R. Mezhrupom has even offered to reimburse the subscribers for their money. This time it is clear: Molotov has had enough of the journal of Paul Louis and Delaisi. With the same gracefulness he excoriated in supporting *Monde* when it was first established he is preparing today to issue a bull against it.

It is likely that our new Christ Barbusse will suddenly cry out at dictatorship, bureaucracy, dogmatism. After having held his tongue till 1930, he will denounce the sectarian spirit of the leaders of the Communist Party, etc. Under such conditions, it is also likely that Monatte will be astounded that we are repulsing an eventual ally, an "Opposition to the Party". But for us the matter stands differently. We are not with everyone who is against the Party or against the International and the Soviet Union. We are not with those who desert the sinking ship, with those who abandon a freely embraced cause when it no longer profits them. We repulse and fight against those who, after having wholly approved up till now the methods and the action of the C. I., turn sharply upon it without seriously founded political reason. For we know that this type of capers always conceals a retreat fixed long ago, and a more or less bashful return into the petty bourgeois democratic ring. We know that the whole evolution in this sense of Barbusse

and his journal will not signify an evolution beyond the domain of the C. I. apparatus towards a more consistent revolutionary activity, but quite simply the removal of a veil which concealed from the eyes of a pretty numerous public the essentially retrogressive, petty bourgeois and confusionist nature of Barbusse and his enterprises. Today only one mask gives them a proletarian revolutionary aspect and that is the Stalinist bureaucracy which itself is about to undertake the unmasking.

Unfortunately, a certain working class public lets itself be taken in by the phrases and the literary jargon of *Monde*. Doubtless this corresponds to their very comprehensible need to read something besides their ordinary political press, to educate themselves while being amused. A journal with such a goal cannot be a bad thing. But it must be realized seriously and with sincerity. It is these two qualities that are lacking in *Monde*. At present it is necessary that the revolutionary workers know that *Monde* is an organ of petty bourgeois literature and education and that, if it can sometimes divert them, it can aid and support them in no wise in their struggle. The bureaucrats of the Party who supported and encouraged *Monde* know this as well as we. And perhaps they are now preparing to say so. For they must certainly answer this question: Why is *Monde*, prohibited in the U. S. S. R. and therefore poor reading for the Soviet citizenry, recommended in France by the same bureaucracy which leads the Russian and French Communist Parties?

—PIERRE F. NAVILLE
Paris, April 10, 1930.

Φ

The «Red Peasants» Meet

The Peasant Congress would have passed unnoticed if the Berlin police had not interfered on the last day, so as to give it some notice. Incapable of creating a genuine mass movement, the bureaucracy which is installed in all the leading international bodies (I.R.A., W.I.R., Prointern, Krestintern, etc.) has specialized in calling Congresses to create the illusion of capturing the working masses and their allies. Not long ago, a very costly Congress was held in Berlin, the juridical congress, at which no one spoke, and whose chief accomplishment—aside from the squandering of a great deal of money—was to enable those belonging to the International League for the Rights of Men to protest against the application of the death penalty in the U.S.S.R. The bankruptcy of this juridical congress in no way hindered the calling of an international Peasants Congress in Berlin at the end of March. A hundred delegates participated. Old man Martel represented France (a new crisis has broken out between the Peasants confederation and the Party). The delegates from the other countries were in a class with Martel. In concluding the work, the creation of an International Peasants Committee was decided upon.

For what purpose? To maintain an office. That's all. Another problem immediately arose: did the creation of an International Peasants Committee mean in substance the liquidation of the Krestintern? Or would this Peasants Committee be a substitute for the Krestintern, or would it come out against it, or would it relegate itself to inactivity?

In this respect also, an alarm must be sounded. The country, the peasants are separated from the workers; in the country it is the forces of reaction that speak to the peasants. It is an immediate and urgent duty of the Communist Parties to penetrate into the country; this is the sole guarantee of success in all the revolutionary struggles of the working class. The bloc of the workers and peasants must not be empty talk. If the peasants are not united with the working class, the latter will find them in the enemies' lines, enrolled in the forces of reaction.

Berlin, April 19, 1930

A.B.

Reactionary Maneuvers in Spain

A rumor has been recently current that a crisis within the Berenguer government was provoked by the resignation of three of his ministers. The head general of Catalonia, general Barrera, made a trip to Madrid where he conferred with several important personages and then returned to Barcelona. They discussed against Berenguer, led by Barrera and Martinez Anido. Berenguer issued a denial but the conspiracy was nevertheless an actuality.

General Barrera filled the post of head generalship of the foremost military region of Spain (Catalonia), during the entire dictatorship. He was one of the principal supporters of the policy of Primo Anido. After the fall of the dictatorship he did not for a moment, together with Anido, cease maneuvering among the former ministers of the dictatorship and the leading elements of the Patriotic Union; but their maneuvers came to naught because of the unpopularity of all remnants of the dictatorship.

Berenguer was frightened for a moment fearing that the garrison of Catalonia might solidarize with Barrera. The latter was forced to present his resignation in order to take over other duties.

His post was taken over by the Prince Don Carlos of Bourbon. This appointment was well received by the Catalan plutocracy and by all the monarchist elements. The new head captain of Catalonia will attempt to save the monarchy of his cousin, Alfonso XIII. Berenguer was wise enough to win over the good will of Cambo and the Catalanian plutocracy.

Barrera attempted to organize several demonstrations: the Berenguer government forbade them. Despite that he issued two appeals to the garrison of Catalonia and to the Province defense corps, which showed his narrow ties with the former dictatorship and his desire, together with Martinez Anido and Sanjurjo, of re-instituting the dictatorial regime, even more brutal and violent than that under Primo de Rivera.

It is quite evident that the initial Republican enthusiasm has greatly diminished. This movement deceived many. Two months slipped away in complete confusion and disorganization, no one being able to lead this movement towards realization. Many naively believe today that the Republic will be peacefully achieved through elections. The Berenguer government sustains this illusion. In opposing the dictatorial maneuvers of Barrera and Martinez Anido, he wished to attempt the recapture in part of the confidence of the people which he had lost completely.

We have never had any great illusions concerning the Republican movements which followed the fall of Primo de Rivera. The petty bourgeois republicans are not and cannot be genuine revolutionists. They are afraid of the Revolution and of the proletariat and hope that the Republic will fall from the sky. That is why from the first moment we have set ourselves the task of fighting against the monarchy and at the same time unmasking the false republicans.

We have confidence only—is it necessary to mention this?—in the exploited worker and peasant classes. We must be at their sides in order to enlighten and direct them. The Communist Party must above all fix upon its proper characteristics, its slogan of the proletarian vanguard, and must energetically fight in the defense of the interests of the working class and for a Spanish Workers and Peasants Republic.

—HENRI LACROIX

THE MAY DAY MEETINGS

The Militant goes to press just before the May Day demonstrations are being held, and can therefore publish no details in this issue. The next issue will print adequate reports of the meetings and an analysis of the results.

The International Opposition Conference

(Continued from page 1)

pages of its position. By its possession of a powerful press, telegraph, radio, and the like, it systematically falsified for years the Oppositionist's point of view, making it responsible at every turn for Centrism's own yesterdays. By injecting an unprecedented confusion in the ranks of Communism, it attained its immediate aim—but at the enormous cost of weakening the Marxist wing in the International.

The Origin of the Opposition

In examining its present condition, the Opposition could not forget its own origin. It arose in the Soviet Union. From the beginning, all its acts and words were limited by the exceptional conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and subsequently by the regime of bureaucratic strangulation of the Party. The views of the Russian Opposition penetrated abroad only episodically, a fact which alone made difficult the creation of a common ideological foundation. Furthermore, since the Russian Opposition directed its course of redressment of the Party line without splits or convulsions dangerous for the dictatorship, the Communist Left in the capitalist countries was necessarily obliged to an extreme restraint. But the Centrist bureaucracy chose the path of smashing the Opposition organizationally, always at the price of strangling the Party.

The crushing of Party democracy in the U. S. S. R., as well as throughout the Comintern, violently retarded the development and education of the cadres of the Opposition. The theoretical work of the Opposition, its analyses, its valuation of conditions, its predictions and its slogans thus remained the property of comparatively small circles. To this day, the official Party and the Right wing press can ascribe the most outrageous ideas to the Opposition simply because our real point of view has been so ruthlessly suppressed. The absence of numerous cadres capable of actively advocating our ideas in all branches of the labor movement, greatly facilitated in its turn, the hunting down of the Opposition by the apparatus.

Without these broad cadres and close international connections, the Opposition dispersed national groups of a propagandist nature. Every one was condemned to seek its own way by its own isolated means. In that already lay the danger of discord, of vacillation, of false ideas, and national limitedness.

To this must be added another fact. At each of its turns, Centrism drove out of the Comintern elements of a very diverse, and frequently, opposed character. They usually counted themselves or were counted among the Opposition. A number of them systematically compromised the banner of the Opposition through manifestations of opportunism, anarcho-syndicalism and petty bourgeois dilletantism. It is enough to name the Urbahns group which brought us the greatest damage by declaring its own all the caricatured ideas which Stalin maliciously attributed to the Left Opposition. In France there were a number of such groups deforming the views of the Opposition. In many countries, the course of the struggle showed that it was not so difficult to proclaim oneself for a revolutionary course in China, or in Russia, or in some other distant land, and pursue, under such a cover, a more or less opportunist course at home. Such a danger still exists and can be observed in one manner or another in most countries.

The same conditions, therefore, which determined the appearance of the Opposition as a political factor, also made for its weakening in the first years. There is no need to conceal this fact, for the camouflage policy of imitating the possession of power instead of really fighting for it is a contemptible one: we do not call ourselves the "majority group of the Communist Party" when we are but a small faction in it.

Our Recent Successes

Nevertheless, there is very reason to register very substantial successes in the recent period. These were brought out in the reports made by the delegates from every country represented at the conference.

The period was largely devoted to a necessary ideological delimitation, to the purification of our ranks and our minds—generally necessary in a proletarian party and a dozen times more imperative in a faction of a party. In some cases this work led to splits and seemingly to our weakening. But in reality, aiming at quality, this work prepared for us the possibilities of gaining quantitative successes in the immediate future.

In France, the appearance of La Verite and the transformation of La Lutte de Classes into a theoretical monthly, marked a milestone in the development of the French Opposition. While the writer was in France, the loosely-organized movement was coordinated and the Communist League of France (Opposition) constituted. There our influence is steadily mounting, under the direction of an excellent group of militants whose influence in the Party and the trade unions is palpably increasing. Guided by our comrades, there is being

formed a substantial fraction in the Red trade union center (C. G. T. U.) which fights the stupid policies of the Party leadership as vigorously as it combats the liquidationist tendencies represented by the Right wing—"pure" syndicalist minority in the unions. Such a trade union group is a pressing need in the United States too.

In Germany, the last year was one of deep internal struggle which ended with the inevitable split of the Leninbund. This prepared the fusion of the Marxist section of the Leninbund with the Wedding and Palatine Opposition, and the creation of an organ which will represent the genuine opinions of the Communist Left. Relieved now of the confusionism of Urbahns, the German Left has every opportunity for rapid growth. Its unity conference on March 30 was already a demonstration of this fact. Despite the difficulties unavoidably present in combining two groups with diverse lines of past development, one could see the rise of a movement that will swiftly

encompass the genuine Marxist elements within and without the official Party.

Our most sensational success has been in Spain. The Spanish Opposition has been transformed from a number of isolated groups living in enforced exile in France, Belgium and Luxemburg, into a powerful factor in the Spanish movement. Following the fall of Primo de Rivera, it was able to win over—in an amazingly brief period—the most decisive sections of the official Party and regroup those workers who had left it. The strongest Party districts are already with us, and the work has only been started.

In Czechoslovakia a firm group has been formed which is preparing to issue its own journal and re-establish a Marxist center in the country. There the policies of Stalinism have borne ripe—rotten ripe—fruit, because they have enabled the Right wing to gain the support of thousands of Czechoslovakia's best proletarian elements. The struggle will cut like a knife into their ranks, however, and turn the current in the other direction.

In China, where the Communist Party was decimated by Chiang Kai-Shek, assisted by Stalin, Bucharin and Martinov, the Opposition has found deep roots. Under indescribably difficult conditions, our comrades have assembled a powerful kernel of revolutionists who are preparing for the inevitable, third Chinese revolution. Their writings and deeds already show a Marxist profundity and keenness that is enviable. Their contribution to our movement is and will be immense.

In the Argentine, in Mexico, in South Africa, among the Indo-Chinese militants, the Opposition is beginning to make its way, even over the obstacles of distance and the years of falsification of the Stalinist apparatus. In the United States and Canada, where the Opposition was formed only after the Sixth Congress, we already form Opposition, and a decisive element in the one of the most important sections of the life of the movement, both in the Party and in the general Left wing.

But it is impossible not to note that in Belgium and Austria, two countries where the social democracy is particularly strong, and official Communism can show nothing but mistakes, defeats and impotence, the Opposition has not made any noticeable progress in the last period. The causes for this must be reserved for another occasion. The international Opposition, however, a source of strength for every national organization, will be of immeasurable aid to these two movements especially.

Towards an International Congress

The Paris Conference decided upon the convocation of an international Congress of an international Congress of the Left Opposition in the near future. The period in between will be devoted to an exhaustive preliminary discussion that will bring the confident clarity necessary for the Congress to adopt the long-needed international Platform of the Opposition. The Bulletin of the Secretariat will be largely devoted to this task, and our American group must collaborate in its solution to the maximum of its ability. Our internationalism, unlike that of the Right wing, is not of the platonic, politely friendly kind which obligates us to nothing but the use of the word, and an exchange of meaningless courteous correspondence and visits. It is, on the contrary, the very essence of our whole life and movement the mainspring of our political conceptions.

The corrupted apparatus, which has systematically undermined the foundations and the prestige of the Communist International, will shout itself hoarse with accusations about a "Fourth International". But that will only frighten infants and old women. We are reassembling the foundation stones of our International. We are cementing them with a renewed solidarity. We are defending the structure with the imposing armory of weapons inherited from Marx and Lenin. We will hold it against the rude and disloyal attacks of the usurpers whose name is Stalin. Let the bought writers, speakers and executioners of the ruling regime continue yet for a while to poison the atmosphere of the struggle. We bring a strength and light into the movement that will pierce the fog and reveal the future that belongs to us.

MAX SHACHTMAN

A Telegram to Comrade Leon Trotsky

The first international meeting of the Left Communist Opposition, held in Paris on April 6, composed of German, American, Belgian, Spanish, French, Hungarian, Italian and Czechoslovakian delegates, sends its warmest greetings and the mark of its closest solidarity to the Bolshevik comrades, imprisoned and deported, and to their exiled leader, L. D. Trotsky.

The Marine Workers Convention

(Continued from page 1)

al things which brings Mink to the top for their brief moment of authority.

One all-prevailing concept that was evidenced in the utterances of every Party spokesman at the convention was that the organization needed nursing and the Party bureaucrats were there to furnish it. When the question of adopting the constitution came up, every objection was answered with: "We'll take care of that in the future!" or words to that effect. When the problem of control of the national committee arose, it too was answered by the usual: "We'll leave it to the incoming committee."

The Ship Councils Idea

A word in relation to this is quite important. The question of ship councils are quite all right in a basic stable industry as a means of coordinating the work of a center with the smaller units. But in the marine industry, where crews manning a vessel are changed almost monthly, it is wrong as the only form of organization. Today a crew might man a vessel in New York; tomorrow, the same crew might be divided between all the ports from Shanghai to Marseilles. Therefore, the possibilities of coordinating or checking the work of the center with such an organization is out of the question. This creates a very "convenient" leading committee, all sufficient independent of rank and file control, and self-perpetuating, if it wishes.

The next proposition was one of finance, which men from the floor pointed out was essential to a self-sustaining organization, only to have the wet nurse, Johnstone, once more tell them of the terrible difficulties, financial and otherwise, that they must face. Even to dream of a self-sustaining movement was out of the question! Once more posing the proposition of the T. U. U. L.'s rigid wardship.

The third important matter was the question of sectional organization. The T. U. U. L. representative, in order to facilitate the understanding the Daily Worker readers and the Moscow bureaucrats, proposed a form of organization that would be quite familiar to all of them: Negro section, Youth section, and...a Women's section. This last "section" was too much for some of the delegates.

The convention adjourned without having accomplished a single concrete task—and this is all the more criminal con-

sidering the opportunity given the convention directors by the excellent representation from every port of consequence. No national committee was elected. The constitution and its amendments were referred to the incoming committee which was not elected. The selection of the national committee (provisional, if you please) was turned over bag and boots to the national committee of the T. U. U. L., where the seamen delegates who thought they might suggest its composition, could never have anything to do with it. The question of a secretary so important in face of the almost universal opposition to Mink, was also left for "future consideration", which means Mink again. Along with this the question of the editorship of the Marine Workers' Voice, was also left hanging, which means Hines and what Hines stands for—or rather what he doesn't stand for.

Stalinists Endanger the Movement

A splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. But the great Party "thinkers" did their best to stifle it from the word go. The "danger" of real initiative, of authoritative leadership springing from the ranks and from the struggle, will surely be "combated" by the Party brain batteries: the convention showed that. These people are so uncertain of their own ability to lead, founded upon intelligence and capacity, that they fear to let a single organizational thread out of their hands. It was apparent that there was more insight and ability on the floor of the convention, regarding the problems of the militant seamen and the way to solve them, than there was in the whole Party fraction.

The basis for growth and progress is still at hand. The new movement can become a real power. But the Party "specialists" must change their narrow, stalling course, which will inevitably reduce the new marine union into the horrid caricature that has been made, for instance, of the National Miners Union. The militants in the marine industry will enter into this new movement with all the greater energy because the enormous possibilities are threatened from the start by the cheap machinations of a bureaucratic clique.

☐

Elated because he had at last found a job after a year's unemployment, Tony Santonostos returned to his home in Staten Island to find his three children dead by gas and his wife nearly asphyxiated. She had turned on the gas after a long and futile struggle to feed her children.

In the Party

The N. Y. District Is Re-organized

It is not a matter of principle that I wish to take up here, nor is it a question of policy in the class struggle. It seems that even in the simplest matters, in the most practical question the Party "leadership" has developed blunders and incapacity to a science.

Tuesday morning, April 22, I found a letter in my mail saying: "In line with the plan and decision of the Section Committee and the District Committee, the readjustment of the Section has been finally completed." It goes on further to say what new unit I was assigned to, and that I should appear for a meeting that evening, in a new place. This is the manner in which the reorganization of one of the largest sections of the Party was "achieved". No previous discussion by the members, no explanation on the basis upon which this reorganization has taken place. Everything was decided upon and carried out by the Section and District committees. Naturally, the result was—confusion.

Out of over 30 comrades assigned to my unit, half a dozen showed up to the meeting. In one place the letter says: "A system of revolutionary competition will be immediately instituted between units in relation to the stabilization of the unit, election of proper functionaries and the concentration on shops and factories, etc." Try and stabilize when the comrades walk around like sheep that have been lost from the flock, wondering where they belong. To quote once more from the same letter: "If you meet a comrade who did not receive a letter and does not know where his unit meets, take him to your unit meeting (!) and the Section representative will check up."

Eventually the lost sheep will perhaps find their flock. But this stunt was pulled exactly two weeks before May Day when every nerve of the Party is to be strained for in mobilizing the maximum number of workers, and a section of about 500 workers remains virtually disorganized and impotent to effectively work for the demonstration.

One gets the impression that there are master minds at the head of the Party constantly planning confusion and blunders—in big matters as well as small ones. If this be true, they are succeeding marvelously. —B.T.

A Little Purification

PITTSBURGH—

Charges have been brought in the Communist Party here against John Kaspar and M. Garfigel, and it is said, against John Otis as well. The charges are that they all attended the unemployment convention in New York without the authority of the Party. But that charge only conceals the real reason. The main reason is that Kaspar, as an organizer for the T. U. U. L., criticized the bureaucrats Devine and Saltzman so sharply that they could stand it no longer. Kaspar organized the campaign for the food workers, but the Party officials never assisted him. Kaspar would organize street meetings, but the Party officials never assisted him. Kaspar did as best he could for the cab strikers but the Party officials would say one day that they had ideological control of the strikers and the next day: If they won't accept our program, to hell with them. All these crimes brought about the suspension of Kaspar from the Party for a certain time and with him, Garfigel.

—JAMES SIFAKIS

Note: All Party members are invited to express their views on the Party situation in the columns of the *Militant*. Write us on the conditions in your units, etc. We want to make the *Militant* also a forum in which Party members will be able to discuss frankly and freely what is wrong with the Party and how it can be remedied—a discussion which is forbidden in the columns of the official Party press. Let the bureaucrats practise their contempt-

The Men's Clothing Union

In the Amalgamated: From Class Struggle to Class Collaboration

Prior to the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Garment Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, claimed jurisdiction over the clothing workers in the United States and Canada. Nominally, the organization is still in existence, but is no longer a factor either in industry or in the labor movement for the simple reason that it has failed to organize the clothing workers in the United States and Canada.

The Betrayal of the U. G. W.

In 1913 the clothing workers in New York decided to strike against their intolerable conditions. Over fifty thousand tailors, mostly unorganized joined ranks with the handful of radicals who initiated the movement. The strikers stood solid in spite of terrorism by the police, hired gunmen and the sabotage on the part of the national officers. The storm came when the president of the U. G. W., Tom Rickert, without the knowledge of the strikers, made a settlement which the workers and local leaders refused to accept. They claimed he "sold them out". Influential people in the labor movement intervened and a compromise settlement was reached. The workers won some of their demands and went back to work. They built up strong local unions against the wishes of the reactionary U. G. W. officialdom.

In 1914 the U. G. W. held its convention in Nashville, Tennessee. This city was chosen although it was not a clothing center and was very remote from one. The General Officers did this purposely because they knew the tailors had no money to send a full delegation. Consequently, the officers figured to control a majority in the convention and re-elect themselves into office. But the local unions did send their full delegations—and they were not seated. The delegates who were allowed to take their seats were mostly women from over-all locals—"paper locals"—which the general officers had then and still have at their mercy by means of the union label.

The delegates who were barred from the convention by the general officers, and also some of the insurgents who had been seated held their own convention in another hall in the same city. They elected their general officers and a general executive board with a complete machinery for the work of the organization. Their action was quickly ratified by the rank and file, who immediately began to pay dues to the new administration in order to supply "a fighting treasury".

First Victory of the A. C. W.

Immediately upon its assuming office the new administration with Hillman as President and Schlossberg as General Secretary, was confronted by a serious industrial conflict in Baltimore. Without a treasury, without effective machinery because of lack of time to establish it, and surrounded by odds, the General Executive Board took up the fight. The success or failure of this struggle was a test case for the new organization. In spite of the fact that the organization was penniless, in spite of treachery by the deposed officers, and in spite of the fact that one branch of the industry—the cutters—betrayed the tailors and went back to work—in spite of all this the 2,500 tailors fought bitterly until they won the strike gloriously. Thus, the first struggle led by the new organization was also its first victory.

This successful struggle was a deadly blow to the old administration, the U. G. W. of A.

The new administration had passed through its first line trenches, but it still went under the name of the U. G. W. of A. The following year the courts ruled that the old reactionary leadership was entitled to the name and treasury of the old, faded U. G. W. organization. The new organization therefore called a special convention in New York in December, 1914, and changed its name to the

.....
titled "self-criticism" (that is, criticism only of the rank and file and white-washes of those responsible for all the blunders.) Names of correspondents will be withheld whenever requested. For the workers in the Party, the *Militant* opens its columns freely.—Ed.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The new organization was based upon the class struggle and militancy of a high order as the preamble of the adopted constitution vividly attests. It set forth its principles in the following revolutionary words:

"The economic organization of labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production, under which the division between the ruling and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production. The class owning those means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power is the one that is being ruled.

"A constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes.

"It further states—

"The workers must accept the principle of industrial unionism or be doomed to impotence."

The 1914 convention was the most outstanding in the history of the clothing workers in the United States and Canada. Radicals, revolutionists of all shades of opinion united and supported the new Amalgamated union. A new spirit and idealism was brought into the organization. Every industrial center, large or small, asked for organizers and help from the new organization.

The Early Successes

With conditions favorable for organization among the clothing workers, the leaders started a campaign in every industrial center and made rapid headway. Thus we see in 1915 a big strike in New York which improved the conditions of the workers. The same year a strike of 30,000 workers was called in Chicago. This was one of the bitterest struggles waged by the new union and lasted from September 1915 to January 1916. Two workers were killed during this strike and 1,200 arrests were made. The demands of the strikers were a 48 hour week, a 25 percent wage increase, and recognition of the union. Although the strike was lost through the scabbing of the old reactionary U. G. W. with the aid of the police, yet it laid the foundation and maintained organization. As a result of this struggle the employers in Chicago signed an agreement in 1919 with the 'amalgamated without a strike. This shows that strikes are a good weapon and not in vain when an organization is sincere and means business, instead of monkey business.

Here was the Amalgamated within a short period of five years—from 1914 to 1919—fighting battles, winning demands and establishing the first 44 hour week for the clothing workers. It was done not by miracles and appealing to the employers, but through struggle and sacrifices. This brought prestige and respect not only from the clothing workers, but from the employers, and even from enemies within the labor movement like the A. F. of L.

This shows again that reactionaries who say you can not organize workers through strikes do not know what they are talking about, or else they want to sit on their soft chairs comfortably and not do the job.

Because of its militancy and strength, the Amalgamated was the first union to be attacked by the open shop campaign in 1920 and 21. This lock-out involved about 60,000 workers in New York City and about 15,000 in Baltimore and Boston. It began on December 8, 1920 and ended on June 1, 1921. This lock-out was the most bitter fight of its kind ever waged by any organization in the history of the American labor movement. The employers failed to break the spirit of the workers even with the aid of the hired gangsters, and police brutality so they resorted to the courts and sued the organization for millions of dollars in damages. The A. F. of L. helped the employers in every way they could to destroy the Amalgamated but they failed.

This was the last heroic battle the Amalgamated waged, and since then Hillman and his general executive board have made peace with the employers.

.....
Others articles on the development of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the tasks of the Left wing, will appear in forthcoming issues of the *Militant*.

In the Soviet Union

Stalin Assassinate Two More!

MOSCOW—

I forward to you the information we received from N. "A new comrade arrived from Moscow. He was arrested among the '150' (in reality another hundred should be added to this figure). Two from his group were sent to the realm of Pluto. The names of these comrades are: Rabinovich and Silov. The mood of the workers, according to him, is that of waiting. In the city of Serpuchov there were 'disturbances' in a textile factory as a result of which the workers got a raise in the price list on some items, instead of a cut. Partyites also participated in the 'disturbances'."

It is clear that he is talking about the shooting of two Oppositionists. This is quite possible. At first there were expulsions from the Party, then exile follows, then jail, then the beating up in the Charkov and Ural jails then the murder of Butov through hunger, then the "accidental" murder (by beating up) of Haenrichson in Leningrad. Why should it be impossible that they are beginning to send Oppositionists into the other world? The shakier the ground under the Centrist feet becomes the more bestial they become. Autumn flies sting painfully...

Stalin's last speech on "Dizziness from Success" is undoubtedly symptomatic. It seems to me that turning to the Right (when this turn will begin) the Centrists will attempt to throw upon our shoulders all their ultra-Left crimes, as it happened in 1928 with the extraordinary measures. After all the press is in their hands. That is why it is necessary to give a timely warning to the working class about our relation to the Centrist inanities not only abroad (there it is much easier), but here too. For that it is necessary to hurry up with a declaration to the Party and to the working class. We must by no means hesitate.

Φ

The murder of Blumkin was only a beginning. We are informed about the shooting of two more Oppositionists: the comrades Silov and Rabinovich. Evidently the idiotic invention about the participation of Oppositionists in railroad sabotage was made with the idea of explaining away the Thermidorian crimes against the Bolshevik-Leninists. But comrades Silov and Rabinovich, had no relation whatever, not only with "sabotage", but even with railroads.

The fact that Stalin still covers up the shooting of Blumkin, proves that he has nothing to say in explanation of the committed murder. Stalin's driving forces in these new crimes, are: personal revenge, and usurpationist alarm.

The murders will not not frighten the Opposition—about that there is no need of talking—but will not even shake it from its path. We have a strict count of the crimes of the Stalinist apparatus. But the Party and the apparatus are not one and the same thing. The Party as a whole must demand an answer from the Stalinist fraction for its murderous policy. And it will find us in its ranks.

Message to Siberia

Deep in the Siberian mine,
Keep your patience proud;
The bitter toil shall not be lost,
The rebel thought unbowed.

The sister of Misfortune, Hope,
In the under-darkness dumb,
Speaks joyful courage to your heart:
The day desired will come.

And love and friendship pour to you
Across the darkened doors,
Even as round your galley-beds
My free music pours.

The heavy-hanging chains will fall,
The walls will crumble at a word;
And Freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword

—PUSHKIN

Translated by
Max Eastman

*The authors of this letter in their remote corner did not yet know about the shooting of Blumkin.

IN THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

The Legislative Board Game

Of the many festering sores which run through the American labor movement and keep it weak, backward, and unable to function, the Railroad Brotherhood's Legislative Boards may be classed as one of the most destructive.

Like the rest of the unions in our craft system of organization the Railroad Brotherhoods are infested by swarms of high salaried bureaucrats, all seeking to keep their easy jobs and their big pay. The legislative boards have furnished an excellent excuse for still more office-holders to climb upon the workers' backs.

The Make-Up of the Boards

Each organization of the Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen maintains its own State and National Legislative Boards. The State Boards are made up of one representative from each Lodge or Division (meaning local union) with a Chairman, Secretary, and Executive Committee elected at stated biennial or triennial meetings as provided in the Union constitution. The National Boards are made up entirely of Grand Lodge Officials, as in the B. of L. E. or of Grand Officers and the Chairmen of the several State Boards, as is the case in the B. of L. F. & E.

Each one of the Four Brotherhoods has these boards organized in each one of the 48 states and the several Provinces of Canada. As a general rule each board maintains a lobbyist at each of the sessions of the State and Provincial Legislatures. The salaries of these lobbyists run variously from twelve to eighteen dollars per day, which accounts for the fact that these lobbyists are constantly finding more and more excuses to lay-off to perform some imaginary service.

On account of the big pay which the members of these Legislative Boards have helped themselves to, there is always present the strong temptation to prolong the Board sessions. As a general rule the members are also paid for coming and going to these meetings which is supposed to compensate them for actual time lost at their daily work and this privilege is often abused at the expense of the rank and file dues payer.

How the Racket Works

The last session of the Minnesota State Legislative Board of the B. of L. E. can be used to illustrate how the beneficiaries of this legislative board system work the game. The whole board was kept in session for three days. The executive committee held a session on the fourth day. The only actual work done was the auditing of the books and the election of officers, all of which could have been done on the first day. The auditing committee was ready to report at noon the first day. The board passed a resolution eulogizing the legislative record of Senator Shipstead and hired an expert penman for five dollars to write the resolution before presenting it to the senator. The board members charged the dues payers for going and returning from the meeting regardless of no time lost in doing so. John F. Collins, Chief of Division No. 369, who also represents that Division on the legislative board, lives at St. Paul and runs a day switch engine at that point. He had only half as far to go to attend the board meeting at St. Francis hotel as he had to the round house where he gets his engine. Still he received pay for one day coming to the meeting and one day for returning from said meeting at the rate of \$16.00 per day, a total of \$32.00 when as a matter of fact he was running an engine on both of those days, or should have been if he was not.

In one expense account of the Minnesota B. of L. E. Board we find the following items: "To H. S. Martin, 1 days work looking up a picture for the B. of L. E. Journal of a depot, \$11.00", and again: "To H. S. Martin, 1 days work securing a picture of Magnus Johnson for B. of L. E. Journal, \$11.00".

From May 14th 1924 to December 12th, 1927, three years and seven months, the B. of L. E. Legislative Board of Minnesota alone spent \$12,451.87, of which \$5,361.54 landed in the pockets of the Chairman and lobbyist, W. W. Royster. This sum alone spent by the Board is enough to pay the affiliation fee of the 27 B. of L. E. local unions in the state to the state Farmer-Labor Party for 81 years.

In the Firemen's Magazine of January, 1929, there appears a financial statement by the Secretary of the B. of L. F. & E. State Legislative Board of Pennsylvania, covering the three months of the third quarter of 1928. This statement shows disbursements during the three months in question amounting to \$19,106.10.

Just these few figures cited above, are enough to give the reader some ideas of the enormous sum of money spent annually by the Legislative Boards, state and national, of the four transportation Brotherhoods, and the political returns for this outlay of workers' earnings are practically nothing. To illustrate the complete uselessness of the Legislative Boards and their lobby, we cite below a literal quotation taken from page 6 of the Biennial Report of the Railroad Brotherhoods' State Legislative Board of Minnesota, which shows what happened to their legislative program at the 1929 Minnesota Legislature. Note carefully:

"Legislative Program"

"The following legislation was sponsored by your representatives:
Clearance BillIndefinitely Postponed
Terminal BillDied on General Orders

Consolidated Primary
Ballot BillIndefinitely Postponed
Pilot on Light EnginesIndefinitely Postponed
Minimum Passenger
Crew BillDied in Committee
Train Limit Bill, O.R.
C., B. of R.T. and B.
of L. F. & E.Died in Committee
Walks on Bridges ..Died in Committee
Switch Lights on all
Main LinesDied in Committee
R. R. and Warehouse
Commission Bill empow-
ering it to deal with
various operating
conditions on rail-
roadsDied on General Or-
ders".

The above program cost the four transportation Brotherhoods in the State of Minnesota approximately \$10,000 for the

KLORKEIT

(CLARITY)

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE JEW-
ISH LANGUAGE OF THE LEFT
COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

This 16-page paper is of special interest to all Jewish-speaking workers! Number 1 is al-
ready out and contains:

Lenin's Testament, ar-
ticles by Leon Trot-
sky, A. Senin, I.
Obin, "Emil",
and others

Ten Cents a Copy
One Dollar a Year

Order from
The Militant
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

one year, 1929. Nearly all of this sum landed in the pockets of the four lobbyists who spent a pleasant winter in St. Paul.

About all these Legislative Boards amount to, is, that they furnish excuses for more office holders to collect dues from the railroad workers for their personal benefit and enjoyment. In addition to being extremely expensive these Boards are an actual obstacle to progress and independent labor political action.

The useless and expensive Legislative Boards and Lobby are part of the rubbish which will have to be removed to clear the path for labor's political party. This task has already been started by the progressive wing of the Engineers and Firemen in the State of Minnesota with the slogan, "A Labor Party instead of a Labor Lobby".

—C. R. HEDLUND

Other readers of the **Daily Worker** will feel with us, we are sure, when we say it pains us to announce that Earl Browder has been made editor of that journal. Relatives and friends of the family are invited. Omit flowers.

Shall Three More Workers Burn?

Three militant workers are facing the electric chair. They are M. H. Powers, Communist Party organizer, Joe Carr Young Communist League organizer, of Atlanta, Ga., and Leonard S. Doherty, marine worker, now living in Boston. As a result of their working class activity among the textile workers of the South and the needle trades workers of Boston, these three men will burn unless the labor movement is mobilized in their support. The International Labor Defense is conducting their defense, but to the present, its participants are almost exclusively Communists and their closest sympathizers. Even the Communist press is giving it a minimum of publicity, apparently not realizing the serious charges against the three men.

Electric Chair for Leaflets

Powers and Carr were arrested after they had spoken at mass meetings attended by Negro and White workers and had distributed leaflets issued by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. They are charged with leading an insurrection against the state of Georgia! According to the laws of that state conviction can result in their being sentenced to the electric chair.

When the case came up for a hearing on Monday, April 21, Assistant Solicitor General John Hudson who is leading the prosecution, stated that the state would ask for the death penalty. At that time the bail of the two workers was withdrawn by the state. They are now in prison awaiting trial, scheduled to begin May 6. One of the reasons given by the assistant attorney-general for demanding the maximum sentence for the two workers is that if released they would participate in a May Day demonstration.

Leonard S. Doherty, was arrested several months ago in Boston when he was marching on the picket line during the strike of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. At that time the Canadian

authorities stated that he was wanted for a murder committed there in 1925. This is an obvious frame-up, for Doherty was not in Canada during that year.

Information was received on April 24, that a federal warrant to deport Doherty to Canada is in the hands of an officer of the superior court of Boston. However, the day previous, Doherty was given a two months sentence in the Superior Court in a charge of beating up a scab during the needle trades workers strike. Therefore the warrant will not be served until after he has served his 60 day sentence. If deported to Canada, Doherty will be tried for murder, which with conviction, will mean the electric chair.

Facts of the Case Suppressed

At the present time, the facts concerning these two frame-up cases are practically unknown outside of the limits of the territory with which they are concerned. In the Carr and Powers case, several Southern newspapers print the details. In the Doherty case, only part of the New England press publishes the news of the case. In addition, of course, the Party periodicals with their limited circulation from time to time publish inadequate accounts, but apparently have not taken either case very seriously.

Is it part of the "third period" point of view to allow militant workers to go to the electric chair without putting up a serious fight? Most criminal of all, is the lack of any attempt to organize a united front movement in their behalf. Although the Gastonia defense was sectarian the dramatic incidents connected with the police raid on the tent colony, resulted in a large amount of publicity in the capitalist press and the mobilizing of certain sections of the liberals and the labor movement for their support. In the present cases, these factors are lacking and unless the Communist Party wakes up, it will have three corpses to bury. These are

A «Broad» May Day Conference

Another of those farcical conferences, euphemistically designated as "United Front" out of respect to traditions of former days, was held by the official Communist Party in preparation for May Day on Thursday night, April 24th at Manhattan Lyceum. There were 985 delegates present who, it was claimed, represented many working class organizations and shops. But a subsequent examination of the list of organizations, which were announced to participate in the May Day parade, reveals only the Party auxiliary organizations and the new unions, both of which have long lost whatever mass character they once had, due to the false policies of the Party. Most of the delegates, it could easily be seen were Party members. The admission of the political bureau of the central committee two days later, that "the United Front conferences were not sufficiently broad" testifies clearly to the narrow character of the May Day Conference.

Oppositionist Ejected

The delegate, of the New York branch Communist League of America (Opposition) comrade Russell Blackwell, who had been sent with the idea that perhaps on May Day at least, the divided forces of the Communists might be united in demonstration against capitalism was forcibly ejected the moment he made his appearance at the door. Jack Perrilla, guardian of the Party line and formidable Trotsky killer, was commander in chief with the proper orders and slogans, and directed the strategical operations of the anti-Trotsky defense force from behind the lines—far behind, in fact.

The proceedings of the conference were another demonstration of the current Party methods which kill all initiative, stifle honest discussion, and destroy Communist influence. The Party controversies immediately made their appearance when a Lovestone follower, delegate from a shop, asked for the floor in the discussion, and was denounced for his Party opinions and not permitted to discuss. Later, perhaps to relieve the conscience of the Party, the credentials committee announced that it had been discovered that he represented no one and was accordingly unseated as a delegate. All the talking was monopolized by the Party bureaucrats, even when at last discussion was opened, only three delegates from the floor were allowed to speak, and right away again commenced a torrent of bombast from such staunch protectors of the latest Stalin line as Wagenknecht, Engdahl and Salzer. Eventually, when the delegates had become fatigued from the steady dripping downpour of oratorical tripe, and were hurrying out of the hall, the chairman Darcy thought it an opportune time to adjourn the meeting.

Φ

Unemployed workers who wonder where their next soupbone is coming from can read nevertheless for the price of a daily newspaper about Mr. J. P. Morgan's \$2,500,000 private yacht. This is the most palatial yacht ever built. It possesses the dimensions of an ocean liner 343 feet long and 43 feet beam. The Corsair is expected to develop 16 knots. Teak imported from the Orient is used throughout the ship except in the crew's quarters. It is reported that Mr. Morgan will not work in the stoke hole.

not the kind of heroes we want, which would be used to show the growing of class conflicts in America to the Stalinist regime in Moscow. Powers, Carr and Doherty must be saved! Let the International Labor Defense make the campaign for their defense a broad united front movement in which all sections of the labor movement can participate. Its refusal will mean that the Engdahls and the other Stalinist generals of the Red I. L. D. are more concerned with the prosecution of their idiotic formulae than with the proletarian defense of three militants.

The memory of Sacco and Vanzetti is yet too green to allow the American workers to remain with folded arms while the capitalist savages polish off their chairs to receive three more workers in their deadly embrace.

—FRANK BROMLEY

From Hillquit to Lovestone

Pointed Parallel between Two Generations of National Socialism

The heaviest blows we have dealt the Right wing have been our attacks upon its fundamental position: national socialism, the theory from which most of its current anti-Communist conceptions are drawn. It has not been difficult to point out that the banner under which the united forces of Stalin and Bucharin led the reactionary crusade against the Left Opposition ("Trotskyites")—the banner of socialism in one country—inevitably led to the splitting of this united bloc and the departure of its Right flank from the ranks of Communism. Giving Lovestone, Brandler, Jilek and Co. their due, we have pointed out also that it is they and not the Stalinists who are correct, insofar as it is a matter between the two of them, in the question of "exceptionalism". That is, Lovestone contends that if Stalin may erect an "exceptionalist" theory for Russia ("we will complete a socialist society by ourselves"), then Lovestone is permitted to erect an "exceptionalist" theory for America. From the point of view of the theory of socialism in one country Lovestone and not Stalin is correct; but from the point of view of elementary Marxism, of revolutionary internationalism, they are both wrong.

The Impotence of Centrism

The reason why the official Party (the Stalinists) arguments against Lovestone have always limped and halted is that they have been unable to show the workers who went with the Right wing what was fundamentally wrong with the latter: to do that would have meant the exposure of the anti-Marxist roots of Centrism itself! The Centrists have thus enabled the Right wingers to shift the whole content of this historical struggle on to the secondary and tertiary questions, where in many instances the Right wing adopts a position which, in appearance, is more correct than the fabulous idiocies of the Party chieftains. Only by re-establishing the basis of the dispute upon the questions of principle, and proceeding from these questions to those that flow from them, can the bankruptcy of the international Right wing be demonstrated. But such a fight leaves the Centrist helpless, for he is only a person who has not developed to the logical conclusions of the Right winger; his only weapon, therefore, is organizational manipulation and terror. The burden of the fight against the Right wing continues to rest upon the Left Opposition.

It is when the Right wing attempts to answer our unanswerable argumentation that it shows how well the Left wing has acquitted itself in this struggle. It flounders, it evades, it swindles, it is demagogic, and above all, in its profound hatred for the genuine Left it exposes its own petty bourgeois philistine character. As good an example as any is furnished by the *Revolutionary Age* and its latest article, "Whither Trotskyism?" by Will Herberg (No. 12). We will pass over the amusing fact that this same question was answered by the same Herberg only a few months ago when he "proved" that we had quite thoroughly "disintegrated" and that there should therefore be no reason to waste space in slaying a dead dog. We will rather take up the washed trivialities that pass for Marxism in the Right wing camp and properly identify them as a political tendency.

According to Herberg, "Eager sectarianism is the very essence of Trotskyism... Trotsky himself welcomes the sectarianism that is the essence of his system. 'To be a sectarian' today," he declares, "is an honor for every real revolutionary!" This would be a somewhat "damaging" quotation if not for three facts which are as well known to Herberg as they are to us.

1. The sentence is taken from its context, and refers not to a political party (the Communist Party), but to a faction within that Party.

2. The word sectarian is put within quotation marks, as a scornful comment upon the term by which we are designated

by the Right wing groups which, as everyone surely knows, are mass organizations embracing millions of workers....

3. The sentence quoted by Herberg from Trotsky read in the original (see the *Militant*, October 1, 1929): "To be at present a 'sectarian' of revolutionary Marxism in the eyes of philistines, of snivellers, of shallow minds, is the greatest honor for a real revolutionary." One need not have gone through a college course in psychology to perceive why Herberg so diligently omitted quoting the whole sentence. He knows but too well, our friend Herberg, who is meant by Trotsky when he says "philistines, snivellers and shallow minds." Literary forgeries of this type are considered good form in the Right wing camp, where for years charlatany bluff and swindle were the principal weapons in the campaign against "Trotskyism". Naive people that we are, we still think these methods contemptible, no matter what "period" they are practiced in.

The Real Sectarrians

But since we are speaking of sectarianism, let us establish again who practices it: It is the Right wing in every country, for they have cut themselves off from the international revolutionary movement and turned their backs upon the Russian revolution. By these steps they have doomed themselves to the life of national sects. They are following in the footsteps, not of the Hillquits and Oneals of today who are open Right wing socialists, but of the Hillquits and Oneals of yesterday who still employed "revolutionary" phrases about Russia and internationalism, and even the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to retain the Left wing workers in the Socialist Party.

Here are four documents: Herberg's article. A statement "On the Situation in the C. P. S. U. (Revolutionary Age, Number 11). From Marx to Lenin by Morris Hillquit (1921). A debate between James Oneal and Robert Minor (1921). Space unfortunately prevents us from making comparisons at length but sufficient parallels can be drawn between the Hillquits and Oneals of yesterday and the Lovestones of today to show how close is the ideological rapprochement. And, unlike Herberg, we will quote literally. Emphasis everywhere is our own, done to indicate significant similarities between the old and the...new.

"First I want to say that I am unreservedly in support of the revolutionary government established by the workers and peasants of Russia, and that I believe that those who call themselves Socialists and don't give that support, who in any way approve of the intervention on the part of the international imperialists, automatically takes himself out of the socialist classification, and no one has spoken more frequently than I have in behalf of the Russian workers and peasants to work out their own problems and to establish their own regime without interference on the part of anyone throughout the world... I want to say however that support of a social revolution in Russia, or in the Argentine, or in China or Japan, or anywhere else in the world, does not necessarily carry with it the support of a particular international organization, of which the Russian workers and Communists are merely only one section. I want to make that distinction clear." (Oneal).

"The Soviet workers do not want war. They want peace in order to be able to carry through the gigantic plans of Socialist construction... We American workers and the workers of the whole world, must close our ranks and stand by the U. S. S. R. and defend it against the blows of world imperialism!... But (Oneal's "but") precisely because of this gap the crisis is not manifested in the same form in the C. P. S. U. as in the capitalist countries: neither the political issues nor the fractional groupings are the same, in no sense is the international opposition (i. e., Right opposition) movement based

upon the issues or groupings in the C. P. S. U. nor does it find its counterpart in any of these groupings." (Lovestone).

"Now, what is the character of the so-called Communist movement in the United States? It is solely and almost exclusively a movement that lives by reflection from Russia." (Oneal).

"An international tendency of Communism that makes its basis of concentration not the general living issues of international (and national) class struggle but issues—many of them outlived—of differences in the Soviet Party is condemned to ultimate sectarianism. This is just what Trotskyism does. The concentration of Trotskyist forces on a world scale takes place primarily on the issues of Soviet policy in which Trotsky differed sharply with the leadership of the C. P. S. U." (Herberg)

A Couple of Exceptionalists

"I don't believe that an international organization of the working class calling itself socialist, claiming to represent the best of Marxian thought, can direct the policies and methods of the workers in all countries of the world, regardless of the particular historical conditions that prevail in each and everyone of these countries. The development of human institutions and thought is by no means a uniform thing." (Oneal the exceptionalist!)

"Trotsky, like Stalin, proceeds along the line of mobilization of the international movement for the program of a fraction of the C. P. S. U.—this is his 'internationalism'! Trotsky, like Stalin, cares not a whit about the specific conditions in the various countries and brands as 'opportunism' the attempt to apply and adapt the general line to these conditions." (Herberg).

"All Socialists who fail to subscribe to every article of the neo-Communist creed are branded as 'traitors' and 'agents of the capitalist class' and parties desiring to affiliate with the Communist International are warned of the necessity of a 'complete and absolute rupture with reformism, and the policy of the 'centrists' and of advocating such a rupture 'among the widest circles of the Party membership.' (Hillquit).

"These question form a closed system of dogma without any regard to their actuality or to their present relation to the vital questions of the revolutionary movement... Trotsky, like Stalin, issues his Open Letters to serve as a basis for the separation of the sheep from the goats, the 'loyalists' from the 'renegades.'" (Herberg). "We are not phrase-mongers nor obedient rubber-stamps." (Lovestone).

A startling and significant similarity! Both sets of quotations exude the same overpowering odor of national fever and contempt of anything but the most harmless and least obligatory internationalism. Both of them wallow in their provincial independence. In 1921, Hillquit and Oneal were proud of the fact that they were not a tail of any "faction" of the Russian Socialists (Mensheviks or Bolsheviks); in actuality, as everyone knows, they were for the Mensheviks who represented the class interests of the counter-revolution. In 1930 Lovestone and Brandler are equally proud not to be the "tail" to any "faction" of the Russian "Communists"; in actuality, to the extent that the Russian revolution interests them, they share the political viewpoint of the Right wing (Bucharin) which represents the class interests of the Thermidorian counter-revolution.

More than 12 years after the Bolshevik uprising, Lovestone dares to express his official, formal viewpoint of Russia thus: "On the various questions at issue—question of tempo or methods—we cannot, as a group, express a definitive opinion because we have not the material upon which such an opinion can be based!" Under cover of "refusing to be a tail to a Russian 'faction'" and a pretended ignorance of what is going on in Russia (twelve years after the October!) Lovestone has turned his back on the Russian revolution.

Nationalism and Internationalism

Hillquit and Oneal tried to separate the estimate of the class forces in the Russian revolution from an estimate of the world revolutionary situation and from the tactics and strategy to be pursued by the socialist movement—not only internationally, but also nationally. Lovestone does

Ross Arrested in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS—Joe Ross, member of the local branch of the Communist League and active in the Laundry Driver's union, was arrested here and fined for disorderly conduct by the court for the crime of distributing leaflets issued by the League on unemployment. The leaflets were being distributed in front of the City Auditorium at a huge unemployment meeting called by the local trade union leaders and attended by some 14,000 workers. The fact that they had no program of fight to offer the assembled workers, and that the League leaflet proposed such a program and urged its adoption at the meeting, did not suit the labor bureaucrats. One of them Robert Cramer, erstwhile "progressive", had the cops chase the workers who were distributing the circulars and arrest Ross. Nevertheless, more than 7,000 leaflets were handed out.

The Minneapolis League has called a May Day meeting for Wednesday, April 30, but we go to press too early for a report. The leaflet also urged the workers to join in the May Day demonstration at Bridge Square the next day.

Billings' Release «Postponed»

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—The same legal point that formed the Lowell committee's excuse for confirming the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti may condemn Warren Billings to perpetual imprisonment. Chief Justice Waste of the California supreme court has announced that the investigation of Billings' appeal for pardon is being held up because the court is able only to study the court records of the case and has no power to subpoena witnesses who have knowledge of the frame-up.

"The petition for pardon," says Justice Waste, "is based largely on affidavits obtained since Billings' conviction and repudiating the testimony of a number of prosecution witnesses. There is no machinery provided for investigating angles of a case that happen subsequent to conviction." This is the same ground on which Mooney was refused a new trial when Trial Judge Griffin requested it. Waste also pointed out that the petition is simply before the individual members, who have no executive or judicial power. Even so, he believes it will be "some time" before any decision is reached.

Φ

HUNTINGDON, Pa.—"On the surface it might seem that the Soviet is within its rights in setting up an anti-religious government," says Bishop H. S. Longley, Episcopal, of Iowa, in a widely published syndicated statement. "But it is impossible," he continues, "to have in existence a government of this sort without its effect being felt in Christian nations throughout the world. I certainly believe that a diplomatic protest should be made by the nations of the world even though it lead to bloody conflict."

..... the same thing, and that is where the analogy fits.

The Left Opposition is "a tail" to a "Russian faction"; it is an advocate of the revolutionary principles which formed the foundation of the Russian revolution and are now embodied in the Russian Bolshevik Opposition. Lovestone separates the "Russian question" and the theory of "socialism in one country" from the estimate of the world situation and the course the American Marxists must follow in the United States. For us, all these questions are inextricably combined. Trotsky proceeds from an estimate of international economy and politics to an estimate of the national (Russian, let us say) situation. Stalin does precisely the opposite. We outline our course in the United States on the basis of its place in the world revolutionary movement. Lovestone starts the other way around. We remain revolutionary internationalists. The Right wing is slipping back to a sort of Left wing Hillquitism of the 1921 style. —MARSH

Trotsky's Autobiography Free!

OR YOU CAN GET A FREE COPY OF

The Real Situation in Russia

This book is also available free of charge to all workers. Here you will find the only English translation of the famous Platform of the Russian Opposition, suppressed by Stalin, and Trotsky's letter exposing the falsifications of the History of the Russian revolution and the Communist Party. You will also find here the important Testament of Lenin. It is a \$2.00 book but you can get it free from the Militant by turning in 5 yearly subscriptions (at \$2.00 each) or 10 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each). Renewals are accepted.

Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many workers anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The Militant is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subscriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is \$2.00; for six months it is \$1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward them to the office, and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This \$5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

WE ALSO OFFER A FREE COPY

Since Lenin Died

This book by Max Eastman was the first work in the English language to tell the truth about the struggle in the Russian Communist Party between the Opposition led by Trotsky, on the one hand, and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Stalin on the other. You will have an excellently drawn picture of the beginnings of this fight after reading this book. The Militant has succeeded in getting the last few dozen copies of this book, of which no other edition exists. It has been sent to us from England, the American edition being exhausted. It sells for \$1.00, but you can get it free of charge by turning in 3 yearly subs (at \$2.00 each) or 6 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each).

Send All Subscriptions and Funds to The Militant, 25 Third Ave., New York City

:-: UNDER THE LASH OF UNEMPLOYMENT :-:

The Crime of Being Jobless

DETROIT—There is one less jobless worker in line at the Ford Rouge plant now. A well-fed brute in the uniform of a policeman killed him as he stood in line among 12,000 others in vain search for a job. Not a word of it has been whispered in the press. What's one worker more or less?

Eyewitnesses described the slaying as follows: "Armed cops were walking up and down the line," they said. Where they couldn't find trouble they tried to start it. They displayed their guns and clubs arrogantly and abused the jobless without provocation.

Clubbed to Death

"It so happened that this one fellow was slightly out of line, although he had been there since 5 the night before. He was tired, hungry, and cold. The cop got nasty with him and tried to pull him out of line. The worker refused to get out of line. He said he'd been there for many nights and he wasn't going to get out just because a cop told him to. The policeman raised his club and brought it down with smashing force behind the man's ear. The man fell like a log. He didn't make a move. The cop looked surprised and called for a wagon. They carted the dead man on and drove off while cops began busting up the line."

Workers are returning from the Rouge battered and bruised with stories rivalling those from the company towns of Pennsylvania. Men have been making fire with waste paper to keep themselves warm, for example. The cops have been assiduously and brutally breaking up even these small gatherings of men. Workers congregated inside the fence around the employment office have been driven out daily by hundreds of sleek cops armed with guns and clubs. Even workers who have stood for 12 hours or more are being shown no mercy now. "Smash the unemployed" is the order of the day.

LABOR CAMP JOBS 1-10TH OF FORMER YEARS

NEW YORK—The shipment of men to labor camps this spring is 1-10th of what was in former years, the Salvation Army reports. The supply of odd jobs is almost nil in and around New York.

1,000 men waited two hours in the line for free Army tickets good for 5 cent ten cent meals in Bowery restaurants. For the first time we have allowed men to sleep in chairs or on the floor in our waiting room," says Lieut. Col. W. Winfield. "450 have slept this way on the average. Hundreds are walking the streets."

NEW YORK—

An inkling of how devastating the extent of unemployment has become in proletarian sections of New York City was given me the other day by the enumerator sent to chalk me up for the Wall Street census. This nose-checker revealed, under questioning that in the single 17th Street block between Avenue "A" and First Avenue, a typical East Side tenement street, the wage-earners of 150 families out of the 230 canvassed are jobless. If what the mincing capitalist rags call "idleness" obtains on the same appalling scale throughout the East Side, and the chances are that it does, then more than 55 percent of the workers in this slum area are now gorging themselves on Hoover "prosperity".

It is a foregone conclusion that the capitalist government will take mighty good care to hide its findings on the unemployment situation, though the number of radio-owners abroad in the land will undoubtedly be made public the day the count is completed, as one more irrefutable proof to the world-at-large of the American "peepuls" luxurious standard of living. But perfume the crisis as they may, the shkel-swine cannot pollyanna an empty stomach a damn's worth; the jobless army exists, no matter how often the prostitute press whoops it down in print. Furthermore, it is a gathering torrent thundering more and more ominously about the dikes of moneybags as the need of relief becomes daily more urgent.

It is the job of the Communist vanguard to direct this torrent of discontent overcome its diffusion and turn it, with the employed masses which likewise are being whipped up by the winds of crisis, into one powerful stream. But the apostolic Stalin leadership, secure from reality in its high ivory dome, sweeping the scene through the trick binoculars of the "third period", sees this gathering torrent already as a raging flood washing out the very foundations of American capitalism. And the tragic part of it is that the self-deluded Centrists are formulating tactics accordingly, tactics calculated, not to harness the power of the jobless and employed masses, but to render it more diffuse. The chief slogan raised on May Day for instance, was the "mass political strike", with its connotations of a swiftly approaching revolutionary situation. At a time which calls for a united front of all Left wing forces to guide and lead the fight for work or compensation, unemployment insurance, the 7-hour day and the five day week, etc., the C.P.U.S.A. persists bull-headedly in its narrow sec-

The Census Taker Reports

tarian policies, going so far as to unseat delegates from opposition Communist groups at its "united front" unemployment conferences.

The last unemployment conferences in New York, truly "national" in scope, was an afterclap to March 6 such as would have awakened a dead and buried Marxist to the true state of affairs as regards the Party's "leadership" of the jobless. The American Stalinists, however, wandering boozily in the gases generated by the Daily Worker, stick to their ivory tower and chart another "victory". Where were the 110,000 unemployed New York workers whom the Party claimed to have rallied to its leadership when this conference opened? Among the handful of "unemployed" present, called to prepare for the "huge" July 4 meeting in Chicago, it required the most diligent kind of sleuthing to discover one face which had not been a landmark in Union Square for years.

A kind of wry humor was afforded us by the spectacle of the demon-theoretician of the "third period" Earl Browder, coming out in the Daily Worker (4-19-30), against ultra-Leftism and roundly scolding an over-zealous rank and file who had brought forward the slogan of "capture the city hall" at a Party conference, possibly the same unemployment meet. Well, and why not "capture the city hall"? Is this not the "third period"? And if this period is so close to the revolutionary situation that it is permissible for Browder and Company to call for a "mass political strike" on May Day, and to organize Workers Defense Corps for battle against Whalen's cossacks, and if the foundations of Wall Street are already giving way, what is so politically damnable in the over-zealous comrades slogan? Who shall say that what is sauce for Browder is not also sauce for the rank and file, misguided by Browder? And by the way, Browder belaboring ultra-Leftist adventurism somehow or other recalls the equally delectable show given by Lovestone when he was furiously lambasting the "right danger" between venomous attacks on the "Trotskyists".

No, unless the workers themselves drag Browder and his ilk down to earth and force the Party to adopt a coldly realistic policy, which can only be determined with a correct political line, the jobless army will remain helplessly unorganized and will spend its force to no purpose, the bureaucrats stupidly allowing its potentialities to trickle away into futility, to the irreparable damage of the labor movement in this country.

—X. WILKES

He Starved Amid Plenty

PITTSBURGH—There is a halt in traffic along one of Pittsburgh's main streets. The curious collect, a morgue ambulance arrives, and a policeman hauls from a miserable hole in a concrete wall one of the late unemployed.

Unmistakable signs show he was jobless. His clothing was obviously of the donated kind. He was shoeless. His hair was white—perhaps he died for the crime of passing the age deadline. His frame, once powerful was shrunken.

The Crime of Joblessness

Since he made his home on a busy street, they can't call him a "recluse" as they do other jobless who find quiet places to die, far from the busy profit-making that will have none of them.

Three steel workers were classed as "recluses". Past the deadline, they subsisted in a riverbank shanty, living on what they could comb from the water. One of them died, and the other two coughed the poorhouse.

Another feature story was "Ramblers' Row" a collection of pieced together shanties along a railroad track. The human interest included a picture of Stanislaw, the bearded patriarch of the colony of misery. Stanislaw, 60, was frozen to death the morning Andy Mellon reached his 75th birthday. Spring has come and "Ramblers' Row" is breaking up.

Pittsburgh's one breadline has closed its doors. The Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies branded it "unnecessary, unwise and demoralizing to the community".

"We are feeding every day an average of 2,000 men," said the line's directors. "We know they are hungry. One man has fainted from lack of food. Since the soup kitchen has been operating, panhandling on downtown streets has diminished. We absolutely know from careful statistics that 7 out of 10 are honest, hardworking men. There are in the neighborhood of 3,000 unemployed homeless men in the city."

MASTER PLUMBER'S OFFENSIVE

PLAINFIELD, N. J.—Master plumbers of this city have incorporated themselves as "Master Plumbers, Assn., Inc." Their purpose is for the "protection of trade and social purposes". What it really means is the boss plumbers will soon come out for the open shop. Several shops have started and installed scabs on jobs. May 1 is the time set for the journeymen plumbers to ask for an increase of \$1.20 per day. It is expected that the battle for open or closed shop will start then.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 19

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, May 10, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Whalen's Anti-Red Forgeries

Peshawur and the Gandhi Arrest

The almost impenetrable veil of official British censorship continues to make it difficult to get a clear and well-rounded picture of the situation in India. That the British are being hard pressed, however, can easily be seen even though the highly colored official reports that are allowed to filter through. They have finally been compelled to arrest Gandhi. They are taking fear-stricken measures to confiscate all arms and ammunition in the hands of the Indian people. They have been forced—openly, at last—to admit the dispatch of substantial military forces of infantry and cavalry, accompanied by airplane fleets, to the most turbulent sections of the country.

MacDonald: Servant of Capital

All these actions, let it not be forgotten for a moment, are being taken by the British government that has been advertised everywhere by the liberals and socialists as the "most progressive and enlightened" in the world, the "Labor" government of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Where is the democratic Laborite freedom of the press which is announced as so superior to the methods of the Communists? Sunk without a trace by the censors! Where is the "democratic" opposition to imperialism? It exists only in the mealy, pious speeches of MacDonald, agent par excellence of the British moneybags, jailor and executioner of the Indian masses!

India is today an armed camp, but armed only on one side. For that, the Indian masses have Mr. Gandhi to thank. It is under his treacherous direction, his insistence upon pacifism and non-resistance, that the Indian people are today defenseless before the imperialist troops armed to the teeth and ready to repeat an Amritsar massacre on an All-Indian scale—without fear of successful resistance. Rarely has the British lion been served so well by Gandhi. He has hog-tied the Indian masses, and trapped them in the paralyzing jaws of non-resistance.

But the arrest of Gandhi shows that he has accomplished—against his every desire and will—something else, too. Just as the Kerenskys involuntarily aroused a genuine revolutionary movement by their timid opposition to the czar; just as the Chiang Kai-Sheks unwillingly let loose a mass movement in China, so the sensational march to the sea of Gandhi has roused millions of the people to a militant mood which is already overflowing the reactionary boundary lines he originally staked out for it.

The Meaning of Peshawur

The sharp struggles in Peshawur, which required the dispatch of large numbers of British troops, made a mockery of Gandhi's treasonable policies and indicated the correct way to remove the British yoke.

The "passive" mutiny in Peshawur of the native Garhwal Indian Rifles is the prologue to active resistance and militant offensive. A real fight against British imperialism, in the interests of the Indian masses and not of the Indian bourgeoisie, can only be led in spite of Gandhi and in direct battle against him and his.

The absence of a conscious, organized revolutionary movement—a crime of omission for which the Stalinized course of the Communist International must still answer—hampers the development of the struggle. But it can yet be created in the fires of conflict. Peshawur shows the possibilities.

Φ

N. Y. JOBS SCARCEST SINCE 1914

NEW YORK—Factory employment in New York state, Gov. Roosevelt announces, is at the lowest point since 1914. It has dropped steadily since last October, he said, and will probably drop further, as it usually does in May. The *Annalist*, financial weekly, states that national employment is the lowest since 1922.

Judge Denies Bail to Foster, Minor, Amter

Bail for the leaders of the March 6 unemployment demonstration, including William Z. Foster, I. Amter, Robert Minor, and Harry Raymond, has been refused by supreme court justice Gavegan in New York. The four Communists have begun serving the three year term to which they were sentenced under star chamber proceedings and without the possibility of introducing evidence or defense witnesses.

The crassly class character of the prosecution was more than demonstrated during the trial, and the judges gave the defendants the vicious an almost unprecedented sentence of three years.

It is evident that the convictions were aimed primarily to curb the movement of the unemployed workers among whom the Communists are the most active elements. All the more reason why every effort must be made to compel the most rapid release of the four prisoners. Thus far their defense has been organized by the Party on the narrowest possible basis with the result that the fine opportunities for developing a broad movement for the four have not even been approached.

The New York convictions are but ominous forerunners of persecutions against militant fighters of the working class throughout the country. They cannot therefore be understood merely as an isolated instance of capitalist violence against the Communists. Nor can the bosses and their police, court and gangland agents be

Mr. Cossack Whalen is now well on the downward road to the other "great" American Red baiters who presided him: A. Mitchell Palmer and ex-mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle. Not to be outdone by either of them, or by their international colleagues who concocted the anti-Soviet forgeries in Berlin and the "Zinoviev letter" in England a few years ago, this cheap Tammany Hall politician has gained another bit of brief publicity for himself by publishing as crude a set of forgeries as have yet come of the press. It seems that Whalen is intent upon proving that there is a Communist movement in the United States and that it has connections with the revolutionary movement in the Soviet Union!

Nevertheless, the appearance of the forgeries at this particular moment is far from accidental. The stage setting for them has been in preparation for some time. The development of a sharp unemployment situation in the United States, with the accompanying disillusionment of millions of workers on the score of American capitalism's fabled "permanent prosperity", has opened up previously non-existing prospects for the growth of the American Communist movement.

Whalen's forgeries are calculated to nip this growth in the bud, to whip up sufficient anti-Red hysteria to cut it down

effectively combated by the Communists alone, much less by the official Communist Party only. The arrests and persecutions all over the country in connection with the unemployed demonstrations, the May Day meetings as well as at other working class gatherings make imperative a genuine mobilization of all progressive, Left wing and Communist forces ready to unite on a program of resistance to the terror and persecutions of the employing class and for the freedom of all class war prisoners, for the establishment of full civil rights for workers and working class organizations, etc.

It is necessary to change this course immediately, and take advantage of the general sentiment against the convictions that exists and can be aroused among broad sections of the working class. A united defense for the prisoners is the best reply to the harpies of class justice.

Φ

NEW YORK—Trial of 46 Brooklyn shoe workers for violating an injunction taken out by the Diana Shoe Co. against the Independent Shoe Workers Union has been postponed to June 3. The company broke its contract with the workers when Charles G. Wood, red baiter, of the federal labor conciliation service, notified it that the union was led by Communists. The injunction sustained the company's refusal to continue a contract with a Communist-led group.

before it assumes really dangerous proportions for the class he represents. He is not alone. The rapidity with which Congress has snapped at the opportunity to organize a public demonstration in preparation for a national anti-Communist lynching campaign is indicative of the general spirit of the masters. All of them are quite well aware of the fact that outside of the Communist movement, despite all the enormous and persistent blunders of the official Party, there is no force working actively and energetically to mobilize the permanent army of unemployed to fight for their lives, literally for their lives.

Every worker must therefore be vigilantly on guard for the next step of capitalist reaction. The scheme to crush the Communist movement, to jail its fighters, to deport and harass the foreign-born workers in particular, is aimed not only at the Communists, but at the whole working class in which the Reds so justly hated by the bosses, constitute the most militant section. Every blow the capitalist class and its Congress strike at the Communists hits with redoubled force at the interests of the whole working class.

There is yet another reason for the Whalen forgeries. They follow hard on the heels of the bomb plot against the Soviet embassy in Poland, the anti-Soviet military maneuvers of the Rumanian and Polish marionettes of French imperialism, and the hypocritical religious crusade against the Soviets which stank so noticeably of good Stock Exchange gold. All these events were timed with the sharpening of the economic and political difficulties in the Soviet Union rising out of the industrialization and collectivization campaign. All these incidents are calculated to exert a violent pressure upon the Soviet power, and the Party which exercises it, that will make it veer to the Right.

The Pressure on the Soviet Union

Knowing Stalin for what he really represents, the reactionary forces throughout the world are keenly aware of the fact that precisely at the present moment a well-concentrated pressure can strengthen the toe-hold of capitalist elements in Russia by compelling a shift to the Right. But the class relations in the Soviet Union are so taut right now, that a sharp turn to the Right, already implicit in all of Stalin's recent acts and words, would have the gravest effects not only upon the working class republic but upon the proletarian movement throughout the world.

The anti-Soviet drive in the United States, even though based upon the school-boy documents that many capitalist papers refuse to take seriously, is a timely reminder of a danger. A blow at Soviet Russia is a blow at the Communist movement. In turn, and because of that, it is an even heavier blow at the whole working class. The common danger and the common injury demand a common front. All workers: on guard!

Max Shachtman

Delegate to the International Conference of the Opposition in Paris. Just returned from a Visit with Leon Trotsky

WILL SPEAK ON THE

"WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE OPPOSITION"

AT THE
LABOR TEMPLE
242 East 14th Street (near 2nd Avenue)
ON
Thursday, May 15th, 1930 at 8 P. M.
ADMISSION: 25 CENTS
Auspices of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Wall St. Speaks

Hoover's Bunk

"The second quarter of the year," comments the *Annalist*, financial weekly of the New York Times on Hoover's recent "optimistic" statement about the turn for the better, "opening with business activity approximately at the depression level of last December, offers no reasonable prospect of other than an uneven and low progress out of the valley of the current business cycle. The normal relations of production and consumption have been disorganized. Productive facilities, and all commodities including bank credit as used, are present in excess. The new stabilization that needs to be worked out is threatened by existing cheap money policy and rising speculation."

Cynical Over "Predictions"

The *Annalist* sees a "broad valley of depression out of which business is not likely to emerge in much less than six months or so." Hitting directly at the Hoover prosperity pronouncements the Wall St. weekly says: "Another point to be noted is the indubitable fact of a reaction among business men against the cheerful business propaganda initiated at Washington. The ironical fashion in which business events have repudiated successive 'bal-

ly-hoo' official statements from Washington has had its logical effect on the business mind—it has produced a conviction not only that the government does not know the facts, but that the facts are probably rather worse than has been generally supposed even outside of Washington."

The *Annalist* index of business activity even below the lowest previous mark of for March, its latest figure, shows business December. Freight car loadings, electric power production, cotton and wool consumption and soft coal and zinc production were all below the December figure.

Φ

LITTLE PIECE OF FORGOTTEN HISTORY

The Daily Worker of May 7, 1930 writes, greeting the "new" Weekly Young Worker organ of the Young Communist League, as follows: "In the United States the youth movement has long lagged behind. There has not been a weekly youth paper before in this country." The author of those lines must have joined the Party a few weeks ago. Had he been in it very much longer, he might have remembered that more than four years ago the Young Workers League launched the Weekly Young Worker and maintained it for a long period of time, successfully, too. It was only when the immediate predecessors of the present misfits in the League "took over the power" that they wrecked it—a job they have conducted with great success to the present day!

After May Day's Demonstrations

Even the briefest review of the May Day demonstrations this year must begin with a clearing of the air so that the facts become visible. That means—unfortunately nowadays—to discount from the very beginning all the figures given in the official Communist Party press. The definite information we have already received about a dozen of the most important cities shows what recent experience with the Party press has taught us to expect: in every instance, the figures given in the Daily Worker on the participants were distorted anywhere from twice to ten times the number that were actually on the scene. This sort of reporting has the worst possible consequences because it gives a misleading picture of the response of the working class, of the strength of the Party, and thereby perpetuates the basis for adventurism, and, in general, for policies all out of proportions to real conditions.

Achievements of Meetings

But when the outrageous falsifications of figures are wiped out, and the consideration is taken of the fact that for the first time in many years this May Day was almost everywhere organized as an open demonstration, frequently in the face of police terror or opposition (instead of, as formerly, in meeting halls), the participation was indicative of the increasingly radical mood of the working class. It may even be said that relative to the strength of the Communist Party, the demonstrations in the United States were superior to those in many, if not most of the European countries where, preliminary reports would indicate, the May Day demonstrations of the Communists were not at all up to the mark set in the past. Most certainly, they lacked the militancy that has characterized such meetings on previous occasions.

The demonstrations in the United States showed, at one and the same time, the weakness of the Party and its great possibilities. In New York, for instance, most obvious particularly as indicative of the organizational decline of the Party, was the falling off of its influence in the trade unions. The shoe workers, who formed one of the most impressive contingents in last year's demonstration, were represented by the barest handful this year. The food workers were to be remarked only by their fewness. In other trades and industries, an even worse picture was presented. And as a whole, the demonstration made evident the enormous gap that exists between the

organizational strength of the Party and the possibilities for its growth and power, an ever-increasing gap which the destructive Party policy makes it extremely difficult to bridge. One need go no further than the needle trades representation in the parade: In spite of the radical decline in organizational influence of the Party and Left wing in this industry, needle trades workers formed the largest group, many of them coming from Right wing shops. That the Party has lost in organizational influence over them is largely traceable to the incoherent policy of blunders it has pursued for the last period of time.

As for the much-touted "mass political strike," it simply did not materialize. Not all the bluster of the Party press can conceal this damning fact. That the slogan was wrong and inappropriate for this period, that its use could result only in discrediting the slogan itself, was already clear when it was first promulgated. On May Day, the dispute was tested in life. The Daily Worker was unable to mention the name of a single factory or shop of any real importance throughout the United States which responded to the "mass political strike" slogan. As in so many other instances, the Party leaders are going through the regular process of self-exposure as irresponsible phrase-mongers.

Opposition Active

In all the demonstrations, the members of the Communist League (Opposition) participated actively in groups. The Party bureaucrats, as is known, followed a criminal course of ejecting our delegates from every "united front" May Day conference they controlled, issuing, at the same time, condemnations of the rank and file for "not organizing the united front conferences on a broad basis"! Needless to point out that this did not halt us in any instance from participating side by side with the revolutionary militants. As on May Day, we will continue to march with them, helping the workers in the Party to unload the crushing burden of stupid and criminal policies and an even worse leadership. The needs and possibilities of the movement, shown starkly on May Day, make this unburdening imperative.

Φ

ON THE NEEDLE TRADES

The next issue of the *Militant* will print an extended comment on the amazing statement "Building the Needle Trades Workers Union" which appeared in the Daily Worker on May 7, 1930.

Bluff, Brother, Bluff! Someone Will Believe It

The Crusader News Agency is a press service directed and controlled by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, under the immediate responsibility of Cyril Briggs. It is intended primarily for Negro newspapers in the country, and is one of the methods by which the Party brings its viewpoint to the Negro workers. In its press release for the week of May 5, 1930, it prints the following astounding report of the New York May Day parade and meeting:

"In this city (New York) over 300,000 workers, Negro and white, answered the call of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. to 'strike and demonstrate'."

And further: "Over 70,000 joined in a gigantic, colorful parade from Rutgers Square through some of the worst slum districts to Union Square where the biggest meeting of the day was held."

The Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party. That it exaggerated the facts in its reports of the May

Day demonstrations goes without saying: it's in the blood. But it never dared go so far as its colleague, the Crusader News Agency. Its issue of May 2, 1930, says:

"A hundred and fifty thousands New York workers (not 300,000!) turned out yesterday, striking and demonstrating on May Day."

And speaking of the parade: "The procession began shortly before 1:30. And, what a procession? A close (close, Briggs!) checkup indicated 25,000 in line (not 70,000 Briggs!)."

But what is a little matter like an additional—even if non-existent—150,000 strikers to the Party bluffers? Or a matter like an additional 45,000 marchers who never marched? In the third period, the Party leadership calculate, the best way to win the masses to Communism, and (evidently) the Negro workers especially, is to bluff and bluff and bluff. Surely someone will believe it!

Trotsky's Autobiography Free!

OR YOU CAN GET A FREE COPY OF

The Real Situation in Russia

This book is also available free of charge to all workers. Here you will find the only English translation of the famous Platform of the Russian Opposition, suppressed by Stalin, and Trotsky's letter exposing the falsifications of the History of the Russian revolution and the Communist Party. You will also find here the important Testament of Lenin. It is a \$2.00 book, but you can get it free from the *Militant* by turning in 5 yearly subscriptions (at \$2.00 each) or 10 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each). Renewals are accepted.

Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many worker anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The *Militant* is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subscriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is \$2.00; for six months it is \$1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward them into the office, and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This \$5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

WE ALSO OFFER A FREE COPY

Since Lenin Died

This book by Max Eastman was the first work in the English language to tell the truth about the struggle in the Russian Communist Party between the Opposition led by Trotsky, on the one hand, and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Stalin on the other. You will have an excellently drawn picture of the beginnings of this fight after reading this book. The *Militant* has succeeded in getting the last few dozen copies of this book, of which no other edition exists. It has been sent to us from England, the American edition being exhausted. It sells for \$1.00, but you can get it free of charge by turning in 3 yearly subs (at \$2.00 each) or 6 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each).

Send All Subscriptions and Funds to The Militant, 25 Third Ave., New York City

IN THE AMALGAMATED

Hillman and the Left Wing

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the record of the Hillman Right wing administration, a criticism of the policies of the Left wing and the present tasks of the latter. The first of this series appeared in the last issue of the Militant, and the next one appearing next week will deal with the present regime in the union to which intellectuals of every stripe have sung such passionate songs of limitless praise. The series is of vital importance to all militants in every industry, and particularly to workers in the needle trades. By a regrettable error, the pen name of the author of this series, "A. Schneider" was omitted from last week's article.

After the 1921 lockout Hillman left for Russia for his vacation. During his absence from New York a serious situation developed in the New York organization.

"Harry Cohen, once manager of the Children's Clothing Joint Board, left the organization in 1920 and engaged in selling sewing material to the clothing employers. The union which was unattractive when private profits seemed in sight became attractive when the profits failed to materialize.

Capitalist Corruption in the Union

"In September 1921, H. Cohen announced his candidacy for office of manager of the Children's Clothing Departemnt of the New York Joint Board. H. Cohen was promptly informed by the General Office that his name would not be placed before the members to be voted on unless he cleared himself on certain charges. These charges involved checks which H. Cohen had received from employers of our members. But H. Cohen failed to appear before an investigation committee and opened fire upon the organization.

.... "At the same time H. Cohen withdrew certain locals from the Joint Board and proclaimed himself boss of a separate union. After a few months fight H. Cohen was forced to appear before an investigation committee and explain his acts. The committee's unanimous verdict was, the act of any union official in borrowing money from manufacturers with whom the union has relations is, in the opinion of the committee, unethical and to be condemned. A man whose act of accepting financial favors at the hands of the employers of our members is unanimously condemned by an investigation committee, cannot hold any office in the A. C. W. A. The General Office took the position that in the labor movement purity must be even above unity. A labor organization that is unable to keep its hands clean does not deserve to live." (See the Advance editorial of Feb. 3, 1922, and the report of the investigation committee in the same issue pages 4-9 signed Morris Rothenberg, B.C. Vladeck, Charles W. Ervin. For other references see editorials, Advance of Dec. 19, 1921 and Jan. 13, 1922.)

During this fight the Forward and all those discredited leaders who were forced out of the union supported H. Cohen in his fight against the Amalgamated. They knew that if H. Cohen won they would be able to come back to the organization. But the investigation committee decided against H. Cohen and he withdrew temporarily.

The investigation committee also recommended to the Chicago convention a change in constitution in 1922 which states specifically in Article 13, Section 7 that people who have had dealings with employers are not eligible for office before the lapse of five years after their return to the trade. Did Hillman or Schlossberg live up to this clause in the constitution? No! Hillman, just as most chiefs, violated the constitution and still holds office, and H. Cohen, right after the Chicago convention was taken back into the union.

An interesting occurrence at the Chicago convention was Hillman's report of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation to help build clothing factories in Russia. The delegates unanimously approved his report with the exception of A. Beckerman who spoke against it. The "Left wing" so rejoiced over the approval of this report that they forgot to fight against standards of production and other "reforms". Hillman's going to Russia and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation

was a maneuver to bind the Lefts in order to introduce standards of production and reductions of wages. Hillman succeeded in fooling the Left wing.

Hillman Fools the Left

At the same time an unemployment situation developed in New York during 1921-22. Some of the old leaders who had left the union during 1919 and 1920—some of whom were forced out by the rank and file—utilized this situation for their own purposes while the Lefts were busy caucusing in the General Office with Rapchik, the lickspittle, and Salutsky-Hardman. Of course they organized with the aid of the Forward, and they threatened to split the New York organization and go back to the U. G. W. Hillman was faced with two possibilities: either to accept the challenge and make a fight against the clique with the aid of the progressives (or the Lefts) or to make peace with the Forward and take back the corrupt gang. Hillman chose to make peace with the Forward and its clique. He took back, in a quiet way, D. Wolff, Alex Cohen and Harry Cohen.

Not only did the Lefts not resist this treachery of Hillman, but local 5 under their leadership supported D. Wolff as manager of the N. Y. Joint Board! Hillman promised the Lefts that D. Wolff would carry through the Left policies in the union, and the Lefts took it for granted. Furthermore, the Lefts in local 5 called a meeting in Cooper Union and D. Wolff outlined the Left policies he would carry through in the union! It did not take long for the Left wing to find out that Wolff and Hillman had put them in a trap and double-crossed them. This shows how the Lefts allowed themselves to be used as a tool by Hillman and his gang. The Lefts made a grave mistake by giving Hillman time to make peace with the fakers and the Forward clique whom the Left knew would do everything in their power to oust it from the organization. Will this be a lesson for the Left wing in the Amalgamated?

At the same time conditions in the industry became deplorable along with Hillman's policy of more production (which he called "efficiency" and reductions in wages (which he called "adjustments") to say nothing of reduction in working forces where workers were thrown out of the factories with the aid of the union.

Something had to be done to put a stop to this unbearable situation. So the local unions under the control of the progressives and the Lefts demanded certain reforms in the N. Y. organization: 1. A minimum wage scale. 2. An aggressive and constructive policy against "standards of production", reduction in wages, and reduction in working forces each season. 3. Economy for the Joint Board, which meant reducing the staff. 4. Amalgamation of the two Joint Boards (Children's and Men's clothing) and local unions. These demands were never carried into effect until the Amalgamated officials were kicked into action by the fight the Left wing made.

Hillman's War on the Left

When Hillman saw the Lefts were determined to put up a fight for the reforms (or demands) and were gaining strength, he convinced himself at the Philadelphia convention in 1924 that the Right and Left wings were equal in numbers. Hillman and his General Executive Board made a gesture of "peace". Hillman declared that he belonged to neither group and what he wanted was "unity", which, in reality, meant the beginning of a bitter fight between

the two factions. Hillman who didn't like to have a "Right or a Left" machine but always a Hillman machine, had to eliminate one of the groups in order to intrench himself. So after the Philadelphia "peace" convention Hillman with his Right wing Forward clique declared war against the progressives (or Lefts).

Furthermore, Hillman took in A. Beckerman, a person whom he always disliked, and made him manager of the New York Joint Board without an election. Hillman appointed Beckerman as manager because he knew Beckerman would do the "dirty work" against the Lefts. Who does not remember Beckerman with his gang which broke up meetings, black-jacked members, deprived workers of their jobs, or threw them out of their shops? Beckerman succeeded in crushing the Left wing and kept in submission the discontented workers. Not only were individual members expelled and ruthlessly blacklisted, but local unions, such as Local 5 of N. Y. and the Pressers local of Rochester, under trusted organizers like Harry Cohen and with the help of the underworld, were suspended and reorganized. Hillman, a shrewd politician, killed individual activity in order that his group should be kept in power.

Why were the Lefts defeated in the Amalgamated in a time when they controlled the largest local unions in N. Y. and half of the membership supported them throughout the country? This power was evident at the Philadelphia convention when the Right and Left wings had equal strength. As I pointed out: 1. The Left gave Hillman time to make peace with the H. Cohen and the Forward clique. 2. When the fight began they had the machinery in their own hands and it was easy for them to oust and expel the Left wing. 3. The Left did not develop leadership able to cope with the situation. 4. There was no unity among the Lefts; they fought among themselves instead of fighting the Hillman and Beckerman machine. 5. They devoted much time to eliminating each other as leaders. In other words there wasn't one who could dominate or hold the group together. On the other hand the Hillman clique had the whole machinery in their control. They had the bosses, the police, the gangsters, the cash, and above all they were united to crush the progressives, or the Lefts. They have succeeded temporarily.

The question is: Have the Lefts learned the lesson from their past mistakes? This can not be answered off hand. For one thing the isolation policy the Communist Party officials have lately adopted will not bring any results.

What Must Be Done

In order to change the present intolerable conditions of the Amalgamated members something must be done. Conferences should be held in every clothing center. The Left wing should unite with progressive workers, and put responsible leadership in every city to carry through the work. An educational campaign should be waged throughout the country to bring before every local union in the U.S. and Canada the following demands: 1. All expelled members to be taken back to the organization with full membership rights. 2. No discriminations against political affiliations. 3. Elections should be held in every city and the members should decide who should represent them. 4. A 40-hour week should be established all over the country with week work. 5. To do away with piece work and "standards of production". 6. A minimum wage scale for all operations. 7. Unemployment insurance to be paid by the bosses and controlled by the workers. New York must take the lead in this fight because the loss of New York was decisive in the defeat of the Lefts throughout the country.

I know the Amalgamated bureaucrats will not accept these demands. What is important, however, is that with the help of the progressive workers, and with a constant agitation, the masses will rally behind the Left wing. When the next battle between the Left wing and the Hillman machine occurs, the Lefts and the progressives, united and not isolated, will come out victorious.

Stalinist Splitting

Bordiga Expelled

Il Lavoratore, organ of the Italian fraction of the Party, has just announced the decision of the Italian Communist Party Executive to expel comrade Amadeo Bordiga, on the charges of leading the Left Opposition and supporting "Trotskyism". The expulsion of the most capable leader of Communism in Italy is one of the most irresponsible and severe blows yet struck at the Party by its own leadership.

Comrade Bordiga is the founder of the Italian Communist movement. When about nine-tenths of the present leadership of the Italian Party were still either in the camp of the social democracy or hesitating about the formation of a Communist Party and a break with the yellow leaders of the Socialist party and the Federation of Labor, Bordiga was leading the struggle to found the Party from which he has now been expelled. He was the principle spokesman of the Left wing at the famous Livorno Congress of the Socialist Party in 1921, and was the acknowledged leader of the Communist Party after the Congress split.

In 1923, Zinoviev manipulated the executive of the Italian Party in order to remove the Bordiga group from leadership, even though a subsequent vote showed ninety percent of the Party to support the Left, and practically the entire Youth Federation. The coup d'Etat of the Centrists and Right wingers in the Party was finally achieved at the Lyons Congress in 1926, where the most outrageous gerrymandering and mis-counting of votes enabled them to cinch their control. Not only was the vote of Bordiga's own local Party group officially recorded against him at the Congress, but even the vote of Bordiga himself!

In November of the same year, comrade Bordiga was imprisoned by the fascist regime for being a Communist and exiled to the island of Ustica, between Sicily and Naples in the Mediterranean Sea. Only on the occasion of the recent "amnesty" were he and a number of other comrades released—only to be kept under the most rigid surveillance by the fascist police.

Not daring to expel Bordiga as a "counter-revolutionary" while he was in fascist exile, the opportunist leaders of the Party, fearful of the great influence comrade Bordiga would exert in the ranks of the Party took the desperate measure of expulsion. It is unnecessary to add that this will do anything but prevent the progress of the Left Opposition in the Italian Party.

That the expulsion will not pass by without serious repercussions in the ranks of the Italian Communists in all parts of the world, goes without saying. The first reports we have already received in New York indicate a strong resentment in the ranks of the Italian Party members against the expulsion. We are confident that many of these comrades, as well as revolutionary workers outside of the Party, will make their voices heard in protest against this criminal act of the Italian Stalinists.

—X.

(b)

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant, and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

☐

SAN FRANCISCO—Oscar Lilgeholm, 75, ran out of money and was too old to get a job. He dug himself a rough cave in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, and had lived there for two weeks before starvation drove him out. Two boys found him half unconscious and begging for water.

A Visit to the Island of Prinkipo

Prinkipo is the old Greek name for the Isle of Princes, about two hours by boat from Constantinople. It was given this name because princes of the ancient realm who incurred the displeasure of the ruling autocrat were dispatched to the tiny island in the Ser of Marmora as exiles and prisoners. The nationalistic Turks, having overthrown the yoke of Greek domination, proceeded to remove all relics of that hated regime even to the extent of changing the old Greek names: Constantinople has become Stambul, and the Isle of Princes has become Buyuk-Ada, or Grand Island.

The name of the island has been changed but it remains a place of exile. There is no longer a single prince imprisoned on it. But for that the island is now reserved for a different kind of exile, for the Bolshevik who has incurred the displeasure of the ruling regime in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By gentlemanly arrangement between Stalin and Kemal Pasha, Buyuk-Ada has become the fourth place of exile for Leon Trotsky, his wife and son.

Trotsky's Health

We did not visit comrade Trotsky as a newspaper correspondent, seeking sensations and so we have no journalistic sensations to report. As it is, there are plenty of reporters and writers who knock on the door every other day to ask: "May I see M. Trotsky about his views on religion?" or "What does M. Trotsky think of modern art?" or "Will M. Trotsky write a reply for us to Floyd Gibbons' 'Red Napoleon'?" or "Can we get a statement from the report that M. Trotsky is on his death bed?" or any number of similar questions. Yet, out of all these personal questions, so to say, the one about his health recurs most frequently; there have been so many conflicting reports on this point that it will be worth while to state matters accurately.

Comrade Trotsky is not on his death bed, that goes without saying. He is usually quite vigorous and works with customary diligence. Unfortunately, the accumulation of certain maladies, made more acute by his exile in Alma-Ata and the absence of proper medical attention, makes him subject from time to time to malarial attacks and headaches of some severity, gout, and most alarming of all, to trouble with his heart. What is needed is treatment by a specialist as well as a climate and environment for a cure. Thus far, every effort has been made to prevent him from obtaining the necessary attention. It has been a concerted effort of Stalin and Kemal Pasha on the one hand, and all the bourgeois countries of Europe "democracies" and dictatorships, on the other. The much-advertized right of asylum is obviously extended to the Bessodovskys but not to Bolsheviks.

During our brief stay, we talked at some length about the situation in Russia and about the movement in the United States. Trotsky had just finished writing his articles on the new course in Soviet economy and the prospects for the Five Year plan. Just about the same time, the news began to arrive from Russia reporting the latest turn begun by Stalin towards the moderation of the Plan. The question arose: How is it that Stalin, and even Bucharin of late, after having conducted a furious campaign for years against the Opposition by accusing it of being "super-industrialist", finally adopted and began to carry out a plan for industrialization and collectivization which, at least on the face of it, was far more radical than any previously proposed by the Opposition? Comrade Trotsky explained it in this way:

Stalin and the Five Year Plan

The requirements of the economic situation that developed in the country after the presentation of the Platform and Counter theses of the Opposition, and the latter's subsequent expulsion from the Party, soon demanded the formulation of a much more radical and far-reaching program than had originally been conceived. The Centrist faction of Stalin, which had first adopted the timid and worthless plan of Rykov, rejected it under the pressure of the situ-

ation and proceeded with a Five Year plan of considerably greater breadth. The startling successes of the first year—startling to the Centrists who never really believed such a rapid tempo possible—not only demonstrated the enormous latent possibilities for industrial development under a proletarian dictatorship (nationalization of industry, banks, etc., etc.), but immediately produced an extreme boldness born precisely out of Centrism's previous timidity. Almost overnight, the initial successes of the Plan gave rise to the wildest kind of exaggerations. The Kulak was going to be liquidated as a class. The Five Year Plan was to be realized in four years—or three and a half, or three as some said. Agrarian collectivization was now definitely accomplished in half of Russia. The N. E. P. was to be abolished. Socialism was being completed in isolated Russia. These were only a few—and among the mildest—exaggerations contained in the Soviet press, and repeated in the official Communist press abroad. The achievements of the first year were utilized to "prove" that the entire Opposition platform was bankrupt, the previous accusations of "super-industrialism" were converted into "Trotskyist pessimism", and on these foundations, a number of capitulations were realized out of the ranks of the Left.

But the very first signs of difficulties transformed the cocksure braggarts of Centrism back again into timid, cautious bureaucrats. The rapid pace of collectivization and industrialization ran its head into the brick wall of a proletarian state isolated in a sea of capitalist world economy, proving not in abstract theory but in cold practice, the absolutely untenable position of Stalin's and Eucharin's theory of national socialism. A crisis began to develop in agriculture, exactly along the lines indicated by the Opposition. Stalin forthwith sounded the retreat. So long as uninterrupted progress had been made, Stalin sedulously cultivated what he now, when obstacles were encountered, sought to unburden responsibility for: "Dizziness of success".

The Danger of a Retreat

That a retreat was necessary was already evident. It was already proposed by comrade Trotsky to ward off an impending crisis in the country, the danger of which is by no means averted yet. At the same time he raised a warning against the retreat going too far. It now becomes increasingly clear that Stalin who is on the road leading away from the recent ultra-Left zig-zag in Russia will not come to a halt until he has reached the other extreme and accepted the original program of the Right wing. That is now the great danger in the Russian situation.

It is equally clear that Stalin will not be able to gain the support of the whole Party for this new bureaucratic turn about face. In the zig-zag to the Left, mass forces were of necessity unleashed which it will not be easily possible to put in chains again. The proletarian core of the Party will resist the sharp turn to the Right which has already begun. That is why comrade Trotsky spoke with the greatest confidence of the re-formation of a strong Left Opposition inside the Communist Party.

It is in connection with the big journalistic bluff and exaggerations about the Five Year Plan and the capitulation of many Oppositionists who pleaded the "successes of socialist construction" as their pretext for leaving the Opposition, that a humorous but pointed conversation took place. A copy of the New York Nation had arrived one morning, containing an article, "Russia's New Revolution", written by Louis Fischer, one of the innumerable liberal journalists commuting between New York and Moscow and earning a livelihood by writing publicity for the Stalin faction.

We showed Trotsky a passage in the article which read: "Stalin's ultra-radical, revolutionary policy has won the hearts of the Trotskyists, and they have come rushing back from Siberian, Caucasian and Volgan exile to participate in the pressing business of reconstruction. They have come back humbly, with clipped wings, acknowledging Stalin's talents and Trotsky's mistakes..."

Stalin, my ex-Trotskyist friends tell me, had done more than they wanted of him, and more even than they expected of Trotsky."

"You see," we said jokingly while Trotsky was scanning the paragraph, "everybody is saying that Stalin has gone much further than you ever proposed."

"That's true," he replied immediately. "When a man has a boil on his neck, a capable surgeon will simply lance the boil. A shoemaker will go much further and sever the man's head from his shoulders. Yes, there is no doubt that Stalin has also gone 'much further' than I proposed!"

—And the capitulators? Would they play any considerable hole in the resurgence of the Opposition within the Party? Comrade Trotsky does not believe they will.

"The revolution is a great devourer of people," he said. "It has burned out these men, used them up, exhausted them. They cannot even play an important part in the Centrist faction. It must not be forgotten that these men are not newcomers in the movement. On the contrary. Many of them have gone through two, three revolutions. They spent a large part of their lives in czarist prisons and exiles. They were the militants who organized and led the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and for years afterwards. They passed through the rigorous years of the civil war and intervention, then through the period of reaction after the death of Lenin, and finally through prison or exile under Stalin. They have lived through the intensest years of history. Very few have come out of them unscathed to one degree or another. The others have been burned out or the revolutionary fires in them quenched."

The "Old Bolsheviks"

Of course this phenomenon is chiefly noticeable and widespread in the ranks of the ruling apparatus. Trotsky mentioned one name after another of comrades in the most prominent Party and Soviet positions, all of them imbued with the profoundest hatred for the "permanent revolution". That formula runs against the grain of every self-contented bureaucrat who has squeezed his bottom firmly into a chair after the consolidation of the revolution's initial victories. All of them have sought to put themselves beyond criticism by the religious title of "Old Bolsheviks" or the "Old Guard". Yet the overwhelming majority of the members of the present Central Committee of the Russian Party are men who, inside or outside of Lenin's Party before the revolution, never went beyond the conception of revolutionary democrats or Mensheviks. Trotsky recounted an incident which adequately characterizes the "Old Bolshevikism" of nine-tenths of the present Party spokesmen.

It was during a meeting of the Party Central Control Commission, where Trotsky was being "tried" and his "non-Bolshevik past" brought out against him. During his speech, he quoted from an issue of the Social Democrat, a journal edited and published in Yakutsk jointly by the Mensheviks and a number of now prominent "Old Bolsheviks": Ordjonikidze, Petrovsky (of the Ukraine), and the peerless Yaroslavsky. This paper was issued not in 1905, nor in 1912 or 1914, but in 1917, after the Kerensky revolution and on the eve of the October uprising!

He read from some of the articles written by these "old Guardsmen", all of which were penetrated by the most vulgar kind of bourgeois democratic notions conceivable. The Kerensky revolution—if only it would introduce a few reforms—was hailed as the great people's democratic government. When Trotsky mentioned the trio of "Bolsheviks" who wrote these articles, there was a sensation even in the Control Commission. Yaroslavsky tried to bluster and bluff it out, but the blunter Ordjonikidze simply replied: "Well, what of that? We wrote lots of stupid things in those days."

"Yes," said Trotsky, "but I would let my arms and legs be cut off and my head taken from my shoulders if in all of my writings you could find anything half so bad as this!" A little while later, the copy

of the paper from which Trotsky had quoted, which he had found after considerable effort, was stolen from his room. The Yaroslavskies, so meticulous about the literary records, real and forged, of comrade Trotsky, had no intention of letting their own shameful records lie around where Oppositionists could make use of them. Fortunately, the protocol of the Control Commission still records the damning excerpts—unless that too has been put into the furnace reserved for everything embarrassing to the Stalinist regime! It is precisely such types that are now doing the job of corrupting a whole generation of revolutionists with their shoddy substitute for Leninism.

* * *

A considerable part of our conversation was devoted to the situation in the United States and the perspectives for the movement here. He asked about very detail of our work, our numerical strength, the circulation of the Militant, our work in the trade unions, the influence of the Party, the strength of the Lovestone faction, etc., etc. The establishment of the weekly Militant, which he follows closely, he considers the greatest achievement of the American Opposition. When we spoke of the difficulties of the paper, to which every labor and revolutionary journal is subject, he even wrote to the American comrades urging that the greatest efforts be exerted to maintain and strengthen the weekly.

On the "Farmer-Labor Party"

Trotsky does not know the American situation as well as he does, let us say, the Russian, or even the French, but he is very far from being unacquainted with it. Of the American Party leaders, he is "best" acquainted with Pepper. He told of how Pepper came to him during the days of the great "farmer-labor party boom" in the United States, and tried to convince him that the revolution in this country would come about by winning over the revolutionary farmers, allying the Communist Party with the petty bourgeoisie and neutralizing the working class! The question of a farmer-labor party (i. e., a party of two classes) had come up then for the first time in the Political Bureau of the Party in Moscow. Everybody spoke hesitantly or tentatively about it. Stalin even said: "I am sure that if Vladimir Ilyich were present he would be for it." Trotsky intervened immediately and spoke sharply and at length against the whole idea. Kamenev who has a flair for the Left in a theoretical discussion, picked up the thread right away and as a result of the subsequent decision, the American Party was, in part at least, dragged by the hair out of the opportunist swamp into which Pepper had led it.

Trotsky outlined—we repeat them here briefly—his ideas of the perspectives for developments in this country. "In my work on the Russian revolution of 1905," he said, "I remarked on the fact that Marx had written that capitalism passes from feudalism to the guild system to the factory. In Russia, however, we never knew the guild system, with the possible exception of the 'kustari'. Or one might compare the development of the working class in England and Germany with that in Russia. In the first two countries, the proletariat has gone through a long period of parliamentary experience. In Russia, on the other hand, there was very little of a parliamentary system for the workers. That is, the Russian proletariat learned its parliamentary history from an abridged handbook."

"In many respects, the history of the development of the United States is akin to that of the Russian working class. It is nowhere written, and theoretically it cannot be substantiated, that the American workers will perform have to pass through the school of reformism for a long period of time. They live and develop in another period, their coming to maturity is taking place under different circumstances than that of the English working class, for instance. That is, the stage of a labor party or a powerful socialist party is by no means inevitable. The rapidity of the development of the American workers, of course, also depends to a large extent upon the degree of preparedness of the Communist movement and its clarity. The socialist party in the United States need by no means

Internationalism and the Theory of «Exceptionalism»

By L. D. TROTSKY

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF "THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

consequently by the technical resources of industry itself.

Industrialization and Socialism

Industrialization is the moving factor of the whole newest culture and, by that itself, the single plausible basis of socialism. In the conditions of the Soviet Union industrialization means first of all the strengthening of the base of the proletariat as a ruling class. Simultaneously it creates the material-technical pre-condition for the collectivization of agriculture. The tempos of both these processes are interdependent. The proletariat is interested in the highest tempo for both processes, in so far as the new society that is being created can thus guard itself best from external danger, and at the same time create a source for the systematic raising of the material level of the toiling masses.

However, the tempos that can be accomplished are limited by the general material and cultural level of the country, by the mutual relationship between the city and village and in the pressing needs of the masses, who can sacrifice their today for the sake of tomorrow, only within certain limits. The optimum, that is the best, most advantageous tempos are those that give swift development to industry not only for the given moment, but secure the necessary stability of the social order of the dictatorship, that is, first of all the strengthening of the unity of the workers and peasants, preparing by that itself the possibility of further successes.

From this point of view the general historical criterion from the angle of which the party and government leadership directs the economic development in a planned order is of decisive significance. Here two basic variations are possible: a. the course described above of economic strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship in a single country until further victories of the international proletarian revolution (the viewpoint of the Left Opposition); b. the course of constructing an isolated national socialist society, and that "in the shortest historical time" (the present official viewpoint).

These are two absolutely different, and in the final analysis, contrary theoretical conceptions of socialism. From them flow a different strategy and different tactics.

In the limits of this preface we cannot consider anew the question of building socialism in one country. Other of our works are devoted to this particularly "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern." Here we limit ourselves to the most basic elements of the question. Let us recall, first of all, that the theory of socialism in one country was first formulated by Stalin in the Fall of 1924, in complete contradiction not only to the whole tradition of Marxism and the school of Lenin, but even to what Stalin wrote in the Spring of that same year, 1924. From the standpoint of principle the abandonment of Marxism by the Stalinist "school" in the question of socialist construction is no less significant than, for example, the break of the German Social Democracy with Marxism in the question of war and patriotism, in the Fall of 1914, that is exactly ten years before the Stalinist turn. This comparison has no accidental character. Stalin's "mistake," as well as the "mistake" of the German Social-Democracy is national-socialism.

Marxism and World Economy

Marxism follows from world economy, not as a sum of national parts, but as a mighty independent reality, which is created by the international division of labor and by the world market, dominating powerfully in the present epoch over national markets. The productive forces of capitalist society have long ago outgrown national limits. The imperialist war was one of the expressions of this fact. In the productive-technical respect socialist society must represent a higher stage compared to capitalism. To aim at the construction of a nationally-enclosed socialist society would mean, in spite of all temporary successes, to pull the productive forces backward even as compared to capitalism. To attempt, independent of geographic, cultural and his-

torical conditions of the country's development, making up a part of the world's whole, to realize a self-sufficient proportionality of all the branches of economy in a national frame, means to pursue a reactionary utopia. If the heralds and supporters of this theory nevertheless participate in the international revolutionary struggle (with what success—is a different question), it is because as hopeless eclectics, they mechanically combine abstract internationalism with reactionary-utopian-socialism. The most finished expression of this eclecticism is the program of the Comintern adopted at the Sixth Congress.

To expose completely one of the main theoretical mistakes, lying at the base of the national-socialist conception, we can do nothing better than to quote the recently published speech of Stalin, devoted to the internal questions of American Communism.** "It would be wrong," says Stalin against one of the American factions, "not to take into consideration the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party must consider them in its work. But it would be still more wrong to base the activity of the Communist Party on these specific features, for the foundation of activity of every Communist Party, the American included, on which it must base itself, are the common features of capitalism, the same basically for all countries, and not the specific features in the given country. It is not on this that the internationalism of the Communist Parties exists. The specific features are merely supplementary to the general features." (Bolshevik, Number 1, 1930, page 8, emphasis ours.)

These lines leave nothing to be desired in the way of clarity. Under the guise of giving an economic foundation to internationalism, Stalin gives in reality the foundation of national-socialism. It is false that the specific features are "merely supplementary to the general features" like a wart on a face. In reality the national peculiarities are an original unity of the basic features of the world process. This originality may have a decisive significance for the revolutionary strategy for years. It is sufficient to recall the fact that the proletariat of a backward country has come to power many years before the proletariat of the advanced countries. This one historic lesson shows that in spite of Stalin, it is absolutely wrong to base the activity of the Communist Parties on some "common features", that is on the abstract type of national capitalism. It is false to the roots that it is on this "that the internationalism of the Communist Parties exists." In reality it exists on the inconsistency of a national state, which has long outlived itself, and acts as a brake on the development of the productive forces. National capitalism not only cannot be reconstructed, but cannot even be conceived of as anything but a part of world economy.

The economic peculiarities of different countries is not of a secondary character: it is enough to compare England and India, the United States and Brazil. But the specific features of national economy, no matter how big, enter, and that in an increasing measure with their component parts into the higher reality, which is called world economy, and on which, in the final analysis, the internationalism of the Communist Parties is founded.

The Law of Uneven Development

Stalin's characterization of the national peculiarities, as a simple "supplement" to the common type, is in crying and by no means accidental contradiction to Stalin's understanding (that is, his lack of understanding) of the law of the uneven development of capitalism. This law, as is known, is declared by Stalin as basic, most important and universal. With the help of the law of uneven development, turned by

** This speech was delivered on May 6, 1929, was first published at the beginning of 1930, and under such circumstances that it acquires a "programmatic" significance.

him into an abstraction, Stalin attempts to solve all the riddles of existence. But it is shocking: he does not notice that national originality is the most common and, so to say, summed-up product of the uneven historic development. It is only necessary to understand this unevenness correctly, to take it in its full measure, extending it also to the pre-capitalist past. A faster or slower development of productive forces; an extended or, on the contrary, a contracted character of whole historic epochs; for example, of the middle ages, the guild system, enlightened absolutism, parliamentarism; the uneven development of the different branches of economy, different classes, different social institutions, different sides of culture—all these lie at the basis of national "peculiarities". Originality of a national-social type is the crystallization of the unevenness of its formation. The October revolution arose, as one of the grandest manifestations of the unevenness of the historic process. The theory of the permanent revolution, which gave the prognosis of the October overturn, supported itself, by that alone, on the law of uneven historic development, not in its abstract form, but in its material crystallization, in the form of the social and political originality of Russia.

Stalin introduced the law of uneven development not in order opportunely to foresee the seizure of power by the proletariat of a backward country, but in order, after the fact, in 1924 to hang on to the victorious proletariat the task of constructing a national socialist society. But it is precisely here that the law of uneven development has nothing to do with the matter, for it does not substitute and does not remove the laws of world economy; on the contrary, it is subordinated to them.

Fetishizing the law of uneven development, Stalin declares it sufficient as a basis for national-socialism, not as a type that is common to all countries, but exceptional, Messianic, purely Russian. To construct an independent socialist society is possible, according to Stalin, only in Russia. By this alone he puts the national peculiarities of Russia not only above the "common features" of all the capitalist nations, but also above world economy as a whole. Here is where the fatal gap opens in the whole of Stalin's conception. The originality of the U. S. S. R. is so mighty that it makes possible the construction of its own socialism within its limits, independent of what may happen with the rest of humanity. As for other countries to which the Messianic seal has not been affixed, their originality is only "supplementary" to the common features, only a wart on the face. "It would be wrong," Stalin teaches, "to base the activities of the Communist Parties on these specific features." This moral holds good for the American Communist Party, the British South African and Serbian, but...not for the Russian, whose activity is based not on the "common features", but precisely on the "peculiarities". From here flows the dual strategy of the Comintern throughout: while the U. S. S. R. "liquidates the classes" and constructs national socialism, the proletariat of all the other countries, completely independent of actual national conditions, is obligated to simultaneous action according to the calendar (First of August, March Sixth, etc.). Messianic nationalism is supplemented by bureaucratically-abstract internationalism. This duality runs through the whole program of the Comintern, depriving it of any kind of principled significance.

If we take England and India as two different poles of capitalist types, we must state that the internationalism of the British and Hindu proletariat does not at all rest on the sameness of conditions, tasks and methods, but on their unbreakable mutual dependence. The successes of the liberation movement in India require a revolutionary movement in England, and the other way around. Neither in India, nor in England is it possible to construct an independent socialist society. Both of them will have to enter as parts into a higher whole. In this and only in this is the uncrushable foundation of Marxian internationalism.

(To Be Continued)

As this book goes to press in the English language, the whole thinking part of the international working class and in a sense—the whole of "civilized" humanity, listens with particularly keen interest to the resoundings of the economic turn taking place on the major part of the former czarist empire. The greatest attention in this connection is aroused by the problem of collectivizing the peasant holdings. And no wonder: in this sphere the break with the past assumes a particularly absorbing character. But a correct evaluation of collectivization is unthinkable without a general conception of the socialist revolution. And here again, but already on a higher stage, we convince ourselves that in the sphere of Marxian theory there is nothing unrelated to practical activity. The most remote, and it would seem, "abstract" disagreements, if they are thought out to the end, will sooner or later always appear in practice, and this latter will not forgive a single theoretical mistake.

The collectivization of peasant holdings is, it is understood, a necessary and essential part of the socialist transformation of society. The volume and tempo of collectivization, however, is not only determined by the government's will but, in the final analysis by the economic factors: by the height of the country's economic level, the correlation between industry and agriculture and

and will by no means ever reach the position of the British Labor Party or the German social democracy

"It is not at all permanently established that the United States will be last in the order of revolutionary primacy, condemned to reach its proletarian revolution only after the countries of Europe and Asia. A situation, a combination of forces is possible in which the order is changed and the tempo of development in the United States enormously accelerated. But for that it is necessary to prepare".

It is the task of the Left Opposition to aid in this preparation, to set the revolutionary movement in the United States upon the path indicated by the guide we already have in Marxist thought, enriched and verified by the experiences of modern history.

On the train leaving Paris, after the conclusion of the international conference of the Opposition we unexpectedly came face to face with an American comrade still a member of the Party, who was returning to the States. We spoke of the trip to Turkey and he told us confidentially of a conversation he had had a little while ago with Eisenstein, the well-known Russian movie director who was then in Paris. Eisenstein had directed the film "Ten Days That Shook the World", a record of the October uprising in Russia. As is quite natural, Lenin and Trotsky—that is, actors taking their parts—featured prominently in most of the scenes. When the film was shown in the United States, many comrades will recall that while Lenin was to be seen, there was not a sign of Trotsky throughout the picture. To all the intents and purposes of that picture, Trotsky might have been in South Africa when the Russian revolution took place. What had happened between the time of the original production and its public showings? Eisenstein told my friend the story:

He was called in to the office of the Soykino (the Russian film trust) and the chairman said to him: "Eisenstein, art is art, but politics is politics. And you'll have to cut Trotsky out of the picture!" That is how "Ten Days That Shook the World" was saved from the menace of Trotskyism.

That is another task of the Opposition, a task which is part and parcel of the work of preparing the revolutionary Marxists not only in the United States but everywhere else: To re-tell the true history of the Russian revolution, to excavate the truth from under the garbage of filthy lies with which the apparatus men have covered it for without an accurate knowledge of the past and what it has to teach us, there will never be an adequate preparation for our future.—M. S.

Character and Limits of Our Faction

Lessons from Recent International Experiences of the Opposition

By James P. Cannon

The American movement is condemned by its position, geographically, and politically to lag behind events in the International. This has been demonstrated with an almost arithmetical precision during the entire decade of the existence of the Comintern. The developments in the Russian and West European Parties have always been registered in our own—a few years later. This was the case regarding the crisis in the Russian Party and the Comintern. We were one of the latest detachments of the International Communist Opposition to take definite shape in the open just as the Lovestone group is a somewhat belated reinforcement in the rear of the International right wing. Neither of these American factions, however found its International connection by accident. We were "prepared by the past" for our place under the banner of the International Left Opposition. Lovestone and Co. served their apprenticeship and became journeyman opportunists, qualified for union with Brandtner, in the American Party struggles.

The protracted period of our gestation as a faction on the line of the Bolshevik-Leninists has not been without compensating advantages. The rich experiences of the International struggle were realized for us, as it were in advance, and we have been able to build on their foundations. This insured for us a clearer perspective and tactical line.

On the one hand our deductions from International experience enabled us to avoid a false attitude toward the Party and an over-ambitious program for the creation of a new one; on the other hand they were a shield against the capitulation panic. This sickness, which periodically attacked the Opposition movements in the other countries, was never a problem for us. Three or four weak and inconsequential people at the most, who found themselves in our ranks by mistake, denounced themselves as renegades as soon as they found that membership in the Opposition meant a hard fight.

That was all. One strives with difficulty to recall their names—so little influence did they exert on our cause.

Internationalism our Touchstone

This careful attentiveness to International development which has served us in such good stead all along, should mark our deliberations now as we prepare to raise our struggle to a higher ground. In contradistinction to the opportunists, Internationalism is the touchstone of our faction. But this does not assure for us the automatic assimilation of International experience. Continuous study of our problems in their international aspect is necessary now as before if we are to draw the correct inferences. Recent experiences in the International movement, particularly in Germany and France, should be the occasion for study and discussion in our ranks. And from this must follow a firmer consolidation of our ideological position and a strengthening of our tactical line in the struggle for the proletarian sections of the Party and Left wing.

In the light of recent events in the camp of the International Left three questions present themselves with especial insistence. They are: 1. The character and limits of our faction; 2. Our attitude toward the Party and the Party bureaucrats; 3. Our attitude toward the Right wing. Developments in the American Party since our National Conference also serve to push these questions into the foreground.

We proceed from the point of view that the crisis in the Comintern arises from the reaction against the October revolution and the weakening of the position of the revolutionary movement on an International scale. This crisis has split the Comintern into three factions, and the character of these factions becomes clearer every day. The issues were obscured for a long time. The exceptional position of the official Centrists, their monopoly of the apparatus and of unlimited material resources, gave them unprecedented opportunities for suppres-

sion, falsification and corruption. These methods were utilized to the limit. "Six years were necessary," says Trotsky, "in order to bring the weightiest questions and differences out of the bureaucratic underworld into the world arena." But political logic is stronger than bureaucratic machinations. It has forced the ideas, and the struggle over them, into the open.

This struggle for us is a struggle for the October revolution and for the principles embodied in it and in the first four Congresses of the Communist International. It is a principle fight for the foundations of Leninism. The International Left wing alone defends these positions. That is the reason, and the only reason, we were expelled by the bloc of the Right wing and the Centrists. It is obvious that such a fight can be ended only with victory.

The question then arises: how can this fight be waged successfully?

The answer is: in the first place, by a clear and definite principle line on all questions; in the second place, by the firm

organization of a faction on the basis of principle; and, in the third place, by an intransigent struggle for these principles under all circumstances and through all fluctuations in the movement. Lenin taught these lessons positively—through the long struggle and final victory of the Bolsheviks by these methods; the German Leninbund has taught them negatively—through its disintegration and degeneration by the rejection of them.

The Left wing is not a Party but a faction fighting to win the Party. The Leninbund stumbled on this question. Mistaking the corrupted bureaucrats for the proletarian masses in the Party ranks it set out toward the formation of a new party. In order to bet numbers quickly it assembled heterogeneous elements. Instead of defining and sharpening its principle line it blunted it. The Leninbund admitted people who had all kinds of "grievances" against the Party but had no common basis in principle. It maintained relations with anti-Marxists and speculated on a bloc with

« The Case of Roy Stephens »

The assault upon the former Boston organizer of the Party and present adherent of the Lovestone faction, Roy Stephens, by a Central Committee directed slugging squad, adds another black page to the list of Fascist attacks by which the Stalinist regime in the movement threatens to discredit Communism for years in the eyes of the whole working class. The beating up of Party political opponents, organized on slaughtres upon public meetings, burglarizing private homes and robbing documents, are essentially fascist methods, and there is little if anything to distinguish them when they are used by black-shirts or Stalinists.

Tactics Copied from Fascism

Indeed, it is from the gruesome chapters of fascism that all of these methods have been copied by the Stalinist usurpers and introduced as an alien body into our movement. The whole Communist movement fought these methods when the desperate yellow socialists and A. F. of L. fakers applied them in the trade unions in order to stem the tide of progressive and Left wing influence. The same tactics deserve not one ounce more of approval when they are applied by the Stalinist bureaucracy against any of the political groups in the movement, be they of the Left wing or the Right wing. These methods bring only the most negative results. They are a contemptible abuse of what little "power" the Party bureaucrats have at their command.

We condemned these methods when they were first used against our group. We do not forget for an instant that the first faction to use them was the Lovestone faction itself. It was that group which first burglarized a private residence which temporarily housed our office, and stole our files and documents (which they have yet to return). It was that group which sent armed tough guys to beat up our comrades when they attempted to sell the Militant at meetings or in front of Party buildings. It was that group—all these deeds, of course, in active collaboration with the Foster faction—which first established the "theory" that our meetings are to be disrupted in the same sense that monarchist meetings are to be attacked!

We condemned those methods when applied against us. We condemn them now when there are still instances of them. We condemn them equally when the Party bureaucrats use them against the Lovestone faction or any of its supporters.

We are not very much interested in Stephens personally. We know him only

as an irresponsible person, a man with little or no principles in the movement, a careerist whose services are very easily purchased in a factional struggle. We know further that Stephens himself, while district organizer of the Party in Kansas City, tried to terrorize the Party members against "fraternizing with the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries". We know that Stephens himself, while district organizer of the Party in Boston, organized, just a little while ago, a thugs' assault upon a Lovestoneite meeting there where Ben Gitlow, his newly-found leader, was the principal speaker.

Nor are we very much convinced by the virtuous protests of the Lovestone leaders, and their moral indignation. We have yet to see their paper condemn the deportation of comrade Trotsky. We have yet to see them condemn the imprisonment and exile of thousands of Oppositionists in the Soviet Union. We have yet to see them condemn the atrocious murder of comrade Jacob Blumkin, and the recent assassination of two more Oppositionists by Stalin, beside which the attack upon Stephens looks like an insignificant incident. These are questions to which Lovestone must still reply.

Away with Fascist Tactics!

But Lovestone's past and present attitude neither justify nor diminish the enormity of the Stalinists' crimes. Their continuation will rob the whole movement of its great moral and political power to fight the same crimes when they are practised against the Left wing by the reformists and reactionaries. They will alienate the workers of our movement and make it hateful for them. They are a manifestation of political and theoretical impotence. They pervert the whole conception of the historically progressive value of violence in the class struggle, degrading it into the reactionary weapon of a fear-stricken clique. These fascist methods must be exposed and condemned. They must be burned out of the movement, and those who advocate and practise it eliminated with them.

If the number on your wrapper is

44

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

the Right wing against the Party. The result: a false attitude on fundamental questions, the steady decline of a promising proletarian movement, a miserable degeneration culminating in a split.

The lesson for us in this event is the organization of our faction on principle lines only. Our strength as a faction, is our platform. Numbers will follow from that, not precede it. The Right wing attacks this insistence on close principle unity as "sectarianism". That is because their aims are different than ours. Opportunism has always made allowance for all kinds of divergent tendencies—except the proletarian revolutionary tendency. Lovestone freed by his expulsion from obligations to Communist tradition, is appealing for recruits on this basis. Anyone can join the Right wing and still "have the right to think and freedom to 'express' themselves" one way or the opposite. This is the Right wing "inducement" to prospective members.

We can have nothing in common with these conceptions. We stand for Party democracy because a living party can determine its united will only through democratic forms. But the democracy we advocate is a centralized democracy, that is to say, a form for a Party of action, not a mere discussion club for the exchange of ideas. A Party of action, thus governed, must have definite organization limits. These limitations have a double application for a faction.

The Limits of a Faction

Lenin prescribed strict limits of principle for membership in the Party, and still narrower limits for a faction. The sneers of the "Revolutionary Age" against the "sectarianism" of Trotsky's advice to the members of the Leninbund is characteristic of opportunists. Lenin, in justifying the expulsion of the Otszovists (boycottists) from the Bolshevik faction, elucidated the question as follows:

"As a faction, i. e., as a union of those who think alike in the Party, we cannot work without unity on fundamental questions. To break away from a faction is not the same as breaking away from the Party. Those who have left our faction are by no means deprived of the possibility of working in the Party." (Liquidating the Liquidators.)

The wisdom of this point of view is confirmed by all revolutionary experience. In order for a Party to lead the proletariat to victory it must have a clearly defined program and organization limits. A revolutionary faction must draw still closer lines. Otherwise it will not be able to act unitedly and influence the Party. It will be lost in the current of events instead of helping to shape them. We will not measure up to our historic mission if we forget the lessons.

As a group of Communists convinced of our platform and confident of our future, we have no need to boast of accomplishments, or to exaggerate our present influence. We know that the political line will decide and that the numerical ratio at the moment means little in the final analysis. But it is already clear that the Opposition, in spite of the heaviest obstacles, is going forward. In less than a year after our expulsion we succeeded in uniting our forces in a National Conference and adopting a platform. In less than a year since our Conference a new layer of Oppositionists is assembling in the Party. Our unrelenting fight on principle lines is shaping this development. The progress in the next period and our whole future depend on our continued adherence to this intransigent line of struggle.

Our platform is the platform of Leninism. The principled character of our faction and its definite organizational limits are the Leninist methods of organization. The slogan of intransigence in principle questions is the slogan for Bolshevik struggle and victory. The late experiences in the camp of the International Left wing, if properly assimilated, can only strengthen and reinforce our positions on this ground.

From this the question of our future attitude toward the Party and Party bureaucrats, and to the Right wing is easy to decide. These are subjects for subsequent articles.

Unemployment in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS—

Twelve thousand people jammed the Minneapolis Municipal Auditorium and five thousand more were turned away from the monster unemployment protest meeting called April 23rd by the Organization and Education Committee of the Central Labor Union.

Unemployment Severe

This turnout proves positively the deep-growing inroads unemployment has made into the lives of Minneapolis workers and demonstrates how they will respond to a crisis in industry. The railroads are putting into effect a 15% reduction in payroll. The building trades see no great pickup in spring building. Layoff, speedup, and wage-cuts are the order of the day. Only the Ford plant seems to be running full blast with 3,300 men, but they also are planning a short season. All conditions were excellent for a packed meeting. The Auditorium was donated by the City Council. Floyd B. Olson, the Farmer-Labor Candidate for governor was the big drawing card. Walter Frank, R. D. Cramer and other labor officials scheduled to speak, Eddie Dunstader, the theatre organist, and the Kiddie Review, to amuse the crowd.

The stage was set. Amplifiers broadcasted the speeches to every corner of the building. Thousands roamed the corridors trying to sneak in against the Fire Marshall's orders. Yet with all these favorable circumstances the meeting lacked spirit. The speakers quibbled and hedged with the main problems...the chain store boom was stressed...buy union label card goods and solve unemployment...vote for Floyd B. Olson for governor...Labor's friend, Walter Frank's attempt at a real analysis was weak and lacked any concrete proposals for the solution of unemployment, which the workers could profit from.

It is not surprising that over one half the audience dribbled out before the main speaker got the floor. The reason was obvious: No program was laid down to combat and abolish unemployment. Workers know and no spellbinders can convince them otherwise, that the union label hocus-pocus is no solution for unemployment or any other big problem of the labor movement. Frank's vague reference to an "industrial and political democracy" which he somehow picked up in his brief stay in the Communist movement is a cheap "socialist" fig-leaf concealing his seat on the Olson band-wagon.

Cramer Has Ross Pinched

And behind the scenes what do we find? We find a connivance with the police to prevent a real message getting to the workers. The only piece of literature on unemployment distributed at that meeting was put out by the Communist League. R. E. Cramer, editor of the Labor Review, who apparently has influence at police headquarters ordered the literature banned. The cops led us a merry chase and finally arrested Joe Ross who is a member of Cramer's own local, and well known for his activity in the Brooks Parlor Furniture strike. Cramer claims that these leaflets were likely to disrupt the meeting. This proves Cramer's lack of faith and hypocritical disbelief in his own program—or lack of it. Eight thousand of the leaflets were distributed.

It should be noted that the Communist Party in line with its latest tactics "boycotted" this mass meeting of workers as "social-fascist" and went off to talk to itself on Bridge Square about the Communist duty to go to the masses.

The success and fine spirit of the May Day meeting held by the Communist League proved the correctness of our program of working among the masses of workers.

The May Day parade, what it lacked in numbers, made up in spirit and the "Trotskyites" contributed most of the spirit. We introduced the singing of revolutionary songs on the line of march.

The terms "counter-revolutionary" and "renegade" which so sneeringly rolls off

The "value" of colonization from the point of view of the economic development of colonized countries has already been stressed. The lovers of hasty conclusions will exclaim: "But then we cannot understand why you fight colonization?" It is to forestall this objection, as simple as it is stupid, that we have added: "Born of the brutal fact of conquest and not of the normal process of evolution, the industrial revolution brought about by colonization is thoroughly artificial."

It is now a question of drawing the most important consequences from this observation.

It is obvious that without this political conquest by the European, American and Japanese imperialisms, the present colonies would, as a result of a vital necessity of economic evolution, have entered the path of rational production, of machinism, anyway.

On the other hand, colonial experience gives us an example of a country whose rhythm of development is manifestly retarded by this political domination itself: India. There, the "presence of the alien" has enabled Gandhi to build up and spread his ultra-reactionary theory of non-violence and non-cooperation based on a sentimental reaction against the machine, the devil of the Occident, a reaction which unfortunately keeps the Indian masses, for quite a time too long, alas!, closer to political mysticism than to even a superficial examination of the concrete conditions of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Forty years of military penetration to establish a political domination, which represents a considerable loss of energies which could have made marvels (bourgeois, of course) in the economic and scientific domain and which were wasted in the guerrilla fighting, the conspiracies and struggles of interest between the ruling dynasty and foreign imperialism. And then, when about 1900, the French bourgeoisie began its economic penetration into Indo-China, it was the era of organized waste, for example, works of a million which cost ten times as much in the budget, the friends of the governors pocketing the surplus.

Moreover, the native agrarian bourgeoisie, in conflict with the French industrialists from the very beginning—the latter having at its disposal a powerful military and political force, and still having the memories of the recent civil wars, removed its opponent from the industrial and commercial field.

This struggle for the strengthening of the political power of imperialism, for the "legalization" of an illegal act, the conquest, contributed largely to retard the development of the new economy which the French bourgeoisie wanted as a monopoly, especially at the beginning of its industrial life where the narrowness of its economic field and the little emphasized character of the division of labor did not economically cement the two bourgeoisies.

This is how the difference between French Indo-China, colonized country and Siam, once vassal of Indo-China, can be established from the economic point of view. The latter, on an area of 630,000 square kilometers, that is, 170,00 sq. km. less than Indo-China, and with a third of its population, has a railroad line 150 percent as developed as Indo-China's (Siam: 2,900 km. Indo-China: 1924 km.)

Thus the native bourgeoisie (we mean the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and not the feudal) born of an artificial clash, is basically incapable of properly fulfilling its historical role.

Smitten with congenital impotence,

the tongues of Party bureaucrats these days ring rather hollow and stir resentment in the hearts of non-Party workers, who on revolutionary holidays like May 1st want to see unity of Communist forces before the masters.

—CARL COWL

AFTER YEN BAY

The Revolt in Indo-China

"placed between two fires", it has never been and never will be able to live its independent life. History has inscribed its oscillations now towards the imperialist bourgeoisie (French) without this bourgeoisie, at least till the latest times, uniting or allying itself with one or the other of the two Indo-Chinese social poles.

After many gropings, the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie is falling pitifully into the only political formula that fits it: Franco-Annamite collaboration based on a vague equality, upon justice and courtesy (!) in reality, upon the unequal sharing, but still sharing, of Indo-China and the surplus values extracted from the forced labor of the Indo-Chinese masses.

Contrary to other bourgeoisies supported more or less by deceived masses, the Annamite bourgeoisie has entered upon the political scene without having first been able to rally any part of the masses. This explains the brutal, "inelegant" manner with which the French government, conscious of this fact, treats it. Twice the most authorized representatives of France, importuned by the demand of our elected bourgeois, have told them flatly: "You represent nothing at all."

After this declaration that the native bourgeoisie, artificially born, is incapable of any revolt, we now hear Doriot propound his colonial theory. "Bourgeois democratic revolution first," he recently said in the Civil Engineers Hall of rue Blanche. There immediately unfolds before my eyes with blinding clearness the horrible scenes of torture in China at the time of the Chiang Kai-Shek-Stalin "revolutionary" experiment.

Cannot Doriot understand that the native bourgeoisie, suffering from congenital impotence, will not embark on a democratic revolution, but will align themselves on the side of imperialism?

And besides, there exists a world situation within which Indo-China is included. Capitalism extends to the farthest corners of Asia. The world, despite the fact that politically it is still composed of many nations, tends to form an economic whole. In addition, democracy is sufficiently exposed so that there can no longer be any place for a democratic revolution.

Bourgeois revolution or proletarian socialist revolution no other issue.

But if one can distinguish the real from the formal, it can be said that in reality the world bourgeois revolution parallels capitalist expansion itself in all its forms.

There remains now the proletarian socialist revolution. Of course, that will not be achieved at one blow. There is a complicated process, that is, stages which we can fix only after having thrown light on the situation created by the artificial blow of colonization upon the peasantry and the proletariat, and after having explained the manner of conceiving relations between these two classes, as well as the role of the intellectual revolutionaries. There is also the uneven development of capitalism. This means that the actual revolutionary struggle cannot be limited to generalizations, to theories concocted in the ante-

The Inconsistency of the S. L. P.

KANSAS CITY—

It is amusing how the Socialist Labor Party decries revolutionary action on the part of the workers; and, at the same time, pretends to defend the Soviet Union which was established by revolution. I quote from three separate paragraphs of a pamphlet entitled "Americanism" issued by the S.L.P.:

"It is self-evident that it is the Proletarian Revolution in Russia which has aroused the capitalist class of this country to realization and action. All means are good to a desperate ruling class, as long as the hope is held out of prolongation of power. (Referring to direct action propaganda.) When it is not possible to soften the worker's brain by cajolery, or gouge it out by jingoism, then by all means let it be beaten out by policemen's clubs or shot out by Winchester rifles."

The author of the pamphlet did not consider the fact that the Revolution in Russia would never have been brought about had not the workers of that country dared to face clubs and rifles. Had S.L.P. tactics been followed in Russia, the nation would still have been prostrate under the iron heel of the Romanoffs.

The inconsistency of the S. L. P. is further shown by the fact that its official organ, the Weekly People, has, at the same time, been publishing a biography of Lenin and ridiculing Communists as "comesocists". A Communist alive is, according to S. L. P. reasoning, a hair-brained fanatic, while one dead is a great proletarian hero.

We wonder if both the purveyors of capitalistic and Menshevik bromides are not attempting to soften the brains of the workers by cajolery. One teaches them to acquiesce in robbery; the other fails to teach him the correct tactics wherewith to eliminate the robber. In the present crucial moment, when class lines are being drawn firmly and sharply, when the workers are struggling for emancipation, the S. L. P. continues to sit on the fence and make asinine quips at those who are genuinely laboring to overthrow capitalism.

In the very words of the S. L. P., "all means are good to a desperate ruling power." If they ever examined history, the S. L. P. writers would be forced to observe that no ruling class has ever succumbed without a struggle. The capitalist class is no exception to the rule as its past record and present conduct show.

—HAROLD PREECE

room of the international bureau. Step by step, we must follow the dynamic relations of the united forces, the temporary harmony among them, strengthened or destroyed by the later developments of the struggle. We can nevertheless say one thing. The revolutionary party which will succeed is that which, while maintaining an ideological intransigence and fighting the opportunist concessions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution type, will know how, in the field of action, to pass over the "revolutionary compromises" with the temporary allies and to provoke splits within the heterogeneous camp of the enemy.

—AN INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST

~ SINCE LENIN DIED ~

By Max Eastman

The book that first told the inside story of the struggle between the Opposition and the bureaucracy in the Communist Party in Russia. The details of how the conspiracy was hatched against Leon Trotsky by Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and others, was recounted originally in this excellent volume. It is invaluable for an understanding of present day events in Russian and the world Communist movement.

158 pages

Cloth bound: \$1.00

Paper: 60 cents

Send All Orders to

The Militant 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Doonping on China

Charlatanism as a Cover for the Concealment of Adventurism

There is no other way to characterize the article "The Rising Revolutionary Wave and Trotsky Liquidation in China" by R. Doonping in the March issue of the "Communist" than as charlatanry and falsehood. It is not a polemical contribution written by someone convinced of his point of view—right or wrong—or of a confused revolutionist, but a piece of cheap slander, bought and paid for. That it can disgrace the pages of even so rotten a review as the "Communist" is a pitiable commentary on the theoretical abyss into which Stalinism is dragging our movement.

What Should Not Be Forgotten

When a supporter of the Stalinist policies in China dares to proclaim and defend them publicly against the views—confirmed a thousand times over—of the Opposition, at the same time spewing his slanders upon Trotsky who was chiefly responsible for shaping a course towards Bolshevism in China, it is first of all necessary to repeat a number of plain facts, which all the squirming of the bureaucrats will never down:

1. Stalin-Bucharin-Martinov were the principal props for Chiang Kai-Shek until the very last moment. The Opposition demanded that the Communists break with Chiang Kai-Shek and warned in advance—not after the fact, Doonping, but in advance—against his certain betrayal.

2. Stalin and Co. subordinated the Communist Party to Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang. Under Stalin, the Chinese Communist Party, in a written document pledged itself not to criticize Sun Yat Senism. Under Stalin, the Chinese C. P. declared that it had differences "only in matters of detail" with the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. Under Stalin the Chinese Communist Party was made to obey the discipline and decisions of the bourgeois K.M.T. The Opposition demanded—in time, not after the C. P. had been drowned in its own blood—the freedom of action, the political and organizational independence of the Chinese C. P.

3. On the very eve of the moment that Chiang Kai-Shek was entering Shanghai with his army to let loose a horrible reign of terror against the Chinese workers, Stalin was crushing the Opposition in Moscow because it declared that Chiang would soon show himself to be the Chinese Gall-let. Stalin then declared that "we will still go a long way with Chiang Kai-Shek" (March 1927). At the moment that Chiang Kai-Shek was beginning the slaughter of the Shanghai proletariat the French Communist Party sent the K. M. T. a telegram greeting the entry into Shanghai as the "Chinese Commune".

4. When the Hankow government of Wang Chin-Wei and Co. was formed, Stalin praised it as the "only revolutionary center" as the organizer of the agrarian revolution (no less)—only to have it appear in its full stature of strangler of the proletariat and peasantry a brief few weeks later. The Opposition again demanded—in time!—a break with the Wang Chin Weis and the formation of Soviets.

5. Stalin concealed the crying facts of the suppression of the labor and trade union movement in China, the curbing of the peasant sections, so as not to antagonize, first Chiang, then Feng Yu-Hsiang, finally Wang Chin Wei. The Opposition had to make these facts public in secret and illegal documents.

6. Stalin and Bucharin sent telegrams to the Chinese Communists demanding that the brakes be put upon the peasants movement. The Opposition demanded that it be driven forward in collaboration with the revolutionary movement in the cities.

Chinese Soviets: Now and Then

7. The official brakemen of the Chinese revolution opposed the formation of Soviets when the revolutionary wave was rising and raised, instead, the slogan of a constituent assembly. The Opposition was for the formation of Soviets, at the proper time, when it meant setting tens of millions of workers and peasants into motion for the capture of power.

8. Stalin raised the slogan of Soviets for China only after the crushing of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, after the physical annihilation of the Chinese Communist Party to his ally Chiang Kai-Shek, because he could not and cannot distinguish the face of a revolution from its rump. The Opposition, pointing out only what idiots and blind men cannot see—that the counter-revolution has triumphed in China—has raised the slogan of the constituent assembly for China as a transitional slogan that will revive the mass struggle and lead to the victorious issue of the third Chinese revolution, to the dictatorship of the proletariat which supports itself upon the masses of peasants.

This criminal record of the official apparatus must never be forgotten.

* * *

Now for Mr. Doonping's dishonest article. His two main contentions are that "Trotsky sees no revolutionary perspective in China", i. e., that he is a "liquidator"; and that China still stands before a bourgeois democratic revolution, i. e., not before the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now how does Doonping draw the conclusion that Trotsky sees no revolutionary perspective in China? Because "the theoretical root of Trotsky's mistakes is his erroneous theory of 'permanent revolution'." So Trotsky is an advocate of the "permanent revolution", that is, of the democratic revolution developing into the socialist revolution, of the flow of the class struggle rising steadily towards a higher and broader stage. If that is true (and it is) where does his "liquidationism", his "lack of revolutionary perspective" fit in? Doonping intimates that it is demonstrated in Trotsky's opposition to the slogan of Soviets at the present period, his opposition to the guerrilla warfare endorsed by the Stalinists, in his advocacy of transitional democratic slogans. Where does the one flow from the other? If the Communists do not raise the slogan of "Establish the power of the Soviets" in, let us say, Turkey, does this indicate the absence of a revolutionary perspective? Or, conversely when the Stalinists, breaking with all the teachings of Marxism and Leninism and the experiences of the revolutionary movement, carry thru in China a policy of "Communist" Makhnoism, of adventurist, self-exhausting guerrilla warfare, does that prove these perverters of Marxism to be the best revolutionists?

So that Doonping's conscious falsification of Trotsky's position may be adequately understood we quote from the latter's article, "China and the Constituent Assembly":

Trotsky on the Constituent

"China is not passing through a revolution now but rather a counter-revolution. During such a period, the slogan of Soviets can have meaning only for restricted cadres by preparing them for the third Chinese revolution in the future. This preparation obviously has an enormous importance. To accomplish it, the slogan of Soviets must accompany that of the proletariat's struggle for the dictatorship at the head of all the poor masses of the population, and above all, of the poor peasants. But, besides the preparation by theory and propaganda of the revolutionary cadres for the revolutionary future, there still remains the question of mobilizing as broad as possible workers' circles for active participation in the political life of the period we are traversing."

This is not understood at all by the Stalinists. For their criminal opportunism of yesterday they substitute an equally criminal adventurism today. With the working class crushed, the revolutionary movement decapitated, the order of the day is headed, for them, by the... immediate struggle for power.

But not even for that! The Chinese proletariat has been forbidden to fight for power by the leaders of the Comintern. In China, says Doonping, the task of the moment is the struggle for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasant-

ry, because says our feeble-minded Marxist, the remnants of feudalism dominate the economic life of China, like the "remnants" of Doonping's Kuo Min Tangism dominate his thin "Marxist" veneer. This can mean nothing but a repetition of the debacle of Hankow. For what else will this democratic revolution look like? What will be its state form? What class will direct it? What will be its social program? Not a word about this. To speak of the democratic revolution after Nanking, after Hankow, and particularly after the experiences—negative though they were—of the Canton Soviet which proclaimed the socialist dictatorship, is to place a "legal" prohibition upon the Chinese proletariat to fight for power and lay the basis for a recurrence of the crimes of Stalinism in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

Doonping's Defense of Browder

Two more words on Doonping. He ardently defends Earl Browder from our comrade Charlie Bryne, who in an issue of the Militant, once called Browder "Stalin's Yankee Priest in China". Comrade Bryne spoke more truly than he spoke. And here is the fact. When the nationalist government left Canton for Wuhan, the general Li Ti Sin carried out a coup d'Etat in Canton (December 1926-January 1927). The workers were disarmed. The Canton Committee of the Kuo Min Tang, led by Left wing elements, was dissolved at bayonet point. The workers' groups that protested were hunted down mercilessly and driven into illegality. Yet, after this reactionary action, the delegation of the Comintern, composed of Browder, Tom Mann and Doriot, visited Canton, were received by the butcher Li Ti Sin, and were banqueted and toasted by him without a word of the meekest protest from them against the slaughter of workers. That is the beginning and the end of Browder's revolutionary record in China.

And now, who is Doonping himself that he presumes to teach Marxism and Leninism to Trotsky and the Opposition? He began his revolutionary education in a Chinese bourgeois university, and improved it as a student in Rockefeller's University of Chicago. During the whole period of the Chinese revolution, he was a member and ardent supporter of the Kuo Min Tang, and an opponent of Communism. After the defeat of the revolution, he joined the Communist Party and was forthwith sent to the Far Eastern University in Moscow to absorb the latest brand of Stalinism. Fearless revolutionist that he was, he resisted violently the proposals that he go to China for Communist work, calculating that a head on the shoulders in Moscow is worth two on the ground in Canton. He even wanted to quit the Far Eastern University to return to comfortable America. He was finally granted his heart's desire. To perfect his 100 percent Bolshevik education (Stalin style) he entered Murray Butler's Columbia University, where he is now completing his studies—in Marxism, we suppose. In the cozy calm of the university campus, is he not just the man selected by destiny to teach the Opposition the fundamentals of Marx and Lenin?

KLORKEIT (CLARITY)

MONTHLY ORGAN IN THE JEWISH LANGUAGE OF THE LEFT COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

This 16-page paper is of special interest to all Jewish-speaking workers! Number 1 is already out and contains:

Lenin's Testament, articles by Leon Trotsky, A. Senin, I. Obin, "Emil", and others

Ten Cents a Copy
One Dollar a Year

Order from
The Militant
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

In the Soviet Union

And the Kulak?

MOSCOW—

In a recent number of "Soviet Siberia" one finds a decision of the Executive Committee of the Regional Soviet where, among other things, it says: "Kulak holdings destined to be liquidated are divided into two groups: 1. The active Kulaks, among the richest, who must be deported to distant localities, and 2. all the remaining Kulaks who will be left within the limits of their respective districts but who will be put out and distributed over other grounds outside of the limits of the collective farms." This "liquidation" of the Kulak by means of Article 58 and by administrative measure reminds me of the plan of the late Stambulsky ("peasant" prime minister of Bulgaria killed by the fascists) to "uproot entirely" the Communist evil by means of a complete deportation of all the Bulgarian Communists (at that time they counted about 38,000) to the desert islands of the Black Sea littoral or to any other kind of deserted locality. As you see, in this field also our Centrists steal their "ideas" from others, in this case from a petty bourgeois prime minister of Bulgaria.

Voronezh versus Tomsk!

Now for some news. The leaders and semi-leaders of the capitulators have been distributed throughout the U.S.S.R. On this subject, Radek has reflected thus: "Surely L. D. will exclaim: Let Radek tell us now which is better—Tomsk or Voronezh! Ah! it must be admitted that L. D. was right in his foresight. But what can you do... There is no way out, no way out..."

Three deported Oppositionists were arrested at Schtchedrinsk. They are accused of "having received directives and of spreading them". Quite simply, they are threatened with "solitary" for having corresponded with comrades in a spirit which is not that of the capitulators. With such an accusation, the Centrists can arrest the whole population of the deportees. Moreover that is just what they are beginning to do, for recently four comrades were arrested at Tomsk and shipped to Nizhni-Sibirsk. They would like to finish us off for the Sixteenth "council".

How is your letter of November concerning the "possible or inevitable concessions to the class enemy in the realization of the Five Year Plan" to be interpreted? What concessions are you speaking about? Up to where will these concessions go? Perhaps you will write us in detail your opinion on this matter. It would be very useful. As for me, personally, it seems that being given the situation, after all the Centrist madness in the country, the return to the positions of our Platform runs the risk of being interpreted as a concession. But since since they cannot go further, I am for such a concession, that is, for the recall of the measures which have led to the "generalized mess". I mean the "generalized collectivization" accompanied by accusatory "comments".

I am against the "switching" of small agriculture on to the "socialist" rails in one or two years, because I believe that such a switching will yield absolutely nothing and because I think the theory of socialism in one country is false. I am against the monstrosities accomplished by the light-hearted Centrists in the country, which make the Kulak a martyr for the "peasant" cause. In a word, I am for the concession that would consist in a return to the position of our Platform. Is that the kind of concession you speak of in your November letter? Write us about it!

(Note of the Editors: That's it exactly.)

NTW YORK—Thousands waited in line from 11 p. m. to 9 a. m. and broke glass doors at civil service commission offices to sign up for street cleaning jobs at \$6 a day that will not materialize for a year.

Read the announcement on page two of this issue on the campaign for subscriptions to the Militant. You can help yourself to get a free copy of Trotsky's autobiography or two other books of vital interest by helping the Militant. Read it over and ACT!

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 20

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, May 17, 1930.

PRICE 5 CENTS

MacDonald's Assault on India

WEEK

Whalen's Forgeries

The crude anti-Soviet forgeries of Mr. Whalen have proved a miserable dud—even in Washington. The New York Graphic exposed their origin by tracing the forgeries to a New York printing shop where the "Comintern" letterheads were turned out. Besides, anyone casually acquainted with the Communist movement could see at first glance that no Communist or Communist organization could possibly have concocted the letters. What stands out quite clearly is that Whalen must have been well aware of the falsity of the "documents" when he first made them public. For his pains he has been virtually laughed out of court by most of the prominent capitalist papers. But that does not mean the end of the matter. There are indications that the roots of the whole dirty business may be uncovered and "men higher up" involved. The Forgers International reaches from Riga and Sofia, through Berlin, through MacDonald and Baldwin, to Whalen. Mathew Woll and Ralph Easley of the Civic Federation, and some "noted individuals" in Washington whose names may yet be known. Nevertheless, Whalen's attempt to put a crimp into the growing U. S.-Soviet trade by an "exposure" of Amtorg has not got very far. American labor, suffering intensely from unemployment, will do well to demand credits to Russia that will enable it to place machinery orders here and alleviate joblessness.

Tariff and Trade

The attempt of American capitalism to issue out of its profound crisis is involving it in the sharpest conflict throughout the world. Hoover's soothing syrup is obviously accomplishing nothing. The ill-fated "engineering mind" no sooner says that all is going well than the Stock Market suffers its worst crash, Canada opens a bitter tariff war on the U. S. and a new decrease in New York jobs is immediately reported. The U. S. (which can build capitalism in one country just as little as Stalin can build socialism in one country) can alleviate its body-racking crisis only by an assault upon the world market, which means primarily an assault upon European capitalism, headed by England. But the anarchy of capitalist production makes it enormously difficult to reorganize American industry for this attack. Bad signs for American industry multiply: steel and iron are stagnant. Foreign trade dropped almost a third of a billion dollars in January-February-March. Canada is hitting back at the Grundy bill by establishing a British-favored tariff that will cut American trade with Canada by 25 percent; France and other countries are also preparing retaliations. America will meet world competition only by lowering costs of production, which means the severest attack on U. S. labor's standards, and the creation of the most profound international social convulsions and upheavals. The American crisis is not only lifting whole sections of the working class out of capitalist-minded swamps, but is blazing the trail for the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

The Lynching Bee

The uniformed defenders of law and order in Sherman Texas stood by while the lynching mob burned to death George (Continued on Page 7)

The Labor Party's Message of Peace Comes from the Mouth of Machine Guns

The world of liberal and socialist reformism is deeply stirred with fear and chagrin. All its shabby principles and methods, its "prestige", its "future" are in danger of crashing on the rocks of the class struggle in India. The British Labor Party and its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, are again taking the great dispute between reform and revolution out of the realm of abstract discussion and testing the merits of the former in undisputable realities. And the test has resulted, as was inevitable, in a crushing indictment of MacDonaldism.

Eighteen hundred British troops, the soldiers of His Majesty and His Majesty's loyal servants of the Labor Party, are patrolling the streets of Sholapur. The Indian population is being persuaded of the nobleness of MacDonald's "inevitability of gradualness" by the establishment of martial law. The message of all-hallowing pacifism is pouring out of Labor Party machine guns that point down all the thoroughfares. MacDonald is inserting the sweet spirit of Christ and Laborism into the hearts of the Indian masses at the point of the saber and bayonet.

From 200 to 500 Indians have been

imprisoned in turbulent Bombay and vicinity so that they can reflect in their cells on the Labor Party's passionate desire to "free India". So can the 80 Indians that were arrested in Calcutta. So can the relatives of the Indians massacred at Peshawar when the British troops (with the slogans of MacDonald's pacifism inscribed on their regimental banners) retook the city from the insurgents. The pious Christian Laborites are on a Holy Crusade—to preserve the British Empire.

The international social democracy is worried. Its "prestige" is being hopelessly compromised. The French *Populaire* writes: "Political opinion in England—and in that country every government is obliged to reckon with it—is so attached to what it calls 'the integrity of the empire' that the cabinet which would infringe this integrity, in which India forms the keystone for the English, would be immediately swept away." Nevertheless, these professional slave traders add, "the Labor Party looks upon the Gandhi movement with sympathy". Certainly, for Gandhi who is strangling the movement he is involuntarily arousing but not for the movement itself.

The «Red» Guerilla War in China

NOTE: This article by one of the leaders of the Chinese Opposition was received after our last issue was off the press. It gives a first hand picture and Marxist analysis of the guerilla warfare now going on in Southern China and serves as a thorough reply to the falsehoods and anti-Marxist nonsense which the official Party press (particularly its Chinese "expert" Doonping) publishes on events in China. Our next issue will contain another letter from comrade Niel-Sih.—Ed.)

SHANGHAI—

To have an idea of the real importance of the official Communist Party, it should be noted that according to the official figures the membership in Shanghai does not exceed one thousand. The organization has no active life; all is concentrated in the hands of the apparatus. The situation is still worse in the provinces.

The recent congress of the Party at Dazhan-Sus proclaimed that the revolutionary situation was "ripe" and appealed for the general strike and the armed uprising in the cities, and for the development of the guerilla war in the country.

Certain strikes imposed from above were terminated either with a lockout by the bourgeoisie or with bloodshed; in the best case, by the economic defeat of the workers. A spirit of passivity prevails within the textile industry which is the principal industry in Shanghai. The bourgeoisie conducts a systematic offensive against the workers, replacing men in textiles by women and children.

Two or three Communist workers can sometimes be found in the most important industrial enterprises. For a long time nobody took the trouble to keep in contact with them. But the First of August saw the beginning of a period of artificial explosions: the Party organized demonstrations, one after the other. Outside of the kernel proper of the membership, the demonstration only attracted some chance passers-by. For the most part they proceeded as follows:

In a busy street, with many passers-by, small merchants, buyers and idlers, a bunch

of Communists arrive and begin to shout: "Down with the Kuo Min Tang! Long live the Communist International!" and distribute leaflets. But this method gives no serious results: the leaflets fall on the sidewalk and street and are swept up with the dirt by the municipal street cleaners. A dozen demonstrators are led to the station house. Next day, the Party organ proclaims that the demonstration was magnificent, with thousands of participants, when only about one or two hundred Party members could be seen. Such demonstrations were frequently launched for the most futile motives.

On the other hand, Communists are sent to the Left Kuo Min Tang generals in order to help them in the constitution of new troops. It is even said that the Communists sent a delegate to the conference for a bloc against Chiang Kai Shek. This conference was recently held in Hong Kong. It goes without saying that while it maintains its collaboration with the Left Kuo Min Tang, the official Party and its organ, *The Red Flag*, conducts a rabid campaign against the Left Opposition.

The situation is still worse among the provincial Party forces. No campaign has been conducted against the Kuo Min Tang for a long time, on the belief that was a finished phase and that after their disillusionment with the Kuo Min Tang the workers would rejoin the Communist ranks of their own accord.

In reality they did nothing of the kind. The Left Kuo Min Tang showed considerable flexibility, even taking the lead in nu-

(Continued on Page 2)

Norman Thomas, the spokesman for American "socialism" who is also a man of God and piety, expresses the worried "hope that the (Labor) Party will find some honorable (!) way out of the tragically difficult situation which it has inherited (?) in India." To be sure, Mr. Thomas, who has such ardent hopes of building a replica of the British Labor Party in the United States so that he may himself become a MacDonald, is more than a little embarrassed by the difficulties created for him in advance by his brother-in-Christ, MacDonald. Thomas is wiser than MacDonald only because he has not the chance to exercise power—and may Thomas' God help the Filipinos and Cubans if he ever gets the chance. There is no reason in the world to believe that Mr. Thomas will act any better in Havana or Manila than Zoergiebel in Berlin or MacDonald in Sholapur or Cairo.

Puzzled and Powerless!

Thomas is not the only apologetic and embarrassed socialist. His colleague, James Oneal cables the Labor Party: "American workers puzzled regarding Labor Party's attitude toward India." The evangel of timid "progressivism" Muste, declares that MacDonald has done things "which leave his friends powerless to say a word in his defense". We know of no better characterization of these two men than the ones they themselves employ: Oneal is puzzled about how to defend the scoundrelly record of his fellows in India (he is puzzled in general, by any important question), and Muste is as powerless to defend it as he is careful not to attack it.

But what Muste is careful not to do, Lovestone does. He is, as he will explain, an enemy of British imperialism and Laborism. So that on May 10, he called a mass meeting at Columbus Circle to "DEMAND FREEDOM FOR GANDHI!!". Lovestone is bitter at MacDonald too. He wants to "restore" Gandhi to the Indian masses! Lovestone is the most violent opponent of the "permanent revolution" in India. He does not want to "skip any stages of development". Gandhi has not yet had the opportunity to massacre the Indian masses like Chiang Kai-Shek did in China. The "only" thing he has done so far is to betray them in his own way, hand the militants over to the British jailors by disowning their "violence". Consistent Lovestone! For the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek in the Chinese revolution in 1925-27 and for the defense of the strangler of the Indian revolution, for "the freedom of Gandhi", in 1930!

As for the Daily Worker, and the rest of the Stalinist press, it is as puzzled as Oneal and as speechless as Muste—from another point of view. It has an unusual opportunity to draw pointed lessons from the Indian revolts and the attitude of Laborite reformism. But it is strangely silent. Its Indian news is buried somewhere on an insignificant page. It fears to speak of a genuine revolutionary movement in India because there is no Communist Party there. AND THERE IS NO COMMUNIST PARTY BECAUSE STALIN HAS BEEN TOO BUSY PLAYING WITH INDIAN NATIONALISM AND PETTY BOURGEOIS "WORKERS AND PEASANT PARTIES" TO BUILD THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. The Indian masses are paying heavily for the crimes of Stalinism.

—MAX SHACHTMAN

Co-operatives Confer at Superior

The annual board meeting in Superior, Wisconsin, of the Cooperative Central Exchange has just registered a severe defeat for the official Communist Party and at the same time put squarely the problems of the immediate future of the Finnish revolutionary movement in the United States.

We have previously described the features of the crisis in the Northwest co-operatives, which are in many respects a pivot of the Finnish labor movement in the country. For virtually ten years, this powerful movement has been dominated by the Communists. For at least half that time conflicts of greater or lesser severity have gone on constantly between the leaders of the Finnish Communist (and co-operative) movement and the Communist Party to some extent because of the important role played by the Finnish Party members in the various Party factional fights, but essentially because of the increasing weight of conservatism, sluggishness and opportunism developing in the Finnish movement and restraining its revolutionary progress. Nevertheless, the Party managed to retain its influence and hold on to the movement for quite a time.

Conflict Comes to a Head

The conflict came to a sharp point only in recent times. The victory of the Lovestone faction in the Party resulted in the violent imposition upon the large Finnish movement of discredited and incompetent hacks (Puro, Heikkinen, Suvanto and Co.) Then the impure chemical concoction recently foisted upon the Party as its Stalinist leadership (Browder, Bedacht, Foster, Minor, Amter, etc.) together with their irresponsible ultra-Leftist course, brought the mess to the boiling point. In a sudden, Leftist outburst, disfigured by adventurism and criminal unconcern about results, the Stalinist crew created such a state of affairs in the Finnish movement that they not only alienated the great bulk of the Finnish workers in the Northwest but enabled a group of opportunists (and Halonen in particular) to win these workers to their side against the Party. What is worse, the Stalinist freebooters succeeded in lining up on Halonen's side some of the best elements in the Finnish revolutionary movement—a fact of considerable significance for the future.

The struggle centered around the annual meeting of the Cooperative Exchange Board, with both sides mobilizing all forces. When the delegates assembled, the Party at best had 20% of the delegates, with the opposing forces holding the rest. The majority was not even swayed (such is the loss of C. I. prestige!) by the cable from the Cooperative Section of the Comintern, whose slogan was: "Wrest the leadership of your Central Exchange from the hands of Halonen and place it in the hands of a reliable fighter for a proletarian class policy." "Reliable fighter" is apparently the pseudonym of Matti Tenhunen leader of the Party forces at the meeting, and as unreliable an opportunist as ever led the Finnish movement.

The "Reliable Fighters"

It is characteristic of the "reliable fighters" who were entrusted with fighting for the Bolshevik line that they were quite careful to do no such thing. Corgan spoke on policies only once, and that in connection with a motion to remove him. Tenhunen fought with the greatest violence on technical questions but he assiduously avoided the "Left wing program" as though it were poison ivy. Vainionpaa took the floor only once to make a defense not of the Party line, but...his ability as a functionary who has been trustworthy and efficient. Corgan, Tenhunen and Vainionpaa are waiting—waiting to see how the line-up will look when things settle a bit.

For all of that, the Halonen forces were a thousand times wrong, and set an even worse precedent, by removing the three named above from the Board, al-

though it was found possible to elect one I. W. W. and one socialist to it. That is the method used by the Stalinists, in reverse English, and indicates a profound weakness and fear in the Halonen group.

The meeting of the Board, with more than 250 representative delegates attending, was unmistakably a bitter defeat for the Party which a competent leadership and correct policy might have avoided. The manner in which the Party conducted its side of the fight was literally blockheaded. The Finnish Party press was simply filled with outrageous lies, misrepresentations, personal slander, scandals and the like, probably under the impression that this was the way to win workers from the other side. It accomplished just the opposite—as was easily predictable—particularly since the Party had only a weak leg to stand on to begin with and had compromised itself in the eyes of the workers by absolutely indefensible gangster methods against Halonen's group. It succeeded in pushing genuinely revolutionary elements over to Halonen; it is "making up" for this blunder by calling them all "a pack of social-fascists". All the worse for Stalinist confusionism.

What Next?

But the fact that these fine workers are temporarily with Halonen and the group of officials around him—people primarily interested in substantial labor cooperatives, not in the revolutionary class struggle and its basic principle—is of the highest im-

portance. Some of these officials had a very platonic and fleeting interest at one moment for the Left Opposition, as a sort of cover for their essentially Right wing fight. That's gone, of course. And just as water finds its level in the end, so a section of these functionaries is already leaning towards Lovestone, who conducts a very democratic group, open to all stages and varieties of opportunism.

It is the younger elements, however, and the workers, who have a decisive word to say. Many of them have waited before speaking on the fundamental principle questions, on the basic disputes in the revolutionary movement (of which the co-operative situation is only a reflection) until "the crisis is over". The organizational victory over the Stalinists confronts them more than ever with the necessity of defining their perspective in clear words and firm deeds. Not even the cooperative movement, not even Halonen, can remain "neutral". The differentiation that must take place in the ranks of the confused, and so to speak, "all-embracing" Halonen group is of greatest consequence. A position must now be taken on the political questions of the hour. Right wingers will inevitably go with the organized Right wing. What is urgently needed is an organized, outspoken group of revolutionists, a Marxist core in the Northwest movement that knows how to fight and what to fight for. That is the guarantee for the movement's future.

—M. S.

Stalinist Adventurism

«Red» Guerilla War in China

(Continued from page 1)

merous strike movements. In short, after the defeats of the demonstrations organized on the initiative of the C. P., many workers can be seen abandoning the Party and going over to the Left Kuo Min Tang and joining the yellow trade unions. This is what happened especially among the miners of Tang-Chan, near Tien-Tsin.

In the provinces, the strikes, acts of sabotage and other conflicts were often provoked in an entirely artificial manner in order to justify the schema of a revolutionary recrudescence. This sort of demonstration succeeded in embracing only a restricted part of the workers' forces and contributed more to weakening than strengthening the movement.

Rich Peasant Elements in Party

The very small proportion of proletarian elements within the Party frequently leads to the decay of the movement in the villages. Also, the rich peasants often join the Party. Easily solidarizing with the struggle against taxes, the assessments on domainal land leases and other state impositions.

Conversely, these same rich peasants show themselves basically hostile to the directives of the Party on the leases between individuals and usurious loans. In those regions, the poor peasants break away from the revolution, become discouraged and go to sleep at meetings. The movement has no hold on the class of poor peasants because it does not constitute a struggle against the rich peasants.

In the villages of the Tung-Cheiu and Kwang-Si provinces, the Party organizations are peopled with lumpen-proletarian elements or bandits whose armed detachments often cover themselves with the name of Red Army. Further in the same province of Tung-Cheiu the rich proprietors call themselves Communists in order to seek an alliance with these armed groups. Such proprietors often pay the "Red" chiefs so as to be authorized, under their protection, to levy rental rates on the poor peasant. When the peasants ask why these Communists levy rents, they are told that it is for various needs, including the provisioning of troops. Such troops of so-called Communists do not limit themselves to levying contributions on the rich, but also on the poor, and in general carry on numerous exactions and violence, arousing

the hatred of the peasants and compromising the names of Communism and the Red Army.

Everything shows that with such a weak development of the revolutionary spirit in the villages and such an oppression of the proletariat, the guerilla war in the country can lead to nothing but pure banditry. In any event, that is the situation in the province of Kiang Su.

Frequently, also, troops of partisans proceed to the temporary occupation of small localities only in order to give their chiefs the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the population and the State treasury. This it what is happening especially in the Hupei province.

Tchu-Deh's Forces

The detachment of the Communist Tchu-Deh, composed of the remnants of Ye-Tin's forces, has been reinforced by new groups of rebels. Pursued by the regular forces, this detachment goes from Right to Left, utilizing the lack of any contact between the governmental forces of the four provinces of Hunan, Kiang-Si, Kwantung and Fukien. This detachment, or at least its nucleus already exists since 1927. It wages war without cessation. It escapes all pursuit, taking refuge in the mountainous parts of the four provinces mentioned above. Tchu-Deh's detachment distinguishes itself advantageously from the groups of bandits in that it really pursues a revolutionary aim. As soon as it invades a new region, it proceeds to share the land among the peasants, proclaims the annulment of debts, constitutes village Soviets, furnishes the poor peasants with provisions as far as it is possible, so that as soon as the government troops arrive the detachment leaves nothing but regrets among the peasants.

Personally, Tchu-Deh is a former Chinese student in Germany, a Communist, formerly a divisional general under the Wang Chin Wei government. The operations of this detachment, however, produce only a weak impression here because in the present general circumstances, they lack perspective. What the Moscow *Pravda* says, cited by the Left Opposition press, is manifestly exaggerated in order the better to serve the needs of the "Third Period".

Our group has just issued its first appeal for the establishment of a Left Communist League. The work is only beginning. January 25, 1930.

—NIEL-SIH

Plan Two Toronto Dress Strikes

Two unions in Toronto have issued the call for a "general strike of the dress-makers". The corrupt International, led by the bureaucracy of the socialist party, and the Industrial Union under the leadership of the Communist Party are both preparing to bring out the workers.

Trade Conditions Rotten

The conditions in the cloak industry are very bad but those in the dress industry, where the overwhelming majority of the workers are young girls, married and unmarried women, they are even worse. As in the cloak trade, the conditions continue to grow worse from year to year and this is reflected in the seasonal migration of workers from shop to shop, hoping in vain that maybe the next place will be a little better.

Preceding the organization of the Industrial Union two years ago, no attempt was ever made by the International to organize the trade. The answer the militants always received to their request for the International to organize a local was a typical expression of the successful self-satisfaction of all bureaucrats: "Too many 'shickses' (gentiles)," who were supposed to be impossible to organize.

When the Industrial Union was first organized, over 300 young dressmakers flocked to join the local, a striking answer to the lie of the International about the impossibility to organize them. Unfortunately, the golden opportunity was allowed to slip by, mainly because of the failure of the Left wing, dominated by the Party, to give the young leadership of the local the necessary lead and advice. The local afterwards went completely out of existence, to be reorganized later. Today it numbers about 75.

The International's dressmakers' local was organized following the success of the International in tying the cloakmakers to a typical Right wing agreement in the semi-company union. The loud bally-hoo that the bureaucracy raised during and after the strike succeeded for a while in pulling the wool over the eyes of the great majority of the cloakmakers and the mass of the dress makers, who believed that a great victory had been won.

The soap bubble, however, has burst on the rock of reality. The conditions of the cloakmakers are as sad as they were before the strike and even worse. Dissatisfaction in the shops is universal. The cloakmakers are chained to an agreement that binds them hand and foot, and on top of that they have to pay the self-satisfied bureaucracy \$5.00 in taxes.

Why Left Wing Fails

The failure of the Industrial Union to make further headway is due mostly to lack of strategical approach and orientation to the dress makers, as well as to the loss of prestige they sustained from their previous mistakes. With a correct approach to the workers they should be able to win back the majority of their lost membership, who are now passive on-lookers. The extent to which the Right wing bureaucracy has compromised itself with the bosses should have definitely killed their chances of leading the dressmakers had the Industrial Union acted correctly.

The basis on which the bureaucracy stands is the I. L. G. W., against whom the Party has completely abandoned the fight. Not only do they absolutely refuse to organize a Left wing fraction in the I.L.G.W.—for which there are very good opportunities—but the Party members who were forced to join the International to hang on to their bread and butter were expelled from the Party and branded as traitors. The future of the Industrial Union lies in the hands of the clear-headed militants. They must know how to choose properly between deceptive phrase-mongering about winning the masses and realistic, fruitful work in every field of the class struggle. Thus far the Party bureaucrats have made the wrong choice. —YOUNG DRESSMAKER

Johnstone's 'Self-Criticism'

Crisis in the Needle Trades

The essence of Stalinist "self-criticism" can be summed up in one sentence: The central leadership is infallible and must not be criticized under any circumstances but as blame must be fixed for the constant blunders and debacles, let it be loaded upon the shoulders of the rank and file or the second, third or fourth layers of functionaries who only carried out the ruinous policies imposed upon them. The bureaucratic idea dominates every line of the sensational article (Daily Worker, 5-7-1930) by Jack Johnstone (endorsed by the Political Committee of the Party) which has caused a furore in the ranks of the Left wing needle trades workers. By what could only be ironical humor, the article is titled "Building the Needle Workers Union!"

The article is sensational, and was obviously intended to create a sensation. After many long months of unstinted praise for the Left wing Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, of bluff about the progress and the strength it was enjoying, and of the revolutionary class leadership it was giving to the needle workers, Johnstone establishes the following astounding facts:

A Scandalous Record

The whole past period in the union has been one of defeats. Virtually the whole union has become corrupted and has betrayed the workers. The leadership is permeated with class collaboration ideas indistinguishable from Sigman's. It has worked hand in hand with the bosses and has even organized one group of them into an association in order to arrange contractual relations with it. It has used Tammany Hall police during strikes, bought immunity from the bourgeois state by employing Tammany Hall lawyers and refraining from criticizing the city administration, and has deliberately covered up the treachery of Ryan Tammany Hall president of the local A.F. of L. council, in order to gain his support. It was being hooked up with Mr. Broderick, head of the infamous Industrial Police Squad, the professional skull-crackers of the workers. It sold out to Sidney Hillman by pledging its tacit support to him in exchange for support against Sigman and Co. It even made deals behind the scenes with the blackest I. L. G. W. bureaucrats (Ninfo, etc.) and helped Schlesinger to oust Sigman. It accepted the worst kind of "impartial chairman" settlements in strikes it led. Collaboration with the police flourished among the leadership of the Left wing and of the new union and "produced such jewels as Shapiro whose itching hand and stool-pigeon (!) proclivities were allowed to flourish... The real inner union politics consisted of a maze of 'clever' intrigues, maneuvers with so-called progressives, Shelly Sorokin, sections of the bureaucracy, the police, the bosses and the underworld, but never laying a base among the workers."

The whole hair-raising paragraph written above is taken practically word for word, from Johnstone's article. He is not referring here to any "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", who are "agents of the bourgeoisie and its police" but to the leaders of the only Left wing union that has had any semblance of mass influence. Worst of all, every important charge that Johnstone makes is true. There remains, however, the job of looking into the reasons for Johnstone's article at this time and the ADDITIONAL facts and charges which he and the Political Bureau of the Party which endorsed his article omitted to mention.

The Left wing union in the needle trades is in a severely critical state. From ideological and organizational control of the decisive sections of the workers in the industry it has steadily sunk in the last two-three years to a position of impotence and passivity. The Right wing, effectively crushed at one time, has succeeded in reestablishing its stifling control of the organized workers. The Left wing has neither a perspective of its future, nor an effective program of action to extricate itself out of its present stagnation and decline.

Lovestoneites Mainly Responsible

It is quite beyond doubt that the main burden of responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon the shoulders of the Lovestoneites whose representatives and policy have dominated the course of the union in the past period. The rankest opportunism and all the elements of degenerating corruption were consciously nurtured by this group, from Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe, down to Zimmerman Wortis and Gold.

But with the removal from control of the Lovestone group and the imposition of the "new leadership" the situation has not improved, but if anything, been made worse. There is no reason to doubt that Johnstone's article was dictated by essentially factional motives—to discredit the easily discredited Lovestone leadership, to lay it on thickly in order to cover up Johnstone's own share (and that of his fellow "leaders") of the criminal responsibility. For example:

Johnstone constantly fentions Gitlow, Zimmerman and Gross as the culprits. Why does he fail to write that Gold, Potash and Burochovich are at least equally guilty? Purely and simply because the latter trio have "accepted the new line" and thereby automatically guaranteed themselves from criticism for their past misdeeds. Were they any less involved in the dealings with Tammany Hall, with Broderick with the police, with the I. L. G. W. fakers with the shrewd Hillman machine than Zimmerman and Co? Not a whit less!

Is Johnstone animated by the interests of the Left wing and working class, or merely by the desire to take a factional

crack at Lovestone when he conveniently forgets that Gold proclaimed Shapiro's "innocence" only up to a couple of months ago? or that it is precisely the now white washed Gold who had the financial dealings with Hillman by which the Left wing's "neutrality" in the A. C. W. fight was purchased? or that Gold and Burochovich are far from being strangers to the police? or that Wortis has always been the "ideological" inspirer of opportunism in the needle trades?

Or perhaps Johnstone will tell us why he "forgot" in his cataloging of opportunist crimes, to mention that both he and Browder advocated a policy for the I. L. G. W. Philadelphia convention which would have allied the Left wing with a temporarily disgruntled gang of the bureaucracy in order to "divide the power" in the union? The record of this shameful proposal and our fight against it is in the minutes of the Political Committee for that period. As on a previous occasion, we again demand: Publish that record! Where was this vulgarly opportunist policy, which we fought so sharply in the Party, any better than the maneuvers of Gitlow-Zimmerman with Sigman and Ninfo? Or perhaps Johnstone will find for us a record of his protests in the past against the corruption rampant in the Left wing?

Johnstone Then and Now

Johnstone speaks indignantly about the "Zimmerman-Lovestone" policy of the Left wing during the cloak and dress makers strikes of the Right wing last year. Has Johnstone so quickly forgotten that the policy was HIS and Foster's and that of the rest of the "new leadership"? When he

now criticizes the "negative" slogan of "Don't Join the Fake Strike!" why does he not add that this was the official Party policy for criticism of which the Militant was denounced as counter-revolutionary, just as was done when we demanded the application of the united front tactic? Why was it counter-revolutionary to criticize Johnstone and Foster IN TIME for the same stupidities which Johnstone A YEAR LATER accuses the scapegoats of having committed?

The answer is not hard to find: "Self-criticism" under Johnstone and Co. is the mean and cowardly device by which scapegoats and whipping boys are made to take the blame for disastrous results of policies that the Johnstones themselves impose. Stalinist "self-criticism" means the gag for the workers and the shield for the bureaucrats. In this case, it happens that Johnstone is really able to make out an excellent case against the Lovestoneites, but he will not be able to conceal the principal culprits: the new Party leadership. No, not even though tomorrow, when things continue to grow worse, Johnstone tries to pick new scapegoats out of the ranks of the still anointed leaders. Let Burochovich and Wortis look to their posts! Uneasy rests the head that wears a crown—even the paper crown of a Stalinist functionary. Is it not already known that Browder, Johnstone, and Co. are feverishly organizing a new faction struggle to "clean out the old Lovestoneites"? The demand that Wortis, Gold, etc. "acknowledge their errors while associated with Gitlow, Zimmerman and Co." is advance thunder of this struggle.

The reader will ask: What does Johnstone propose now? The cold truth is that he proposes nothing because he has nothing to say. His principal aim is achieved when he succeeds in crushing his Party faction opponent. He writes a few vague, non-committal words about 'the closest application of the R. I. L. U. class struggle policy laid down by the 4th World Congress and the 6th Plenum of the R. I. L. U. for this period of imperialist wars, mass class struggles and proletarian revolution.'

That costs nothing and means nothing, because Stalinist resolutions are raw cloth out of which any policy you want (except the correct one) can be manufactured at a moment's notice. But there is a significant silence about the immediate perspectives of the Left wing union, about the program of action it should pursue, about the attitude it must have towards the masses of workers now dragooned into the I. L. G. W. U., and about the dozen other concrete decisive problems in which the Stalinists have so thoroughly demonstrated their bankruptcy and blunderings. What Johnstone fails to say, what he fails to propose as a means of issuing forth from the crisis that is wrecking the Left wing in the needle trades, will therefore have to be said by others. Space requirements compel us to postpone that for the next occasion.

* * *

The Militant invites Left wing needle trades workers to write for its columns on the situation in the union and to give their views on the problems of their movement. Articles written in any language will be translated into English and printed. The Daily Worker is the closed organ of the cynical bureaucrats—the Militant aims to become the voice of the militant rank and file.

D

FROM BAD TO WORSE

The C. E. C. of the Party has replaced Roy Stephens as district organizer in Boston with Nat Kaplan. Stephens, after having ruined the Kansas City district, was promoted—not for ability but for fidelity—to Boston. The results are too well known. Kaplan, after having done his level best to ruin the New Jersey sub-district last year, is now also promoted to Boston, again, not for ability but for servility. We know that it would require a plenum of the Party C. E. C., with an open letter from the Comintern, to decide officially which of the two organizers is worse. But the Party members in Boston cannot be permitted to suffer so long without aid. Until the plenum is held, we are willing to open a fund drive for the Persecuted and Intensely Suffering Party members in Boston.

Prelude to a President's Swan-Song

The United States has recently produced two distinct types of presidents: Coolidge, a mediocre politician, an upright marionette who screens his masters' corruption, one who knows little and does less—in other words a mere figurehead. During a period of "plenty and prosperity" such men even become little heroes. Simpletons ascribe the good times to their expert leadership. The other is the Hoover type, the engineer of high finance, one who can take leadership in capitalist aggression. During hard times, it is this type that capitalism needs.

Louis Hyman, president of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, is rather the Coolidge than the Hoover type of president. While he rode the prosperity wave of Left wing influence among the needle trades workers, he even became a little hero. Some simple-minded people thought he had something to do with the wave. But when matters took on a different shape, when an aggressive policy, hard fighting and clarity of purpose were required, president Hyman became impotent, useless, and in some respects even an obstacle. Whole weeks passed with the president's chair vacant. It is during this period that he was given a trip to Moscow. There he spent several worth while months—worth while insofar as the president's absence from activities and the office could at least be easily explained.

But there is one thing that must be mentioned to Coolidge's credit: because he has nothing to say he is silent. President Hyman, however, frequently speaks out of turn. One of these occasions was at the Left wing needle trades mass meeting at Cooper Union on May 9th, where a campaign "for 6,000 new members" was supposed to be started. I suppose the Militant will deal with other interesting aspects of this meeting; I have in mind the unsigned article of "self"-criticism by Johnstone.

In his speech, Hyman said, among other things: "When Trotsky was asked why it was that he lost the power, it did not take him long to think up an answer. 'When the revolution was at high tide it needed great leaders, but when it was at ebb such nobodies as Stalin got into power.' As a matter of fact, if Trotsky's policies had been carried out Russia would be ruined today."

President Hyman who, because of his own faultless policies, wields such enormous power over the mass, revolutionary

industrial union of Left wing needle trades workers, cannot see why anyone should "lose the power" except as a result of bad policies... But that is something else again. Suffice it to ask: Does Hyman know what the Opposition demanded and still demands? Did he read it from their documents or out of the fabricated handbooks containing ideas maliciously ascribed to the Opposition by Stalin, handbooks given gratis to all official visitors to the Soviet Union? These questions are not difficult to answer.

Where Hyman Has Fallen Down

There is, however, another side to the matter, and that is the tactlessness with which Hyman spoke about "losing" power. We needle trades workers have known for a long time the unfortunate role to which Hyman's lack of genuine independence has condemned him. Hyman is essentially a screen—an honest, an unwilling screen but nevertheless a screen. He has used his prestige as a militant, his standing as a "non-partisan" to cover up the chicanery, first of Zimmerman, Gross, Gold, Wortis and Co. when they were in power, and now of Gold, Potash and Co. alone. He has not had very much heart for this sort of job—that is true. He has frequently excused it to himself and his closest friends by pleading: "What else can you do? It's in the interests of the union." He has not even done this work very actively or energetically—and that accounts for his long passivity in union affairs. Nevertheless, the accomplishment, however feeble, of this task has enabled him to retain his formal "power" in the union, at least until now.

Alas, his recent needless assault upon Trotsky, even though it earned him the praise of Gold and the other Potashes, is only the operative prelude to his own swan song. It is an open secret in the needle trades market that Hyman is among those slated to go. Coolidge was at least followed by Hoover, but Hyman cannot even have that poor consolation. He is to be replaced (isn't the decision already made at 125th Street?) by that giant intellect and darling of the needle trades masses, H. Sazer. In cold truth, Sazer is already loitering around the corridors and offices of the union, an ominous shadow to Hyman, preparing for his historic task of leadership by an apprenticeship of licking postage stamps and folding envelopes.

So we see that comrade President Hyman is precisely the man to talk about "lost power". He ought to know. —B. T.

Internationalism and the Theory of «Exceptionalism»

(Continued from Last Issue)

Only recently, March 8, 1930, Pravda expounded Stalin's unfortunate theory anew, in the sense that "socialism, as a social-economic formation", that is, as a definite order of productive relations, can be fully realized "on the national scale of the U.S.S.R." Quite another matter is "the complete victory of socialism in the sense of guaranteeing it from intervention of capitalist encirclement"—such a complete victory of socialism "actually demands the triumph of the proletarian revolution in several advanced countries". What abysmal decay of theoretical thought was needed for such sorry scholasticism to be expounded in a learned form on the pages of the central organ of Lenin's party! If we should assume for a minute the possibility of realizing socialism as a finished social system in the isolated frame of the U.S.S.R., then that would be the "complete victory"—what intervention could be talked of then? The socialist order presupposes high technique, high culture and high solidarity of the population. Since the U. S. S. R. at the moment of complete construction of socialism will have, it must be assumed, not less than 200, or perhaps even 250 million in population, then we ask: what intervention could be talked of then? What capitalist country, or coalition of countries would dare think of intervention under these circumstances? The only conceivable intervention could be on the part of the U.S.S.R. But would it be needed? It is doubtful. The example of a backward country which in the course of several "five year plans" constructed a mighty socialist society with independent forces would mean a death blow to world capitalism, and would reduce to a minimum, if not to zero, the costs of the world proletarian revolution. This is why the whole Stalinist conception leads in essence to the liquidation of the Communist International. And really, what could its historic significance be, if the fate of socialism is to be decided in the last resort... by the Gosplan (State Planning Commission) of the U. S. S. R.? In such a case the Comintern has as its task along with the illustrious "Friends of the Soviet Union", to guard the construction of socialism from interventions, that is, in essence, it is reduced to the role of a frontier guard.

The already mentioned* recent article attempts to prove the correctness of the Stalinist conception with the newest and freshest economic arguments: "...precisely now," the Pravda says, "when the socialist type of productive relations, besides industry, begins to take deeper root in agriculture through the growing Sokhoz (Soviet farms), through the gigantic growth in quantity and quality of the Kolkhoz (collective farm) movement, and the liquidation of the Kulak as a class based on complete collectivization, it shows more clearly the sorry bankruptcy of Trotsky-Zinoviev defeatism, which has meant in essence 'the Menshevik denial of the legitimacy of the October revolution' (Stalin)" (Pravda, March 8, 1930).

These lines are really remarkable, and not merely for their glib tone which covers a complete confusion of thought. Together with Stalin the author of the Pravda article condemns the "Trotskyist" conception "for denying the legitimacy of the October Revolution." But it was exactly on the basis of this conception, that is the theory of the permanent revolution, that the writer of these lines foretold the inevitability of the October Revolution, 13 years before it occurred. But Stalin? Already after the February Revolution, that is seven and eight months prior to the October overturn, he came forward as a vulgar revolutionary democrat. It was necessary that Lenin should arrive in Petrograd (April 3, 1917), with his merciless struggle and ridicule of the self-conceited "Old Bolsheviks", for Stalin carefully and noiselessly to climb over from his democratic to a socialist position. This inner "re-growth" of Stalin, which by the way has never been completed, took place, at any rate, not earlier than 12 years after we gave the basis for the "legitimacy" of the

By L. D. TROTSKY

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF "THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

seizure of power by the working class of Russia before the beginning of the proletarian revolution in the West.

National Revolution and World Economics

But working out the theoretical prognosis of the October Revolution, we did not at all expect that, winning state power, the Russian proletariat would exclude the former empire of the czars from the world economic sphere. We Marxists know the role and significance of state power. It is not at all a passive reflection of economic processes, as the social-democratic servants of the bourgeois state fatalistically describe it. Power can have a gigantic significance, reactionary, as well as progressive, depending upon which class holds it in its hands. But the state power is nevertheless a weapon of superstructural order. The passing of power from the hands of czarism and the bourgeoisie into the hands of the proletariat, does not remove the processes, nor the laws of world economy. It is true that for a certain time after the October overturn the economic ties of the Soviet Union with the world market weakened. But it would be a monstrous mistake to generalize a phenomenon which was merely a short stage of the dialectical process. The world division of labor and the supra-national character of modern productive forces, not only remain, but will increase twofold and tenfold their significance for the Soviet Union, depending on the degree of its economic rise.

Each backward country adapting itself to capitalism, has gone through diverse stages of decreasing or increasing dependence on the other capitalist countries, but in general the tendency of capitalist development leads towards a colossal growth of world ties, which expresses itself in the growth of foreign trade, including, of course, trade with their capital as well. The dependence of England upon India has, of course, a qualitatively different character than the dependence of India upon England. But this difference is basically determined by the difference in the level of development of their productive forces, and not at all by the degree of their economic self-sufficiency. India is a colony, England a metropolis. But if today England should be subjected to an economic blockade, it would perish sooner than India. This is one of the convincing illustrations of the reality of world economy.

Capitalist development—not in the abstract formulae of the second volume of "Capital" which retain all their significance as a stage in analysis, but in historic reality—capitalist development took place and could only take place, by means of systematically widening its base. Consequently, in the process of its development, in the struggle with its internal contradictions, each national capitalism turns in a growing degree to the reserves of the "external market", that is, of world economy. The inevitable expansion growing out of the permanent internal crisis of capitalism, is its progressive force until it becomes fatal to it.

The October Revolution inherited from old Russia, besides the internal contradictions of capitalism, no less deep contradictions between capitalism as a whole and the pre-capitalist forms of production. These contradictions had and still have a material character, that is, they are hidden in the material relations between the city and the village in definite proportions or disproportions of various branches of industry and the economy of the people in general, etc. Some of these contradictions are rooted directly in the geographic and demographic conditions of the country, that is, they breed on the surplus, or the lack of one or another natural resources, and the historically created distribution of the masses of the people, etc. The strength of Soviet economy is in the nationalization of the means of production, and their planned direction. The weakness of Soviet economy, besides the weaknesses inherited from the past—is in its present post-October isolation, that is, in its inability to utilize the

resources of world economy not only on a socialist, but even on a capitalist basis—in the form of normal international credits, and generally "financing", which plays such a determining role for backward countries. In the meantime the contradictions of the capitalist and pre-capitalist past not only do not disappear of themselves, but, on the contrary, rise out of the accumulations of the years of decline and destruction, revive and sharpen together with the growth of Soviet economy, and for their removal, or even softening they demand at every step the bringing into circulation of the resources of the world market.

The Growth of Contradictions

To understand what is now happening in the gigantic territory which the October overturn aroused to new life, we must always picture to ourselves clearly that to the old contradictions which were recently revived by the economic successes, was added a new one, the mightiest contradiction: between the concentrated character of Soviet industry, which opens the possibility of hitherto unheard of tempos of development, and isolated Soviet economy, which excludes the possibility of a normal utilization of the reserves of world economy. The new contradiction added to the old ones, lends to the fact, that alongside of the exceptional successes, painful difficulties grow up. The latter find their most immediate and painful expression, felt daily by every worker and peasant, in the fact that the conditions of the toiling masses not only do not rise in relation to the rise of economy, but even worsen now as a result of the growing food difficulties. The sharp crises of Soviet economy are a reminder that the productive forces created by capitalism, are not adapted to a national framework and can be socialistically coordinated and harmonized only on an international scale. In other words, the crises of Soviet economy are not merely sicknesses of growth, a sort of illness of childhood but something immeasurably more significant, precisely the rigorous pull of the world market, that same one, "to which," according to Lenin's words, "we are subordinated to which we are tied, from which we cannot break away" (at the XI congress of the Party, March 27, 1922).

From this, however, the denial of the historical "legitimacy" of the October Revolution does not at all follow, a conclusion which smells of shameful philistinism. The seizure of power by the proletariat cannot be a simultaneous act. The political superstructure—and a revolution is related to "superstructure"—has its own dialectic, which breaks powerfully into the world economic process, but does not remove its deeper laws. The October Revolution is "legitimate" as the first stage in the world revolution, which inevitably drags out for decades. The interval between the first stage and the second turned out to be considerably longer than we expected. But it nevertheless remains an interval, and does not at all turn into a self-sufficient epoch of constructing a national socialist society.

Out of the two conceptions of the revolution have grown two leading lines on economic questions. The first rapid successes, which were completely unexpected by him inspired Stalin in the Fall of 1924 with the theory of socialism in one country as the crowning of a practical perspective for an isolated national economy. In the same period, Bucharin gave his famous formula that by fencing ourselves off from the world economy by a foreign trade monopoly, we can construct socialism "even at a snail's pace". This was the common formula of the Centrist-Right bloc. Stalin was then tirelessly expounding the idea that the tempo of our industrialization is our "internal business", having no relation to the world economy. Such a sort of national self-contentment, however, could not last long, for it was reflecting the first, very brief stage of economic revival, which inevitably revived our dependence on the world market. The first shocks of intra-state dependence, unexpected

ed by the national socialists, created an alarm, which in the next stage turned into a panic. To gain economic "independence" speedily with the aid of the fastest possible tempos of industrialization and collectivization!—this is the change that has taken place in the economic policy of national-socialism during the past two years. Crawling was substituted all along the line by adventurism. The theoretical base under both is the same: a national socialist conception.

The basic difficulties, as was shown above, result from the objective situation, first of all from the isolation of the Soviet Union. We shall not stop here to consider to what degree this objective situation is itself a result of the subjective mistakes of the leadership (the false policy in Germany in 1923, in Bulgaria and Estonia—in 1924, in England and Poland—in 1926, in China—in 1925-27, the present false strategy of the "third period", etc., etc.). But the sharpest convulsions in the U. S. S. R. are created by the fact that the present leadership tries to turn necessity into good fortune, and, from the political isolation of the workers' state, produces a program of an economically isolated socialist society. From this has resulted the attempt of complete socialist collectivization of peasant holdings on the basis of the pre-capitalist inventory—a most dangerous adventure which threatens to undermine the very possibility of collaboration between the proletariat and the peasantry.

The "Mad Gallop" and the Panicky Retreat

And it is remarkable: just at the moment when this began to appear in all its sharpness, Bucharin, yesterday's theoretician of the "snail's pace" composed a pathetic hymn to the present "mad gallop" of industrialization and collectivization. It is to be feared that this hymn will soon be declared the greatest heresy. For there are already new melodies in the air. Under the influence of the economic material, Stalin has been compelled to beat a retreat. Now the danger is that the adventurous offensive dictated by panic of yesterday will turn into a panic-stricken retreat. This sort of alternating stages result inevitably from the nature of national socialism.

A realistic program of an isolated workers' state, cannot set itself the aim of accomplishing "independence" from world economy, or even more, to construct a national socialist society in the "shortest time." The task is not to accomplish the abstract-maximum, but the optimum tempos that is such that flow from the internal and world economic conditions, strength on the positions of the proletariat, prepare the national elements of the future international socialist society and at the same time, and before all systematically improve the living level of the proletariat, strengthening its union with the non-exploiting masses of the village. This perspective remains in force for the whole preparatory period, that is until the victorious revolution in the advanced countries will bring the Soviet Union out of its present isolated position.

Some of the thoughts expressed here are developed with greater detail in other works of the author, particularly in the "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern". In the nearest future we hope to publish a pamphlet especially devoted to an evaluation of the present stage of economic development in the U. S. S. R. To these works we are obliged to direct the reader who seeks a closer acquaintance with the way in which the problems of the permanent revolution are posed today. But the considerations brought out above are sufficient, let us hope, to reveal the whole significance of the struggle of principles that was carried on in recent years, and is carried on now in the form of counterposing two theories: socialism in one country and the permanent revolution. Only this timely significance of the question justified the fact that we present here to foreign readers a book, which is largely devoted to a critical reestablishment of pre-revolutionary prognoses and theoretical disputes among the Russian Marxists. We could of course, have selected a different form of expounding the questions that in-

*This book is for sale by the The Militant at 35 cents a copy.

* See the Militant, May 10, 1930.

In the Party

N. Y. District Plenum

If the Plenum of the C. E. C. demonstrated the utter bankruptcy of the present Party leadership and its line, the New York district Plenum can be said to have surpassed it in that respect. Needless to say, the session was held up for hours on Saturday (May 10) while the best thinkers in the Party were working out the most proper thesis. Then came the reports of Hathaway, for the Central Committee, and Benjamin for the district.

Hathaway's report gave neither analysis nor perspectives. "There is a disparity between the resolutions adopted and their execution by the Party members, as well as between these resolutions and our organizational strength. There must be a sharp turn (again!) in the Party orientation because so far all decisions are accepted in words but not in deeds (because the comrades have no real belief in your idiotic decisions!). Discipline is needed and there cannot be any neutrality on decisions, as for example in our Czecho-Slovakian organ which accepts all the criticisms made of it but refuses to publish critical articles." It never occurred to him to explain that the "disparities" result from the fact that his decisions have little if any relation to the realities of the situation.

"Our Negro department is bankrupt," he reported. Then why does he print all the lies in the Daily Worker about the successes with Negro work, and then tell only the assembled bureaucrats the truth behind closed doors? "There are no new cadres or forces in the Party. The T.U. U. L. is really going through a crisis and there also there are no cadres for leadership." Why then do you expel and remove all the capable comrades, just because they fight your weekly zig-zags of policy? Why do you crush all our initiative in the Party ranks, killing every possibility for the development of members and poisoning them with your misconceived theories? Why don't you really carry out workers democracy in the Party instead of just writing junky resolutions about it? When you do that and change the present Party course, maybe you will not have to admit so shamefacedly to a Plenum that "in the membership drive we got 1,400 applications (in the press you exaggerated again!) and only half remained." We got these applications at mass meetings and demonstrations but not from elements in the shops."

As for his analysis of the American situation, it was miserable. We sent him to school in Moscow to get a Marxist education and he came back to tell us that there is fascism of the state here because the government has become super-organized, because Hoover conferred with the business men, because financial capitalists are in the government, and power is being concentrated in the president and judiciary. Nor did we need his trip for him to report "the crisis in America is deepening" without adding a single word of explanation, elaboration, proof or analysis to those six words.

If anything, Benjamin only painted the coal blacker. The district has failed here and there and everywhere. "We are still lagging behind the masses." In Patterson, a spontaneous strike, but the Party is nowhere to be seen. (What has happened here?) But this form was never created, by the author, and was not selected by him voluntarily. It was imposed upon him partly by opponents, and partly by the very course of political development. Even the truths of mathematics, the most abstract of the sciences can best of all be learned in connection with the history of their discoveries. This holds all the more truly of more concrete, that is, historically conditioned truths of Marxist policy. The history of the origin and development of the prognoses of the revolution in the conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia will, we think bring the reader much nearer and far more concretely to the essence of the revolutionary tasks of the world proletariat than a school-like and pedantic exposition of political ideas, torn out of the circumstances that gave birth to

opened to the general silk strike you were boasting about?) Our women's department has collapsed; the Negro department is completely bankrupt; the building trades fraction is impotent and unorganized; our demonstrations were not utilized at all; the same forces that are always with us were there at the May Day conference, but no new ones (why didn't you adopt the Trotskyists' proposals for a broad united front?); the department work is uncoordinated; etc., etc., etc. The only "success" Benjamin mentioned was the "elimination of the language branches"; only he forgot to say that the members were eliminated too.

Comrades, let us demand a real discussion, not of trifles and not bureaucratically but on the basis of the vital questions of principle, of strategy and tactics that our expelled Trotskyist comrades have raised. And let's fight to reinstate them! —ROGER

The Pittsburgh Expulsions

PITTSBURGH—

The latest news in the Communist Party is that John Kaspar has been expelled from the Party and M. Garfinkel suspended for six months. Unit No. 2 protested in favor of Garfinkel and Kaspar with the results that a squad of officials, headed by the acting district organizer, Salzman attended the meeting to pass the resolution against Kaspar. Salzman is the boy who walks around with a diploma from the International Stalin School and won his spurs as a leader by wrecking the Pittsburgh district of the I. L. D. The unit elected its own chairman but Dunne took the chair without asking the membership. The membership was terrorized so that they were even afraid to speak.

Salzman read my article from the last issue of the Militant to the membership in order to show that Kaspar is connected with the Opposition. After long speeches from Salzman, Dunne, Overgaard and the rest they approved the resolution by asking the members one by one to say Yes or No. Eight comrades didn't say either Yes or No and now they are also in danger of expulsion. These eight comrades are old members of the Party, real proletarians, very active in the Party's work, leaders of the unit and well acquainted with the bureaucrats of this district. All those that voted in favor of the resolutions spoke against it when the meeting was adjourned, which indicates how fearful they were to express their real opinions openly.

All honest comrades must see, and that soon, that such a leadership only wrecks the movement. It must be got rid of. The comrades know what a failure the May Day demonstration was, for which Salzman and the rest of his crew are to blame. At the park demonstration, there were about 400 people and only about 200 paraded in the street. At the evening mass meeting where there were only 50 or so Salzman spoke, and without blushing, told the workers who had participated in that day's demonstration that there had been 2,500 workers on the streets. When I heard that I said to myself that the Stalinist school in Moscow sure graduated a good diplomatic liar.

—JAMES SIFAKIS

May Day in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN—

Tens of thousands of workers and business men gathered in the streets of Youngstown to see our small parade to hear the speakers in the Public Square, but the slogan of a mass political strike failed entirely. Not only did the steel workers not respond at all but even the Party members largely failed to act. The official Party here failed to mobilize the members and sympathizers with their families in order for the parade to be more successful, and there were neither women nor children in it. (Which doesn't prevent the Daily Worker from publishing its customary monstrous exaggeration about the May Day demonstration in Youngstown. —Ed.) The way to make the workers understand our political slogans is to organize them on the basis of concrete issues in the class struggle, and through hard fighting against the capitalist class to develop a working class understanding and political maturity. The Party leaders don't seem to understand this at all.

—DENIS PLARINOS

In Italy

Crisis in the Communist Party

MOSCOW—

It seemed that the Italian Communist Party was an exception in the Communist International by its escape from the crises which have up to now ravaged its sections. And this fact was very disquieting for the leaders of the C. I. How is it possible, they said, that in the Italian C. P. the phenomenon of opportunism can be limited simply to the case of Tasca?

Italy is the country of the most ferocious capitalist dictatorship; the country where our Party, by great and constant bloodshed has been terribly decapitated. All the old directing cadres and also all the intermediary cadres of our Italian Party and then the cadres successively formed after the exceptional laws, have been swept away, destroyed by the enemy.

Opportunists, Real and Faked

Now however, the Heckerts, the Ferrats and their friends can be satisfied by the discovery that, within the Italian C.P. also a strong current of "Opportunism" has manifested itself, which has literally shattered in two the leading organs of this same Party. Every comrade, no matter how little initiated in the practices of the C. I.'s life in recent years, can guess immediately that you will not find among the opportunists the Ercolis and Garlandis who, in the same way that they spit on the "corpse" of Bucharin after having been its most fervent lackeys, have, themselves, hoisted the flag of the struggle against opportunism.

First of all, a preliminary remark: the fact that in this minority are the best elements who after the exceptional laws, all occupied the most perilous posts in the illegal work in Italy, as well as the proletarian elements of the former leadership elected by the last congress of the Party (Lyons, 1925); and the fact that on the other side there are all the petty bourgeois elements who made their revolutionary career in Party offices (these elements are under the direction and guidance of the attorney, Ercoli, precisely defined by comrade Trotsky, as "the attorney for all causes")—these facts are therefore already filled with significance by themselves to prove to us where the home of opportunism really is in the Italian Party. The very serious discords that have cut in two the leadership of the Italian Party which had up to now retained its unity at all costs, relate at once to political and to organizational questions.

The majority, headed by Ercoli—in an endeavor to have his past errors, his Bucharinist and Tascan loves forgotten—has repaired, as usually happens, to the most advanced position of the "Leftest" Leftism. In accordance with the decisions of the 10th Plenum on the famous "Third Period", Ercoli and Co. say they see "the coming to maturity in Italy of all the elements of an acute revolutionary situation". The formula is typically "opportunistic" for it affirms: 1. "seeing the coming"; 2. "to maturity"; that is, a process is indicated which may last months or years. But it is for the coming months that Ercoli and Co. put on the order of the day the anti-fascist insurrection in Italy. "The catastrophe is imminent... The crisis sharpens every day... The masses are on the streets... We must accomplish a political and organizational turn... The organizational work, they say, must be adapted to the 'new situation' and to the 'new tasks' posed by the situation that is being precipitated."

The Minority Viewpoint

The minority objects, in the first place: Is it possible to accomplish a turn, no matter which, without taking the Party situation into account? A turn which takes no account of the Party situation instead of bridging the gap existing between the Party and the objective situation, can only make it deeper, extend it. This is the sad experience that the Italian Party itself has had in the years of absolute illegality following the exceptional laws.

In the second place: The signs of militancy of the working and peasant masses are multiplying, it is true, every day (Faenza, Sulmona, Avellina, unemployment demonstrations etc., are a proof that a

change is beginning to take place in the general state of mind of the working population). But what still characterizes the Italian situation is the very grave state of disorganization of the workers, their condition of passivity and terror. It suffices to consider the following fact: even though the wage of the Italian workers has been reduced to almost 40 percent only in these last years, the industrialists today can permit themselves a new reduction of 10% without meeting open resistance. (Unemployment has assumed such proportions that the workers accept these reductions out of fear of seeing jobless hired in their places). To adapt the tasks and the work of the Party to the situation means to understand in the first place, where the masses are, so as to have the possibility of moving the forward. But the tasks of the Party towards the masses are not independent of the internal condition of the Party, in the working class of its effective bonds with the masses.

If the Party is not connected with the factories, it can have nothing but phrases when it speaks of the political general strike and the insurrection. If the Party is not in a position to organize the workers in the struggle against the bosses for their defense of their wages, it can have nothing but phrases when it speaks of guiding the masses in the civil war, in the battles of the street etc.

Another discord involves the disposition of the forces of the revolutionary bloc. "In Italy today," declares the Ercoli majority, "everybody poses the dilemma: fascism or Communism?" Everybody? Yes, everybody: workers, peasants, city petty bourgeoisie. So there is nothing more for our Party to do for the conquest of the working class, its allies the peasant, to neutralize the middle sections, etc., since everybody in Italy poses the dilemma: "fascism or Communism". How could all this have happened when our Party, since the exceptional laws has been reduced to absolute illegality, has been chased from the factories by the harshest reaction, has lost its contacts with the country, etc? It is a matter, as all can see, of the theory of the revolution that matures of itself, the theory of the spontaneous revolution, which is at the basis of the whole system of the "creators" of revolutions who think that it is enough to write in a paper—which reaches only a very limited number of workers—that the insurrection is maturing in order for us actually to face the insurrection.

The Role of the Vanguard

Against the ridiculous infantilism of those who announce everything ripe, easy ready for success, the minority affirms the need of fighting bitterly against the social democracy because it is not true that the democratic illusions (which, as Lenin taught, find their most favorable ground in every reactionary situation) have disappeared in Italy because it is not true that the dilemma is today posed: "fascism or Communism"; but on the contrary, it is the role of the proletarian vanguard organized in the Communist Party to see to it that this dilemma: "fascist dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship" becomes the dilemma of the whole toiling population.

The minority characterizes the ultra-Left position of Ercoli and Co. as a position of real capitulation in the face of difficulties. To substitute the revolutionary phrase for the old opportunist positions held in the past by Ercoli and Co. does not mean to give the Party a more radical policy. Petty bourgeois opportunism can mask its wares by revolutionary phrases: if it is under the banner of the official leadership of the C. I. that the endeavor is made to introduce these wares into our Parties, then the fight against opportunism appears once more as the fight for a firm really Bolshevik leadership of the Communist International.

—H. S.

If the number on your wrapper is

45

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues

The Socialist Party and the Prospects for Communism

By ARNE SWABECK

In various sections of the country the Socialist Party has during the last few months been unfolding a greater activity than hitherto. It is attempting, and with some success, to plant its roots in the present favorable soil of mass unemployment. In inverted form it becomes a testimonial to the fact that among the American workers there are now visible trends toward the shaping of a class movement.

The Socialist Party is very consciously "radicalizing" in phraseology its general slogans and platform demands, although the fact that all references to the class struggle have long since been obliterated from its program is momentarily glossed over. The object is clearly to head off the working class movement, to prevent its natural development towards a revolutionary position and to harness it within "safe" reformist channels, in order ultimately to strike the blows of defeat. The capitalist political strategists of the somewhat moderate type, will not be slow in taking advantage, for their own purposes, of this situation and help push the S. P. forward to extend its influence and thus enable it to fulfill that role. These are ominous signs for the future. But firstly, success for such designs have to count with the tempo of growing working class consciousness which may become so accelerated as to confine the reformist ideology to a rather brief period. Secondly, much depends upon the degree to which the Communist movement can establish its mass influence.

The S. P. and the Middle Class

Whom does the Socialist Party represent and of whom are its ranks composed? In the United States it has by no means established the traditional influence upon working class ideology or the broad mass organization enjoyed by the social democracy in the foremost European countries. In fact it became almost obliterated by the 1919 split which resulted in the founding of the Communist movement. Ever since, its existence has been a rather obscure one, finding scant support largely from the lower middle class strata with a sprinkling of immigrant trade union officialdom. Today the hard pressed middle class, in its lower sections, the small business and professional man, becoming "radicalized" by bankruptcies, are undoubtedly the first to harken to the message of the S. P. But there are also evidences of its penetration into working class ranks through trade unions, through gaining labor votes at election times and otherwise. It is quite understandable that among American workers, now developing radical thoughts nourished by the unemployment crisis and consequent disillusionment with Republicans and Democrats, there should be many whose first steps are directed towards support for the Socialist Party.

In the United States the Socialist Party has as yet no governmental responsibilities. It can therefore still afford to appear as an "opposition" party and keep a gentle rhythm in accordance with the throbbing vibrations of the class struggle. With the cunning adroitness, which for a long time "distinguished" the more experienced European social democrats their American counterpart has, since the beginning of the present crisis given much more front page publicity to demands for social insurance in general and unemployment insurance in particular. It is now inaugurating a sort of a national campaign for the six hour day slogan. Naturally this is designed to catch the mass sentiment and gain influence among such workers just casting off from their old moorings of capitalist ideology. Having had little experience in a proletarian movement such workers do not immediately distinguish the objective role of the Socialist Party nor the fact that its leadership has not the slightest intention of ever fighting for these demands. They do not as yet notice that the methods of the S. P. are not at all those of class struggle but merely of giving lip service to social reforms in order to gain the mass influence necessary to play its ordained role.

Growth of the S. P. is noticeable today in three main directions: First in increased votes obtained at local elections

last year as demonstrated particularly in the New York municipal elections. Undoubtedly a goodly section of the vote gain was furnished by the working class. Secondly, it is noticeable in extended influence and control in certain trade unions, mainly through the re-establishment of the Right wing leadership in the needle trades unions at the expense of the formerly powerful Left wing under Communist Party leadership. In these unions, where the workers are generally further politically advanced, the role of "socialist" union officials has also developed to a "higher" stage. Hence the more outspoken autocratic control; more outright, unconcealed co-operation with the bosses and their government in the anti-Communist offensive as well as in the severer suppression of the rank and file workers. More recently, through the C. P. L. A., the Socialist Party is making inroads into other union fields, for example, in the miners union of the Howat-Walker-Germer-Fishwick combination.

Seemingly there is a paradox in the fact that in such unions, when compared to the needle trades, the Socialist Party elements appear in a more "progressive" position. However, it is a very natural phenomenon completely in harmony with its flagrantly opportunist policy of winning mass influence and control and accordingly change its methods and phraseology whenever found advantageous. In these unions of more distinct A. F. of L. type a "progressive" front makes more rapid advance possible. Secondly the Socialist leaders do not as yet consider Communist sentiment there of sufficient strength to warrant a violent attack. Such, however, will be the course as soon as sufficient mass influence has been gained, or in the event of rapid growth of revolutionary sentiment among the workers. The whole record of the "socialist" needle trades union officialdom testifies to this.

The Socialist Party now claims a gain of 6,000 new members since September last, the founding of two new weekly papers on the Pacific Coast strengthening of its general press, greater leaflet distribution, revival of branch units in several sections of the country and more preparations made for publicity, for participation in the Fall congressional elections, etc. In the unemployment situation not only does it put forward "demands" for social insurance and the shorter workday but in New York and a couple of other points attempts have been made to create broad unemployment conferences. These conferences had, of course, no actual contact with the unemployed masses and were "safely" controlled for the S. P. bureaucrats, nevertheless they gathered quite a substantial representation from the trade unions and other working class organizations.

Communists and Unemployment

Only the Communists have actually dramatized the unemployment issue and begun to set masses into motion through the March 6th demonstration and subsequently. That alone is a distinct service to the working class cause and has increased Communist influence. But there are now serious dangers that this motion, despite the in-

tensity and pressure of the crisis, may be diverted into social reformist channels by the Socialist Party acquiring an ever more solid organizational basis—once more at the expense of the Communist movement. Particularly does that danger become apparent when the official Communist Party advances slogans, which at this time are entirely abstract and devoid of any revolutionary content, such as the slogan of the "political general strike". The same is true of its refusal to broaden the actual organization of the unemployment movement beyond what can be gathered in under the tutelage of the "revolutionary unions", the T. U. U. L. and the Party itself.

That the Socialist Party will not even seriously struggle for its own reform demands has been amply demonstrated by experience here and elsewhere. In the European countries as the Social Democracy grew in mass influence and bourgeois respectability and in several places became the government, its upper hierarchy became the tools of capitalism to curtail the social reform legislation already gained, to use the state machinery of suppression to carry it through and to crush its revolutionary opposition. The social democratic governments pursued exactly the same imperialist policies as their capitalist predecessors in office.

One notable case in point just now is the MacDonald government of Great Britain and its attitude to the rebellion in India. MacDonald has decided to carry on more openly the imperialist policies and crush the Indian rebellion. He does it conscious of the fact that it will seriously stimulate the rebellion going on within the labor party against the reactionary leaders, a rebellion now already growing in momentum. This is inevitable. It is in the very nature of things flowing from and becoming the expression of further increased economic pressure upon the workers and growing inability of the social system of wage slavery to feed the masses of the workers.

Within the American Socialist Party can now be noticed some faint ripples, expressed in New York in proposals for a more "progressive" trade union policy and for opposition to the black reactionary policy of the Daily Forward. Even the S. P. is not immune from the economic pressure upon the workers. But the present stupid attitude of the Stalinized Communist Party blankly characterizing it "social fascism" strangles all possibilities of taking advantage of such developments and plays directly into the hands of the Right wing reformists. There could of course, be no reason whatever to place any reliance upon the leaders of the "oppositions" within Social Democracy, unless they were ready to break with that ideology and accept the revolutionary position. In England at this moment, for example, the "Left opposition" leaders take that position fearing that the rapid swing to the Right, to the full employment of the imperialist forces by the MacDonald government will too seriously compromise the cause of reformism. Hence they sound the alarm to save it.

In the United States, in a less developed stage, "Left opposition" leaders who appear

within the S. P. fear that it is not basing itself sufficiently upon winning specific working class influence to strengthen the cause of reformism and thus more effectively preventing the masses from marching to a revolutionary position. It is evident that such elements are weather cocks of the pressure upon the workers but it is otherwise with the workers themselves who are subject to the pressure. Those workers who have taken the first step away from their capitalist ideology and are going toward the S. P., as well as those who are class conscious but temporarily disappointed by set backs experienced, are precisely the ones the Communist Party must win for the revolutionary struggle. Whenever "Left" oppositions develop within the Social Democracy the ground becomes more favorable for that task.

But above all the Communists instead of lumping together all organizations and groups, based on social reformism, leaders and rank and file members, to be combated as social fascists, must make clear the role of the Socialist Party. That is, to show that in a period of beginning radicalization of the workers, the S. P. or sections of it will take on a more radical appearance and make a pretense of fighting for the needs of the workers illustrated now by its "demands" for the six hour day and for social (unemployment) insurance. When the radical wave rises to higher stages and the workers move forward, actually pressing for their needs, the S. P. will become even more of an open brake upon the movement. When the workers go over to revolutionary action for their needs the S. P. will finally reveal itself in the open as a most ardent defender of capitalism, using all the means of force of the capitalist state to suppress the workers' action. This is the history of Social Democracy and there can be no other role for a Party not based upon the proletarian revolution.

For Correct Policy Towards Socialists

The ebb and flow of the movement are part of the natural laws of motion which Marxists will not fail to understand. However, to continue shutting their eyes to this and the failure to apply correct policies in this respect by the Stalinized Communist Party, can in a large measure be responsible for any additional lease of life given to social reformism and for the strengthening of the role of the S. P. as an instrument to attempt to suppress the proletarian revolution.

It becomes quite evident that precisely today, in the unemployment crisis in the United States, the most effective method of concretely and practically demonstrating to the working masses exactly what the position of the S. P. is, would be for the Communist Party to make all efforts to win socialist workers for a united front on unemployment demands. Moreover, a broad united front with all workers, including those of the socialist ideology is an imperative necessity.

The S. P. leadership would not accept this, which would only aid in clarifying reformist workers. With the struggle going forward, their exposure could be facilitated and the influence of social reformism limited accordingly. However, it is hardly reasonable to expect that the present Communist Party leadership would be able to pursue such a policy, which would have real revolutionary content. At least not until the "third period" gymnastics have been eliminated.

It is perhaps well once more to emphasize what comrade Trotsky has already pointed out: that conditions of development in the U. S. are now such that the class struggle may become sharply intensified to a quick tempo, with turbulent upheavals. What will it bring to the workers? Victory, in the sense of marking a step forward to a stronger position from which more effectively to continue the struggle, or defeat, in the sense of giving the movement an actual setback? This in a large measure depends upon the ability of the Communist Party to prevent the extension of the influence of social reformism upon the workers and to assemble them, instead under the Communist banner.

A National Tour for the Communist League

The end of this month will see the first meeting in the national tour now being organized by the Communist League branches throughout the country to hear report by Max Shachtman on the Communist movement in Europe, the International Conference of the Left Opposition that was held in Paris a month ago, and his visit to Leon Trotsky in Turkey. Comrade Shachtman has just come back from an extended stay in Europe and the comrades from all parts of the country have already written in asking for dates on which mass meetings can be arranged in their localities. This is the first national tour organized by the Communist League, and it offers a

good opportunity for the strengthening of the Opposition

New Haven, Fri. May 30. Philadelphia, Saturday, May 31. Boston, Sun.-Mon. June 1-2. Montreal, Tues. June 3, Toronto, Wed. Thurs. June 4-5. Hamilton, Fri. June 6. Detroit, Sat.-Sun. June 7-8. Chicago, Mon.-Tues.-Wed. Thurs. June 9, 10, 11, 12. Minneapolis. St. Paul-Superior, Fri.-Sat. Sun. Mon.-Tues. June 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Kansas City, Thurs.-Fri.-Sat. June 19, 20, 21. St. Louis, Sun.-Mon. June 22-23. Springfield, Tues. June 24. Cleveland, Wed.-Thurs. June 25-26. Pittsburgh, Fri.-Sat. June 27-28.

For further information on the tour write to 25 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. C. W. Convention

Hillman's Record for Toronto

It is now over five years since the Right wing has been in complete control in the Amalgamated. Have conditions of the workers been improved? No! Conditions in New York are worse today than ever. The clothing workers work under the most inhuman conditions. Hillman went a step further than "standards of production", and reductions in wages. With the aid of local politicians he forced piece work on the New York tailors, although the workers rejected it at meetings. The liberal and socialist press hailed this move as a victory for the workers.

The Times not long ago carried an article by Louis Stark: "Amalgamated union and employers celebrate this week the success of the 'Impartial machinery' which has improved industrial relations and settled disputes."

Hillman's Kind of Labor Unity

"Next Wednesday evening the New York Clothing Manufacturer's Exchange will be host at a dinner to about 1,000 engaged in the manufacturing of men's clothing, leading officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and a group of distinguished guests interested in human relations in industry."

"The dinner will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the impartial machinery of the men's clothing industry in New York under the chairmanship of Jacob Billikoff, economist, social worker and pioneer in industrial relations."

"Without strikes or lockouts the impartial machinery, sometimes called 'a laboratory of human understanding', has functioned smoothly and efficiently because the union has embraced the labor view of constructive rights and responsibilities to industry and because the employers have welcomed such a constructive cooperation."

"The discussion on the question of piece work continued for three years during the course of which the inadequacies of the system of production standards became apparent to both sides. A year and a half ago the union consented to the revolutionary step of going on a piece work basis." (See the New York Times, Special Features, December 1, 1929).

This article by Louis Stark shows that the Amalgamated officers together with the employers celebrated the victory they had achieved at the expense of the workers. Yes, the Amalgamated doesn't believe in strikes any more. The impartial machinery works smoothly and efficiently. This is true. For whom? For the bosses! Yes, the employers have welcomed Hillman's constructive cooperation. It pays the employers. I agree with Louis Stark when he said Hillman's union "consented to the revolutionary step of going on a piece work basis." Have the workers given their consent? No! What the employers could not get when they fought the Amalgamated for 26 weeks in 1921, they got through Hillman's good will and constructive leadership. It is no wonder that Hillman gets medals from capitalist institutions while the workers get matzohs for Passover.

Not long ago I saw a circular sent out to the clothing workers by the three largest local unions, 5, 3 and 2, signed by the secretaries and local officers. In the circular they stated, "Brothers, arise! do not stand aside. A movement to lift the tailor from his deplorable conditions began through the united three Jewish Executive Boards. The time is not far distant when our trade will be lifted up again to the extent that we could with pride recall the name 'Amalgamated' in the city of New York. We need your help and cooperation."

These local unions have been controlled by the Right wing for the last few years since Hillman began his expulsion policies. These local officers helped Hillman to force on the workers the piece work system. These charlatans who are responsible for the present conditions because they helped Hillman to bring about these miserable conditions, ask the tailors for help and cooperation.

Moreover, letters can be seen daily in the Right wing press, the Forward and the Day, about the intolerable conditions piece work brought to the workers. I will quote one half of a letter. "I was a long time a member of the Amalgamated. A lot of workers know me well. I was one of the best workers and earned a good living. But when the union began her business ventures, and neglected the union, I could no longer make a living, and had to leave New York."

"Now I am in a small town of 1,500 inhabitants, only Gentiles. I am the only Jew. If I were in New York today, with the Amalgamated, I would surely be in the same position and would need relief for Passover. I am very sorry that they made a beggar out of the tailor." (The Day, March 26, 1930). These facts prove what Hillman and his henchmen made out of the Amalgamated under their regime. Hillman not only destroyed the best of the workers in the Amalgamated, he destroyed its very soul.

The only ones who are making a living in the Amalgamated today are the staff, the editors and the boosters (I mean the pen slaves).

The outside world and the intellectuals still consider the Amalgamated a radical and progressive organization. Where do they get their information? They go to lunches, and dinners given by the employers in conjunction with the union officials. They interview Hillman, Billikoff, the president of the Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, etc. This is how they get their information. Then they edit journals and claim they give their readers facts, that they are the authorities on labor problems, also on research work. How can these people give facts when they were never in a shop, and never investigated conditions? These professors or economists merely repeat what one person, Hillman told them when they dined together. At least they should go into a few shops and interview employers and workers alike. If not they ought to go into different union offices where workers assemble, talk to them, hear their grievances and sentiments. This I would call facts and research. Otherwise they deceive their readers when they say they give them facts. This stuff they give their readers is fake, not facts.

Did Hillman ever tell his publicity agents about corruption and graft that is going on in his organization? A few months ago Hillman removed Harry Cohen with his gang for taking graft. Hillman just discovered that Harry Cohen is a crook. I mentioned with quotations (see last Militant) from the Advance that Cohen was tried and condemned by a committee for taking checks. Who took H. Cohen back into the Amalgamated to sell out the worker? Hillman took him back. H. Cohen sold cotton and unionism to the clothing manufacturers. Nevertheless, without returning to the trade, Cohen was installed once more on the union payroll within a short period after the Chicago Convention. During the Cohen affair in 1921 Hillman at a meeting in Manhattan Lyceum said, "H. Cohen can never come back into the organization without stepping over my dead body." Schlossberg said he would resign before he would sign pay checks for H. Cohen. You can see how they kept their promise. Are they doing it for principle?

After seven years of taking graft and helping to destroy the New York organization, Harry Cohen was again removed with his staff for taking graft. H. Cohen ignored the summons and did not appear before the committee. The question is, why did not Hillman try these grafters? The answer must be that Hillman did not want the outside world and those intellectuals to know how much dirt there is in the Amalgamated. H. Cohen left enough grafters in the union to go on with their work without fear. J. B. Hardman, the pen slave, writes about cleanliness in the Amalgamated. Can you beat it? Do the liberal

and intellectual boosters know anything about it?

The ninth biennial convention will be held in May, in Toronto, Canada. What are the achievements the Amalgamated can show for the last few years? The publicity agents, the pen slaves, will do their best for their masters. They will show the wonders the Amalgamated has done in the Philadelphia campaign and the unemployment insurance which Hillman's union brought the workers for the last few years. Let us examine the Philadelphia situation first.

What have the workers gained since the Amalgamated came into Philadelphia? The Amalgamated press and the boosters could not show what the workers gained. When I was in Philadelphia I met a former manager of the Amalgamated in a restaurant, for the last few years a manager for the clothing manufacturers. He took an active part in the Amalgamated campaign in Philadelphia and made a dollar or two. I asked him how it was possible to organize the Philadelphia market. He answered, "The Amalgamated spent over a million dollars and we made the workers join the union." I asked him what have the workers gained by it? He answered again, "Fool, don't you know the Amalgamated must convince the employers it will pay them to deal with the union?" I asked him, How will the Amalgamated get back the money they spent? "Through dues and taxes," he answered. Now I understand what the workers in Philadelphia gained: the check-off system, speed up and efficiency which will throw a few hundred workers out of the shops.

What about unemployment insurance? Well, unemployment insurance is a good thing but the way it is conducted in the Amalgamated it is only of use to the crooks, not the majority of the workers. I will cite a fact and let the pen prostitutes of the Amalgamated deny it. In New York, each local received a sum of money to pay out to the workers in unemployment insurance. So Harry Cohen's gang received \$8,000. They paid out \$5,000 to all the workers and took \$3,000 for themselves. Do you see how smoothly things work in the Amalgamated? These are the achievements with which the union comes to the Toronto convention.

Hillman comes to the Toronto convention when thousands of workers are suffering from unemployment. The best workers have been expelled or squeezed out through Hillman's "efficiency". There will be no opposition at this convention because all opposition was crushed by Hillman and because the Left wing had either a bad policy or none at all.

No opposition, except the rivalry between Beckerman and the Forward gang on the one hand and the Hillman machine on the other. The serious business of the convention is to be a "new balance of power" between these rivals.

What can the workers expect from this convention? Nothing! The boys and their guests will have a good time at the expense of the tailors, playing whoopee, banqueting and boozing. It is the after-convention period that is important for that is when the Left wing will again be confronted with the need of organizing for the fight. Let the lessons of the past be our guide to the future. —A. SCHNEIDER

TROTSKY'S BOOK FREE!

Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many workers anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The Militant is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subscriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is \$2.00; for six months it is \$1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward them to the office and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This \$5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

Φ

OR YOU CAN GET A FREE COPY OF The Real Situation in Russia

This book is also available free of charge to all workers. Here you will find the only English translation of the famous Platform of the Russian Opposition, suppressed by Stalin, and Trotsky's letter exposing the falsifications of the History of the Russian revolution and the Communist Party. You will also find here the important Testament of Lenin. It is a \$2.00 book but you can get it free from the Militant by turning in 5 yearly subscriptions (at \$2.00 each) or 10 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each). Renewals are accepted.

Φ

WE ALSO OFFER A FREE COPY

Since Lenin Died

This book by Max Eastman was the first work in the English language to tell the truth about the struggle in the Russian Communist Party between the Opposition led by Trotsky, on the one hand, and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Stalin on the other. You will have an excellently drawn picture of the beginnings of this fight after reading this book. The Militant has succeeded in getting the last few dozen copies of this book, of which no other edition exists. It has been sent to us from England, the American edition being exhausted. It sells for \$1.00, but you can get it free of charge by turning in 3 yearly subs (at \$2.00 each) or 6 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each).

Φ

Send All Subscriptions and Funds to

The Militant
25 Third Avenue, New York City

THE WEEK

(Continued from page 1)

Hughes, a Negro, in the local court house vault. Like the National Guard and State Militiamen in other states, the Texas Rangers are always available at a moment's notice, with pistols, machine guns and tear bombs, to charge into the ranks of workers striking or fighting for a minimum living standard. That is what they exist for: the defense of bosses "law" and the "order" of capitalism. But when bloodthirsty monsters are on a lynching bee, the law-abiding Rangers—if they are on hand at all—exercise their book-sworn duty by seeing that the savage mob conducts the lynching in as quiet and undisturbed a manner as possible. Needless to add that

nobody will pay the penalty for the barbarous murder. Lynching is not only the approved "extra-legal method of the Bourbon South, but also of democratic Massachusetts and pioneer Washington. George, Hughes, Wesley Everest, Sacco and Vanzetti are all victims of an identical capitalist justice. The greater brutality of the South is provoked by the anxiety of the Southern bourgeoisie to keep the Negroes terrorized in order to prevent them from coordinating their enormous potential strength for the overthrow of wage slavery. Better than the white worker, the white masters know the Negro can be our strongest ally in struggle. A common, bitter struggle of white and Negro labor against the horror of lynching and Jim Crowism therefore, is imperatively necessary.

BOOKS - FOR - WORKERS

Biography and Revolutionary Struggle

The struggle of the factions in the Comintern is in the last analysis a struggle of the classes. Once more the revolutionary Marxists are a persecuted and calumniated minority in the International they founded and Bolshevism an upstream current in the revolution it created. This turn of events can only deter those who fail to understand the dialectic process. History obstinately refuses to flow in the smooth and unruddered channels marked out for it by Fabian doctrinaires of "gradualism". Only in the brain of a Bucharin is it possible to "abstract" the Soviet Union from the development of world economy and the correlation of class forces.

Two Phases of the October Revolution

The October Revolution falls into two phases separated by the death of Lenin. The first was the stage of the conquest of political power and the military and economic consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship through the instrumentality of the conscious Communist vanguard. The second phase is marked by the growth of the elements of dual power, the economic advances of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie the subjection of the Party to the bureaucracy, the replacement of the line of Communism by Centrism.

To screen their back-sliding the Party bureaucrats had resort to the invention and campaign against "Trotskyism". Lenin who was safely embalmed in a mausoleum could be disregarded by the bureaucrats but Trotsky remained as the living symbol of the heroic phase of October. To destroy his immense revolutionary authority therefore became the bureaucrats' prime concern. To this end history and biography were monstrously perverted. An English critic's definition of history as a "Mississippi of falsehoods" was never more fully merited than by the conscienceless fabrications of the school of Stalin.

The powerful sweep of L. D. Trotsky's Autobiography leaves the whole tissue of fraud and misrepresentations woven by the official theoreticians in shreds and tatters. In the light of this memorable work how pitiful even to his own faction must appear the scurrilities with which a Yaroslavsky like the Fat Boy in Dickens, seeks to make our flesh creep. The motley careers of those who sat in judgement on the Opposition, wearing the saintly aureole of the "Old Guard" are here passed in merciless review. Concurrently the organizer of the Red Army sets out the course of the development which led to his complete fusion of goal and method with Lenin in the supreme crisis of October. The biographical test, Trotsky once declared to an Opposition-baiting plenum is not decisive. Bernstein who was the literary executor of Engels wound up as a rabid revisionist. Franz Mehring who approached Marx in a critical spirit ended in the camp of Spartacus. But if biography is indeed to be treated as the criterion, then let us have exact biography not of Trotsky alone but of all concerned.

The owl of Minerva, that bird of wisdom, takes flight when the dusk gathers, runs a familiar saying of Hegel. The temporary cloud on the October Revolution is the last thing any of us desired but the facts being what they are, the theoretical and political contributions of Trotsky since his struggle with the epigones began, are of inestimable service in the education of a whole generation of younger Marxists. Historical Materialism is no philosophy of blind impersonal forces. In reply to the criticism of the Gotha program, the older Liebknecht declared that Marx stood high in his esteem but "the party stands higher". This is the veriest fetishism, creating an entirely false antithesis between party and principle, between organization and leadership. The choice of leaders is as inescapable today as when it had to be made between Marx and Bakunin, between Lenin and Plechanov, between Rosa Luxemburg and Kautsky. The Autobiography before us perfectly fulfills the requirements of Lassalle's dictum that the beginning and end of all great political action lies in the statement of that which is. Trotsky is

the heir to the revolutionary legacy of Marx and Lenin.

Bolshevism did not spring fully grown and accounted like Pallas Athene from the head of Jove in the Greek fable. "Russia," wrote Lenin, "has attained Marxism... by dint of fifty years travail and sacrifice... Thanks to the emigration forced by the Czar, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the 19th century came into possession of rich international connections, of the grasp of superlative forms and theories of the revolutionary movements abroad as no other country had..." "The road of Bolshevism runs through the struggle with the populist Narodniki, syndicalist "economism", ultra-Left "otsovism", and Menshevik and "conciliatory" opportunism". But not the least of the obstacles it had to clear cut of its path was the conservatism of the "old Bolsheviks" who more than once, declared Lenin, have played a melancholy role in the history of our Party by repeating senseless and obsolete formulae.

These preliminary struggles of Bolshevism have significance only as they serve to prepare the Party for the conquest of political power. Not one of the epigones who called themselves the "Old Guard" measured up to the demands of the great October ordeal. Not one had advanced beyond the position of a Left democrat prior to the arrival of Lenin and his April Theses. The slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry as Lenin conceived it bore two aspects, one that looked to the past and the other to the future. The epigones only saw the part of this slogan. They were prepared for no more than bourgeois revolution, that is Russia a free market, no repudiation of foreign debts, no assistance to the international proletarian revolution, no nationalization of the means of production.

If according to Lenin the role of Zinoviev and Kamenev was no accident, neither could it be an accident that from the distance of New York, Trotsky reached the same conclusions regarding the revolutionary motive forces as Lenin in Switzerland. On March 19, 1917 Trotsky wrote from America: "In this struggle the proletariat

ought to unite about itself the rising masses of the people with one aim in view—to seize governmental power." And three days later: "If the first Russian Revolution in 1905 brought about the revolutions in Asia, in Persia, Turkey, China, the second Russian revolution will be the beginning of powerful revolutionary struggle in Europe..." Trotsky found himself in absolute accord with the April theses. He had remained outside the Bolshevik faction because he feared a tendency would develop within it to limit the revolution to democratic objectives. Fortunately the line of Lenin and the clan of the masses proved stronger than the democratic Right wing which did indeed crystallize. History fused the theory which is anathema to all bureaucrats—the permanent revolution—with the fundamental strategy of Leninism.

The Usurpation by the Bureaucrat

The crisis in the International begins with the usurpation of power by the bureaucrats. The struggle to put an end to the alternative zig-zags of opportunism and adventurism is inextricably linked up with the struggle for a correct Party regime. The base of the leadership in the Soviet Union has become more dangerously narrowed. When Marx characterized Bakunin he anticipated Lenin's characterization of Stalin. Marx wrote: "Theoretically he is a cipher but... a schemer he is in his element." To leave a disloyal figure like Stalin at the helm is, as experiences amply demonstrate, to court disaster for the revolution. The Party regimes in the various sections of the Comintern have been made over in his image—a bureaucracy tempered only by fear of the Opposition.

If the policy of the Comintern officialdom in the period of the British General Strike and the Chinese Revolution was a tragedy, that of the so-called "Third Period" has the elements of a tragic farce. What must be done? We recall that there was another "third period" away back in 1902, when Lenin was fighting one who is a present theoretician of Stalinism, namely Martinov. To the question, what must we do, Lenin wrote: "We must give the brief reply: 'LIQUIDATE THE THIRD PERIOD' (N. Lenin, 1902—"Que Faire"—Paris 1925). And we must add, liquidate the ascendancy of the epigones, purge the program of the Comintern of national Socialism, and restore the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition to its rightful position in the Party.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

T. U. U. L.

«Mass Work» in Philly

The present state of the newly created North Philadelphia branch of the T.U.U.L., the membership of which has fallen away to ten within a few weeks, is another small but instructive instance of the havoc being wrought in all Party organizations through stupid bureaucratic control.

This branch takes in the proletarian Kensington area and was started on the initiative of a few enthusiastic workers, of whom only one was a Party member. By dint of hard campaigning, and without the least help from the crackpot T. U. U. L. "organizer", Murdock, or the other Stalinist job-holders, they built up a membership of thirty native-born workers and were in a fair way to make things hum around here when the bureaucrats stepped in.

The Party Strait-Jacket

They laced the branch in a strait-jacket: programs and policies worked out behind closed doors at the Party headquarters were literally jammed down its throat; anything not contained in them was taboo. Democratic election of functionaries and committee, free discussion from the floor, suggestions for real organizational work, objections to the brazen company union procedure were squelched at once. Seeing that in the eyes of the bureaucrats they were not self-reliant workers but sucking babes, the disgusted members began dropping out by squads.

As was pointed out recently in the Militant, the Kensington area is panting for organization. The workers there are savagely exploited textile slaves of Irish-American and German-American stock with a proud and militant history. But neither during the reign of the Trotsky-phobic Benjamin, nor since, with the Trimmer Gardos on the throne, have the Party officials raised an eyebrow in its direction. The only part played by them in the heroic Aberle mill strike was that of war correspondents behind the firing line, sending preposterous bulletins to the Daily Worker about their wholly fictitious "leadership" of the strikers. And when through the efforts of rank and filers who took the "recruitment campaign" of the T. U. U. L. seriously organization in Kensington was actually begun, they promptly crushed it to death.

—J. ARCHIBENKO

Proposes Fight for Jobless in Chicago Labor Body

CHICAGO—

The Chicago Federation of Labor now typical of central bodies of the A. F. of L. and quite oblivious of its past militant tradition, has shown a decided fear of venturing into as much as a discussion of the present unemployment crisis. Nevertheless at its meeting, held May 4, a discussion did take place, initiated by comrade Arne Swabeck, who has been a delegate from the painters' union for a number of years.

At the early part of this meeting a committee previously appointed made a report on prospects for the establishment of a daily labor paper, to be published by the federation, recommending that as a necessary condition for a daily the present weekly publication be first extended in circulation. In the discussion ensuing several of the delegates who spoke emphasized the need of reviving the militant spirit of the past and voiced some criticism of the present trade union officialdom in general.

It was upon the conclusion of this debate that a letter was read proposing that the Chicago Federation of Labor join in the efforts now being made unitedly by the social charities, the Illinois State Federation of Labor and various civic bodies, including the Chamber of Commerce, to conduct an investigation of the free employment agencies. Upon a question being asked the president, Fitzpatrick, explained that what we are after is not so much to investigate the free employment agencies but rather the "fee" employment agencies which are completely interlocked with the superintendents and managers of the big corporations in getting a rakeoff from the workers when placing anybody in employment.

At this point comrade Swabeck se-

cured the floor and turned the attention towards the real problem—the unemployment crisis. He said: "If the connections of the 'fee' employment agencies are as stated by president Fitzpatrick, which I believe to be a correct statement, I cannot see what the Chicago Federation of Labor can expect to accomplish in an investigation to be conducted jointly with the Chamber of Commerce, as the main object of this body will naturally be to protect such institutions and to clamp the lid down on any exposure of this form of racketeering. It would be much more appropriate for the federation to conduct an investigation of its own. Not only that but to look up the unemployment situation in general.

"It is about time for the Chicago Federation of Labor and for the trade union movement as a whole to concern itself with this question. It has done nothing so far to endeavor to protect the workers' interests in this situation or even to begin to fight for the measures which could to an extent become alleviating and which have become a pressing need. The American Federation of Labor leadership has done absolutely nothing in a concrete way. It has even proceeded, true to its reactionary position, to oppose any form of direct unemployment insurance.

"I can think of three important measures which the Chicago Federation of Labor can take up a fight for in order to bring some relief to the unemployment situation. First, to take up the fight for unemployment insurance. Those who have done the productive work but cannot now find jobs are entitled to it. Secondly, to take up the demand everywhere for the shorter workday. I do not mean merely the five day week, but the seven hour day,

or the six hour day, whatever is necessary to bring the relief needed. Thirdly, the Soviet Union, which is now engaged in building up industry for its workers is in need of large scale credit to enable it to buy machinery and material and you know the Soviet Union is the only country which has insisted upon union made products. This country has enormous funds available in the control of Wall Street which could be used for such a purpose. It would be a worthy cause for American labor to take up this demand and bring its mass pressure to bear upon Wall Street to grant such credits with which machinery and material can be bought in America produced by the American workers and thus not only strengthen the bonds between the workers of these two countries but also be a great factor in helping to relieve unemployment here."

The motion was put, and carried. The debate was closed when president Fitzpatrick, using the "privilege" of making a statement from the chair, got up and administered one of his notorious backhanded slaps. He tried to accuse comrade Swabeck of not being sincere, of being an obstructionist and a destructionist who had done everything in his power to destroy the American Federation of Labor. Some ardent claquers immediately began pounding the palms of their hands, but when the general audience failed to follow it died quickly as a fizzle.

When comrade Swabeck left the hall several rank and file delegates came to him to shake hands as a token of their agreement. One remarked: "A dirty slam is no answer and the correctness of your arguments could not be contradicted."

—B

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

III, No. 21,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, May 24, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

LEFT WING NEEDLE TRADES CRISIS

WEEK

Sandino

A few short weeks ago the Daily Worker gave General Sandino, Nicaraguan nationalist, a clean bill of health on the charges made that he had been bought off by American imperialism. It printed the statement of the "League against Imperialism" which said that "the slanderous allegations were spread by agents of Yankee imperialism to discredit a man in the eyes of the working class and peasant masses of Latin America" and so on and so forth. Having been given the O. K. by this Kuo Min Tansque organization of the Comintern, Sandino promptly proceeded to fire his Communist secretary, Marti, and expel from his army any and all "foreigners". Immediately the Daily Worker discovered (May 19, 1930) that "the denunciation by Sandino of Communists, in the form of his discharge of Marti, appears as a prologue to the equanimity with which his entrance into Nicaragua is observed by the U.S. marines." Yesterday's thoroughly white-washed "noble warrior against imperialism" is thus transformed over night into a tacit agent of imperialism's marines. The capacity of Stalinism for "united front" adventures with bourgeois nationalists seem to be without bottom.

A. C. W. in Toronto

It was not difficult to predict the thorough valuelessness of the Toronto convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It has never held a more empty meeting. Hillman's big achievement was Philadelphia, where he sold speed-up unionism to the bosses like a farmer sells sheep. Cleveland is to be tackled next—by the same methods. The great statesman of the A. C. W. offers workers to the bosses on this basis: "Let me handle them and you'll be surprised at the economies I can make possible." Needless to say, the Left wing is not present at Toronto: its sectarian policy excludes such a possibility. For that, however, Hillman has made his peace again with Beckerman—behind the scenes. All is now harmony in the A. C. W., with the clothing workers paying heavily for it.

U. S. of Briand

M. Briand has now "concretized" his plan for a United States of Europe and given the liberals another chance to become hysterical with joy. Needless to say that the new plan will go the way of the previous ones—the ash-heap. The British lion looks upon it with a jaundiced eye, and with reason, for it has no intention of letting France establish its formal domination of the continent. Mussolini has already screamed a belligerent reply to it, for this two-by-four imperialist has no intention of letting Briand stick his leg into the Italian boot. And not even a child can be deceived by the polite assurance that the new plan is "not directed against the United States" or the Soviets, or by any illusions about America's acquiescence in this utopian anti-dollar bloc. Naturally Briand will not succeed in establishing this reactionary bloc which immediately run its head into a dozen walls. Only the proletarian revolution in Europe can unite the continent on a socialist basis and throw off the domination of the golden heel from across the sea. The Daily Worker and Co., as usual, see only an

(Continued on Page 2)

The Left wing movement in the needle trades is experiencing a severe crisis. With the exception of a handful of blind bureaucrats for whom nothing has changed, the crisis has been realized by everyone. The most superficial glance at the situation reveals the bald facts that while the Left wing, two or three years ago, was followed by the decisive majority of the needle trades workers and was driving back the Right wing office holders on every front, it has today accumulated an unbroken series of defeats, been reduced to the Communist fraction and its most direct sympathizers, and the Right wing has succeeded in re-establishing a large measure of its

control. The picture includes not only New York, but practically every other needle trades center in the country where the Left wing contended with the Right for the support of the workers.

Neither the causes nor the remedies for the situation have yet been given by the official Left wing leadership: on the contrary, an honest and thorough analysis is prohibited by it (that is, by the present leadership of the Communist Party) because it would be the one to suffer primarily from such an investigation. It even seeks to forestall this urgently needed examination by a barrage of criticism directed against its factional opponents in the

union and against the lower functionaries who merely executed orders.

False "Self-Criticism"

That kind of "self-criticism" is best exemplified by the notorious article of Johnstone's which we dealt with in our last number. For the Johnstones' is sufficient to unload their responsibility upon someone else; as for what is to be done in the future so that the blundering past shall not be repeated, they let the blueprints of the "third period" take care of that. But since these blueprints do not improve the situation (on the contrary, they worsen it), it falls to the rank and file workers in the Left wing to review its position and decide upon a proper course of action.

The Left wing is today reduced to a shadow of its former strength. One need only look at the recent "Summary of Minutes of Executive Council Meetings" issued by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union to see this truth substantiated. There is not a single gain recorded there; not one step forward is referred to; but in every field there are numerous losses and failures mentioned. And the admissions of the Executive Council are far more to the point than all the gaseous bluff of the Daily Worker and Freiheit.

Out of the thousands that once adhered to the Left wing, the union today has a scant 3,000 dues paying members left in New York (more than one fourth of whom are Party members!) with a worse record in other cities. Out of the irrepressible enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice that imbued the Left wing and won its victories, there is left only passivity and skepticism. Out of the prestige and authority its leadership once enjoyed, there remains only the distrust and suspicion of the workers.

What has happened? There can be no adequate understanding of the causes for the situation unless it is clearly seen that the crisis in the Left wing of the needle trades is part and parcel of the crisis in the whole Communist movement, a crisis engendered by the multiplication of zip-zags known as Stalinism. The apparent inability of the leadership to maintain a stable policy is a reflection of the constant leaps every national Party leadership is compelled to make in order to keep pace with the ruling machine in the Comintern and the Russian Party. Only with this clearly established can we explain how the Left wing leadership passes so abruptly from an openly opportunist line of action to a rigidly sectarian one, from ultra-conservatism to the wildest adventurism, from united front with Sigman to a rejection of the united front with rank and file

(Continued on Page 3)

Stalinist Brutalities in Russia

(The editorial board of the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist)" has sent us the important communications below.)

Dear Comrade:

From a very reliable source we have received the following information: "In the Upper-Urals Solitary Prison, which, as is known, is filled mainly by our Opposition comrades (there are 160 of them), two new mass beatings have taken place. One on February 5 and the other on February

23. On the 23rd, besides the beatings, our comrades were drenched with water from a fire hose—this in the very severest period of February frost. The pretext for the beatings was the protest against the terrible conditions of imprisonment."

These brutal deeds of the Stalinist regime must be denounced in every working class organization and meeting. The heroic fight of our Russian comrades calls for the warmest solidarity from the class conscious militants in the United States.

A Raid on Rakovsky

We are informed:

"In the middle of February there was a raid at Rakovsky's which lasted for seven hours. Everything was taken away. Among other things it seems that they also took the completed draft of a declaration to the Party. The police agents in charge of the raid declared to Rakovsky: 'You're holding on to our coat-tails.' These ought to go down in history. It is regrettable that right now we are holding on only to the coat tails. But times will change!"

The author of this letter is right. The words of the G. P. U. agent ought to go down in history. Doubtless, they are not his own words. They came down to him through a series of stages from the very top. These are the words of the "secretarial genius" (a play on the Russian words for "general secretary", i. e., Stalin.—Ed.) At all the stages, zig-zags and turns of recent years, the victorious, mighty general faction of Stalin did not take a single free step: the "defeated Opposition"—the Left Opposition always pulls at its coat tails. It pulled it from the embrace of Chiang Kai-Shek, Purcell, and the "powerful" middle peasant. It pulled it from the bloc

with Brandler, Roy, Lovestone, Bucharin. Stalin finally decided to turn to the Left so abruptly, so boldly, so definitely, as to break loose from the Opposition forever. But in vain. The Opposition once more seized his "coat-tails" and this time pulled him "backward" from the edge of the precipice. It is unbearable. It must not be tolerated any longer. Then what is to be done? What do you mean, what? Raid Rakovsky, take away his papers, arrest his correspondents. Since they have no thoughts of their own, they have to interfere with the thinking of others.

On Guard!

In one of the villages of the Byss district there was an uprising, under the leadership of... a representative of the G.P.U.! This is where the real enemies of the Soviet government are. Thousands upon thousands of brutes who beat up our friends in the solitary prisons, who torture them, are in no way different from the above mentioned "representative" of the G. P. U. The Thermidorian scoundrels in the meantime unleash their fury against Communism at the Oppositionists. The insurgents assassinated dozens of their "Party comrades" and then fled to the mountains. This is how matters stand.

WHAT DOES THE OPPOSITION STAND FOR?

The American Left Wing Weakened by Stalinism
Thousands of Oppositionists Imprisoned in Russia
Leon Trotsky Exiled on an Island in Turkey

WHY?

Hear the Program of the Left Opposition Presented by

MAURICE
SPECTOR
Canada

ARNE
SWABECK
Chicago

VINCENT
DUNNE
St. Paul

KARL
SKOGLUND
Minneapolis

NOW IN NEW YORK FOR THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

At STUYVESANT CASINO, 2nd Ave. and 9th St.

On Tuesday, May 27, 1930 - - at 8 p.m. Sharp

Admission 25c

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ALL INVITE

In the Party

The Convention Nears

Our Communist Party convention is scheduled to open June 20 in New York. By now, the pre-convention discussion should have been in full swing in the press as well as in the Party units. The whole Party, every member should have been astir with the issues and problems confronting us. And the problems are many indeed. That they deserve discussion, or require elucidation, nobody will deny. In a very short period we "succeeded" to expel from the Party two oppositions, we left behind the "second period", and triumphantly entered the "third and final period", the "period of wars and revolution". Now is the time to make some summaries, to draw some conclusions. After all it was a big jump to take and a very abrupt one. It was virtually overnight that the historic periods were declared changed. Now is the time to count our losses and gains. How many broke their necks in the process? How many were left behind and are still lingering around in the daze of the "second period"? Or can we put the questions differently: How did our policies for this "period of wars and revolution" fare? This is the time to take stock. But there is nothing of the kind.

In one short year we created a widespread net of industrial revolutionary unions, that should make anybody green with envy. As a district representative expressed it at my fraction meeting: "Anyone not joining the T. U. U. L. will be expelled from the Party... Our unions now exist in every field of industry and there can be no excuse on that score". Hasn't any number of an. vbqkj cmfwyp cmfwyp story to tell in connection with this great task that was accomplished? Isn't this something to boast about? Or is modesty a requirement of the third period?

Passivity and Indifference

So far nobody has contributed anything to the pre-convention discussion. This in itself is a very alarming sign. The whole Party membership is permeated with a feeling of apathy and passivity. And no wonder. To write the convention theses, Bedacht was sent to Moscow. There was nobody literate enough left in the Party to draw up the theses. The consequence is that no one can open his mouth in criticism of them. To criticize the theses is to criticize the Comintern—but that is the greatest of heresies for which the axe of expulsion descends. The same applies to the policy of abandoning the old unions and the creation of a number of "industrial" unions on paper—unions with long names, wide jurisdiction, very revolutionary programs, but with only one thing missing—members. If anyone objects to this policy there is no way to express it unless he is ready to be kicked out of the Party. For isn't it a decision of the Fourth World Congress and Sixth Plenum of the R.I.L.U. to talk against that is heresy once more. Facts no longer matter, the crying realities of a situation are meaningless, that magic word "third period" is the all-powerful, most convincing explanation. When somebody dares to suggest timidly that it was exactly this kind of tactics that Lenin ridiculed so convincingly in his pamphlet on the trade unions or his book on infantile sickness, the answer is that Lenin did not write it in the third period.

What is left for the members to discuss? How much remains within the limits of "legal expression"? Evidently not a single issue, where the matter of principles or tactics is involved. The result is very lamentable. Policies are handed down from the top, nobody dares to express his disagreement openly, but the indifference nevertheless accumulate and express themselves in the passivity and apathy on the part of Party members.

Meetings Unattended

This is evidenced in every sphere of party life. The most important meetings are not attended, work assigned is not carried out, and whatever is done is achieved

by the threat of expulsion. And the members do not want to be expelled. They are staying inside the Party and waiting for "better days" to come. All the letters sent out to the Party members calling for the most insignificant meeting, carry with them the warning that if the comrade does not attend he will be called before the control commission. And, by the way, this is now the busiest institution in the Party. The control commission, created originally for the curbing of bureaucratic abuses by the apparatus, has long forgotten its original aim, and become a whip against "heresy" and for spurring up activity by threats.

To cite some examples of this passivity: At the last general fraction meeting of the needle trades at which the future of the union was discussed there was no more than one eighth of the members present. This is the statement made by the chairman, Benjamin. Out of 550 Party members listed in the building trades, there were no more than 55 members present at the last general fraction meetings. I cite these examples because that is where the bulk of the New York membership is. This is the eloquent manner in which the members participate in the Party discussion and Party life in general. —B.T.

THE WEEK

(Continued from page 1)

anti-Soviet bloc and nothing else. These political bankrupts are reducing the Communist movement, as comrade Trotsky puts it, to the role of a frontier guard.

A Tearful Appeal

The Berlin session of the executive committee of the Second International has just issued an appeal to the Russian workers. Its warmth should melt a stone. Messrs. Bauer, Hillquit, Mueller, Vandervelde, Longuet and MacDonald are perturbed by the Russian situation and appeal to the Soviet proletariat to preserve their revolutionary honor and achievements... by giving democracy a chance. The appeal should have been concrete and proposed Herr Comrade Zoergel for Moscow Chief of Police, the Honorable Comrade Thomas for Minister of Labor, and the Most Honorable Ramsay MacDonald as Premier. Then the Russian workers would know what democracy looks like. It should be emphasized that the Second International is concerned with the welfare of the poor Russian slave of the Bolshevik autocracy—so concerned, in fact that it "forgot" to appeal to the British and Indian workers to overthrow the government of comrade MacDonald which is shooting them full of social democratic lead. Just an oversight, we presume.

In the Factories

A Letter From Moscow

We are informed from Moscow:

At the factory committee elections of the metal workers, the following demands were put forth: genuine and not bureaucratic elections, genuine self-criticism. Various crafts brought up demands for wage increases, improvement of the food, and an increase in the allotment. These demands arise spontaneously and nobody leads the movement. Alongside of this, there is evident an increase in counter-revolutionary moods. In connection with the "one-man command" there is sharp dissatisfaction. It often rises to the surface. At the "Red Rubber Plant the worker came out at the conference in the name of a whole group, with a demand to limit the rights of the managers and foremen. As is customary, this group was raked over the coals and denounced as lazy, trouble-makers, etc., and they were expelled, some from the Party, some from the unions and some from both. In the Butyrki prison, there are about 200 of our comrades (Oppositionists). —L.

Our National Tour

New York Begins with a Successful Meeting

Despite the threatening weather and brief rain, close to three hundred New York workers filled the Labor Temple on May 15 to hear comrade Max Shachtman report on the revolutionary movement in Europe, the International Conference of the Left Opposition in Paris, and his visit to comrade L.D. Trotsky in Turkey. The meeting was the first since Shachtman's return from Europe, and it led off the national tour which has been arranged by the Communist League branches throughout the country.

Speaks on Five Year Plan

The speaker gave a detailed picture of the present critical situation in the Soviet Union and the viewpoint of comrade Trotsky, as well as an account of the big step forward taken by the Left Opposition at its International Conference in Paris. His analysis of the status and prospects of the Five Year Plan was attentively followed by the whole audience, which included numerous Party members and Lovestonites.

Questions were asked and answered and an interesting discussion took place. One Party member who made the usual "exposure of Trotskyism" was effectively answered from the platform.

During his remarks, the chairman, comrade Cannon, issued a challenge to the Lovestone faction, which has suddenly become the champion of open discussion to a public debate of the principle questions

in dispute in the Communist movement. Considerable literature was sold and a collection of over \$30.00 taken.

Mass meetings on the same subject are being arranged in other cities, and the schedule of the tour is printed below. Halls and addresses will be filled in as soon as local arrangements are made:

New Haven, Friday, May 30.
Philadelphia, Saturday, May 31, Hancock Hall, 814 Girard Ave.
Boston, Sunday, June 1, C. L. branch meeting. Monday, June 2, mass meeting at 62 Chambers Street.
Montreal, Tuesday, June 3.
Toronto, Wednesday-Thursday, June 4-5.
Hamilton, Friday, June 6.
Detroit, Saturday-Sunday, June 7-8.
Chicago, Monday-Tuesday-Wednesday-Thursday, June 9-10-11-12.
Minneapolis, St. Paul, Superior, Friday-Saturday-Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, June 13-14-15-16, 17.
Kansas City, Thursday-Friday-Saturday June 19-20-21.
St. Louis, Sunday-Monday, June 22-23.
Springfield, Tuesday, June 24.
Cleveland, Wednesday-Thursday, June 25-26.
Pittsburgh, Friday-Saturday, June 27-28.
All information on the tour can be secured from 25 Third Avenue, New York.

After the May Day Meeting in Boston

BOSTON—

The First of May demonstration of the Communist party in Boston was quite well attended but proved that the big crowd of 25,000 on March 6 was a curiosity, excitement-seeking crowd gathered as a result of the shouting of the capitalist press that a big fight was expected on the Common between the police and the Communists. While the police still kept up their idiotic preparation for an uprising (claiming that they were guarding all important places like the telephone exchange, railroad stations, etc.) the papers did not feature the First of May on the front page. Thus only the regular crowd of 3,000 to 5,000 people, which the Communists usually can gather, came—this time in somewhat larger numbers because of the present unemployment.

Harry Cantor, just released from Deer Island was the main speaker. His eight months martyrdom was not played up at all. While one speaker dramatically pointed out the sufferings of a person at Deer Island even during the fifteen minute period, he did not think it necessary to say that the chairman suffered there for the last eight months. Obviously, since the Stephens affair, the Party does not want to push Harry Cantor too much. They probably do not know whether they really can trust Cantor. It seems no one trusts another any more in the Party.

The smaller number of people at this demonstration perhaps helped to cure the Party members of their grandiose illusions which the March 6 demonstration developed to such a dangerous degree. Then they "saw" 50,000 people where average people could see only 15 and 20,000. They claimed 25,000 marching on the streets of Boston where my eyes could see only 200. They reported to the Daily Worker the next day (see March 7 issues) that a fight was going on on the Common "but the workers are still holding the Common"—which is a huge joke to every Bostonian.

This time, they claimed 15,000 around the bandstand. This is not so grossly exaggerated; a comrade well used to large crowds estimated it as 5,000 and those marching from the bandstand to the Charles Street Mall as 2,000 to 3,000 while the Daily Worker claimed 5,000. The differences between imaginary numbers and real ones are not as striking as on March 6. So the comrades of the Party are learning.

A meeting of the executive committee

of Boston and nearby branches of the Independent Workmen's Circle was called last Tuesday to evaluate the results of the fight with the Stalinists who had left the organization to start their own Sick Benefit organization. Their boast was that they would take half of the members with them. Up to the present time about 1200 or 1400 have left the I. W. C.—that is, about one seventh of the membership—and some of these have returned already.

As one of the speakers I pointed out that we should not have been fooled by the slogan taken by the Stalinists, that this is a fight of the Lefts against the Rights. Many comrades were misled by it. It was really a fight of the Communist party officials against a Left wing organization, a foolish, childish fight for they only alienated people who had always supported them. In trying to get mechanical control over a Left wing organization, they made instead an enemy of it. We are the same Left wingers; we believe in revolutionary class struggle; we are for the dictatorship of the proletariat; we all are supporting Soviet Russia; we are against the Party only on the ground of its tactics. Otherwise we will keep up our Left wing work. Hearty applause from the majority of the executives present proved that I expressed their views.

There was a time when Branch 18, I. W. C., was entirely under mechanical Party rule. Trotskyists like myself could not speak there. Now, after losing nine or ten members, Branch 18 invited me as speaker for the May Day celebration. This is significant in proving how the Communist Party has lost valuable ground.

Comrade Schlossburg was invited to speak on May 1 for Branch 27, I. W. C. —A.K.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Crisis in the Needle Trades Left Wing Movement

(Continued from page 1)

workers. It dances and leaps to the tunes changed each year by the Stalinist group in the movement to suit its narrow factional interests.

A Zig-Zagging Leadership

The needle trades Left wing leadership has been most prominent in executing these zig-zags. At one moment, it seeks united fronts with Sigman or Ninfo; the next moment, it vents its spite upon Sigman by denouncing the workers whom he still deludes (or who follow him for any other reason) as "social fascists" with whom it will have nothing at all to do. At one moment, it lets golden opportunities go by without forming its own Left wing union, for fear of making the Right wing bureaucrats angry; the next moment, it seeks to make up for lost time and blunders by artificially forcing events and creating "unions" where there is no basis at all for them.

All of these changes, which occur with increasing frequency, are decided bureaucratically, behind the scenes, upon arbitrary command from above, without relation to the realities of the struggle. It is precisely because of the purely administrative nature of these changes and the fact that they do not correspond to the needs of the struggle, that each change leaves the workers more bewildered. The workers are not chessmen that can be moved about unresistingly by "master" strategists. The result of these zig-zags, therefore, is that the workers are alienated from the movement, becoming a prey to the Right wing demagogues or falling into indifference and passivity. That is what has happened particularly in the needle trades Left wing movement.

Another factor of enormous importance is the cancer of corruption (we do not refer here, necessarily, to financial corruption) and bureaucratism. For shallow-minded observers and similar Johnstones, these are accidental and personal phenomena which can be wiped out by simply denouncing them. Unfortunately, the matter is not so simple. They are the natural twin products of that very regime which the Johnstones personify and defend. Why? Because to carry out a zig-zag policy which the workers would not accept of their own accord, it is necessary to have bureaucrats who will execute orders from above even against the interests and wishes of the ranks. Not the "deviations" from Stalinist policy produce bureaucratism, but the policy itself. And bureaucratism goes hand in hand with corruption and degeneration. Bureaucratism is a synonym for mutual factional protection.

Could there be a crasser expression of this than Johnstone's article, in which (by silence) he condones in the Party leaders of the Left wing union the same deeds for which he condemns Lovestoneite leaders? The knowledge that "loyalty to the line" means a grant of automatic immunity from above, is the greatest incentive to corruption. That is the theory and practice of Stalinism, and the Left wing, which gained its strength in the fight against the bureaucracy of the Right wing must immediately purge itself of the same malady before it is rendered impotent.

There is no absolute preventive for bureaucratism; but there are some excellent guarantees against it. Workers democracy is one of them. But it does not exist in the Needle Trades Industrial Union any more than it does in the other unions controlled by the Stalinists, because its existence is incompatible with their domination.

The absence of workers democracy is notorious in the N. T. W. I. U. The rank and file worker does not feel at home in the union meetings. An atmosphere of terror has been created so that when a workers rises to make the slightest criticism he is forthwith deluged with cries of "Trotskyite, Lovestoneite, Sigmanite, scab, renegade, disrupter," and the dozens of others in the choice collection of the modern Left wing bureaucrats.

The Party bureaucrats in the unions

devote their greatest attention to keeping every post—no matter how important—tightly in their own hands. The worker, sympathetic to Communism though he may be, is made to feel that he can have no say in the work or the directing of the work unless he is a Party member—and sometimes unless he is a member of a particular Party faction! The methods and system of Party organization, already narrowed down out of all legitimate proportions, are automatically transferred into the union, which the Party rules like an imperialist dependency.

Re-Establish Workers Democracy

The re-establishment of workers democracy in the Left wing is an imperative preliminary to any forward step. The Left wing union must be returned to the control of the membership. The Communists and their Party must become the guide, the advisor of the union and cease to be a taskmaster armed with a pistol and a lash. A continuation of the present high-handed, autocratic, brutal Party methods in the trade unions must lead inevitably to a repetition of the situation in the French C.G.T.U. (red trade unions) where a rebellion has set in not only against the Party, but (so far as some elements are concerned, at least) against Communism as such. The French situation, in which the pure "syndicalists" are profiting by the crude blunders of official Communism should be a warning to the comrades here.

Workers democracy in the needle trades Left wing is no abstract question that can be postponed for some other time; it is an urgent, unpostponable issue involving the life and death of the organization. But its achievement—let this not be lost sight of for a moment—is conditioned upon a relentless struggle against that very bureaucracy which came into existence by abolishing workers democracy. There can be no half-measures in this necessary struggle.

To make a machine function properly—and a trade union is one of the workers machines in the class struggle—one must know how and where to direct it. It is necessary to make all the parts of this machine work smoothly and in proper relation to each other—the party and the union, the leadership and the masses. The problem in the needle trades Left wing—after the attainment of this proper coordination we spoke of above (fight against bureaucracy, corruption, for workers democracy, etc., etc.)—is to know how and where to direct this machine, that is, what policies the Left wing must pursue in order to win the workers to its side.

The essence of the problem to be solved by the Left wing in this respect is, first, to win back the workers over whom the Right wing has established its control, and secondly, to organize those workers who are outside of both the Right and Left wing unions.

Organize the Unorganized

One of the most powerful slogans, one with which the Left wing grew strong in the eyes of the workers, was the organization of the unorganized. In New York (which is typical), the MAJORITY of the needle trades workers (with the possible exceptions of the men's clothing workers) are UNORGANIZED. They are among the most exploited in the industry; they work under conditions most closely approximating the old sweat shops. It is primarily the task of the Left wing to organize these workers.

The fact of the existence of these tens of thousands of unorganized workers who do not follow the Right wing and will not be organized by it, is already sufficient answer to any tendencies in the Left wing (and there are such tendencies) to liquidate the Left wing union and filter back into the Schlesinger union to function there solely as a minority group. These tendencies to easy surrender, which are nourished by the paralysis of the present leadership and the feeling of hopelessness it creates, cannot be successfully combatted by administrative decree, or theses. They must be revealed as wrong by demonstrating IN WORK AND STRUGGLE that there

remains a broad foundation for the existence and development of the Left wing union.

The difficulty of organizing these workers—depressed by previous defeats—need not be underestimated. That is true. But it is also true that they form an enormous reservoir of strength for the Left wing. They will not be organized over night, or by sensational, short-lived "campaigns". But persistent, steady activity will do it, provided that these workers are approached on the basis of a concrete struggle against their sweat-shop conditions and not on the basis of abstract slogans translated literally from the latest Molotov thesis.

They can be organized if the approach to them is based, not on the sectarian policies now dominating the Left wing, not on the virtual demand that every worker recognize the leadership of the Communist Party, but on the united front of the organized revolutionary workers with the progressive and even backward workers who want a union that really fights the bosses.

Organize the Right Wing Workers

The policy of organizing (not talking about it on paper, but really organizing) the unorganized workers for struggle (not putches, not two day strikes for the record, but real struggle) inseparable from the job of mobilizing the workers in the Right wing union for the same purpose—a job that can be accomplished only in battle against Schlesinger and Co. and their class collaboration.

There are thousands of militant workers today registered with the Right wing who were with the Left wing yesterday. They are working in many instances under virtual check-off conditions, i. e., no dues to Schlesinger? no job in the shop! The Right wing established control over them by its connivance with the employers and with the aid of the Left wing's blockheaded blunders.

It goes without saying that the Right wing has not improved their conditions, that there is great dissatisfaction among these workers, that it is possible to organize them for a fight against the joint forces of the bosses and their labor agents. In the majority of cases these workers have not ceased to be militants and Left wingers; many of them were simply compelled to register with the Right. The policy of the Left wing union makes it impossible to win them back. Its slogan is simply: Stop paying dues to Schlesinger and join the N. T. W. I. U. Naturally, this slogan has not yet registered a single success.

Out of some stupid fetish, the official Left wing has till now refused to organize the militant elements in the Right wing union for a struggle. This policy—or rather lack of policy—must be dumped overboard. It is good for nothing at all. The Left wing must immediately proceed to organize its minorities in the Right wing union, and on the basis of the daily needs of the workers which the Schlesingers so cynically disregard, mobilize a force for the disruption of the boss-controlled union and the recruitment of the workers now in it for the Left wing. An intelligent program, fitted to the needle trades workers needs, can succeed in mobilizing them for a fight—and a fight against the bosses means a fight against Schlesinger.

The workers want unity. They want to fight when there is a possibility of success. They can see none in the narrow, academic policy of the Left wing. The plank to bridge the gap between the small organized Left wing union and the thousands in the Right wing union is the united front. More than six months ago, before Johnstone was awakened by Lozovsky's prodings and the need to find a scapegoat, we wrote in the Militant (November 1, 1929) in connection with the Right wing cloak strike:

"The Left wing can make headway, and regain the strength and influence it enjoyed in 1926 and 1927, if it knows how to approach the Right wing worker, how to work for a united front. It must challenge Schlesinger and Co. openly to up-

the divided ranks of the workers. It must work for joint action, joint committees in the shops. The Schlesingers and Dubinskys will expose themselves sufficiently in their actions during the struggle, but only if the Left wing shows its readiness to work side by side with the Right wing worker."

This proposal was rejected at that time by the Left wing; it paid for that by further losses. Long after the fact, Johnstone attempts a similar criticism, but he proposes nothing for the future. Our proposal then holds good in essence today and for the next period.

The United Front

The official Left wing theory of the Right wing workers as "social fascists" automatically excludes the idea of a united front on a minimum platform of struggle. The theory is false; it is also good for nothing at all—except to demonstrate the theoretical poverty of Stalinism—and must be rejected. The tactic of the united front is not a cement to unite the leaders of the Left wing and the Right the Parcells and the Tomskys—that is the perversion of the united front; the united front can be a knife cutting the masses still following the Right wing loose from their misleaders. Properly utilized, this knife can become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Left wing. Lightly thrown aside, as the official Left wing has done it leaves the Right wing bureaucrats just that much greater predominance of weapons.

The superficial argument that the I. L. G. W. is a "company union" is not worth a penny. That is the attitude of Mr. William Green towards out-and-out company unions: "We will have nothing to do with them!" That is, we will not fight the bosses for the workers they dominate. The Left wing, by its argument, says: "We will not fight Schlesinger for the workers he dominates. Let them come to us or be damned eternally in hell as social fascists."

* * *

The philosophical idealist believes the world of reality to be a mere reflection of man's ideas. The third period chiefs of the needle trades Left wing (and, for that matter, the whole Party-controlled Left wing) seem to believe that the world of reality can be made to act in conformity with their abstract, pre-conceived blue-prints, drawn up without any relation to life and struggle and facts. The Left wing must learn to look at facts, disconcerting and inconvenient as they may be, and to "proceed from that which is."

No program, irrespective of its excellence, can settle the difficulties over night; the Left wing cannot so easily pay off the debts it has accumulated through a series of past blunders and defeats. Still, the serious crisis in the N. T. W. I. U., which threatens the whole future of the Left wing movement, demands a profound and free discussion—not the contemptible, bureaucratic "revelations" of the Johnstones. The Johnstones, Golds and the rest, cannot lead such a discussion, for it means their own downfall. Therefore they prohibit it. Therefore, it must be held in spite of them. And that not only in the needle trades, but in every other industrial union controlled—and undermined—by the Stalinists. That is the need of the moment. That is the job of the rank and file of the Left wing. The future of the movement is at stake.

—M. S.

* * *

The Militant invites Left wing needle trades workers to write for its columns on the situation in the union and to give their views on the problems of their movement. Articles written in any language will be translated into English and printed. The Daily Worker is the closed organ of the cynical bureaucrats—the Militant aims to become the voice of the militant rank and file.

Φ

NEW YORK—The growing drive against Communist propaganda reached a climax in February and March when nearly 800 were arrested in unprecedented police attacks, reports the American Civil Liberties Union.

An Open Letter to the Members of the C. P. S. U. (b)

By L. D. TROTSKY

Dear Comrades:

The present letter is promoted by a feeling of the greatest anxiety over the future of the Soviet Union and the destinies of the proletarian dictatorship. The policy of the present leadership, that is, of the narrow group of Stalin, is leading the country at full speed towards the most dangerous crisis and the worst catastrophes.

Everything that served for years to combat the Opposition, under the pretext that it would not admit it—the question of the “smychka,” a correct policy towards the peasant,—has suddenly been forgotten, or rather transformed into its opposite. The most elementary principles of Marxism are trampled under foot. This has been particularly marked in the question of collectivization. Under the direct effect of the purely administrative measures in 1928 and 1929, in the struggle for bread, the collectivization has attained proportions that nobody had ever foreseen and which find no justification in the real state of the means of production. From that flows without fail the perspective of the collapse of most of the kolkhoz, the institution of profound internal dissensions and the endangering for a long time of the productive forces of rural economy which are already so diminished for the moment.

Kulak and Kolkhoz

But even the minority of kolkhoz that have vitality, while constituting incontestable progress, is not yet equivalent to “socialism.” With their present means of production and the conditions of market economy that accompany them, the kolkhoz will unfailingly cease to emerge from their ranks a new layer of peasant-exploiters. The destruction of the Kulak class outside of the kolkhoz is not only powerless to revive the economic progress of the peasant class but it is not even able to prevent the birth of the Kulak inside the kolkhoz. This truth will be demonstrated primarily in the arts that achieve the best economic successes. By proclaiming that the kolkhoz are socialist enterprises, the present leadership furnishes by that very fact an excellent camouflage for the Kulaks within the kolkhoz. It goes without saying that it doesn't do this deliberately but the misfortune is that its whole policy has always been that way: it thinks of nothing, foresees nothing dragging behind the tail of events and flinging itself from one extreme into the other.

To back up technically, no matter how little, the “generalized” collectivization, one is now forced to augment sharply the production program for agricultural implements. But this production depends in turn upon a series of other industrial branches. The plan of production, without this, had already reached a very high degree of tension. Even admitting that the new production program for agricultural implements could be realized—which is far from certain—the present tempo of collectivization will still exceed considerably the material possibilities.

One must never lose sight of the fact that the collectivization was not born out of a broad test that should have been made of the superiorities of collective economy over individual economy, but exclusively of administrative measures in the struggle for bread. These measures, in turn, were necessitated by the defective economic policy towards the poor peasant and towards the Kulak. It is true that the fundamental difficulties of socialist construction are outside the power of the leadership. They lie in the impossibility of establishing the socialist society in a single country, which is, moreover, a particularly backward country. But that is precisely why one must demand of the leadership a clear understanding of all the factors of evolution, and to know how to determine in time what lies within the realm of the possible and of the impossible. Within these limits, the realization of certain successes on the road of socialist construction is a perfectly possible thing, particularly the maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat up to the time of the revolutionary victory in the advanced countries. Unfortunately the Centrist leadership shows a fatal incapacity not only in evaluating exactly the internal resources of the dictatorship but to grasp their interdependence upon the active forces

of the world conjuncture.

The first five year plan elaborated in 1925 foresaw a growth of industry from 9 to 10 percent per year. Under the pressure of the criticisms of the Opposition based on the living experience of facts, the five year plan was completely revised and the co-efficient of growth raised to 20 percent. But from that moment on, the leadership, taking alarm at its own spirit of indecision, no longer knew any restraint. Behind the prescribed tempos were verified by experience, before the first successes were guaranteed, before the conditions of the workers were improved, the Stalinist leadership launched the new slogan: “The five year plan in four years!”

At the same time, the production program for agricultural implements adopted a still more accelerated tempo. As for the collectivization of the small peasant holdings which constituted, by themselves, the most dangerous and slowest task—it left far behind it all the other economic problems. As has frequently happened in history, “chvostism” (being at the tail of events) gave way directly to its opposite—adventurism. But never before had this metamorphosis attained such a scale. And above all, never before had the historical stake been so important, namely: the very fate of the October revolution.

The Threatening Crisis

Economics cannot be violated. The accelerated pace which outstrips the existing possibilities soon leads to the creation of imaginary resources where there are no real ones. That bears the name of paper money inflation. All the symptoms of it already there and they are, at the same time the symptoms of a threatening economic crisis. Before it reaches its explosive form it is already pressing heavily upon the daily existence of the masses, causing a rise in prices or preventing their reduction.

The problem of the distribution of the revenues of the collectives between the immediate daily needs and the needs of accumulation, that is, of an extended production, constitutes the basic problem of socialist construction, a problem intimately bound up with that of the mutual relations between the working class and the peasantry as well as between the different layers within the peasant class itself. These problems cannot be solved a priori, that is, bureaucratically. It is a matter of the daily life of the masses, and these masses themselves must have the possibility to bring “correctives” to the economic programs a priori. That is the place where the economic questions are indissolubly welded to those of the Party regime, the trade unions and the Soviets.

As has already been said, the fundamental causes for the existing contradictions are inherent in the state of isolation of the Soviet Union.

But instead of attenuating them, the policy of the present leadership only accentuates them. There is a basic defeat in the whole economic plan. This plan should have had its aim to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and its union with the peasant class with the aid of adequate and internally harmonized economic tempos, based on the estimate of the vital necessities of the masses in the present period which is a period of preparation and transition, and that up to the next stage on the road of the world revolution. Instead of this, the plan set itself an un-realizable, utopian and economically reactionary aim, namely: to profit by our backward situation and our poverty in order to construct “in the briefest time” an isolated, independent socialist society. Previously, it had considered that this task was realizable only at a “snail's pace” (Bucharin). Now, the leadership, fleeing the inconveniences of the prolonged delays rushes headlong at a “mad gallop” (the same Bucharin, restored).

In the name of adventurist tempos, worse cadences vary in the very course of execution, which they have not even troubled to harmonize or to check up, and which often undermine each other, the workers' strength suffers the most violent pressure

at the very moment when the existence level of the working classes is manifestly being depressed. The abrupt leaps of the industrialization lower the quality of the products which in turn rebound at the expense of the consumer and endangers tomorrow's production.

That is how on the plan for industry, as well as on that of rural economy or that of finances, the present leadership is leading the country to painful crises and political catastrophes.

At the very moment these lines are written, the first signs reach us of the retreat that has just been begun. First an article by Stalin, then a new circular of the Central Committee. Caught in the claws of additional contradictions for which he bears the direct responsibility, Stalin, generous with words, warns against the “dizziness from success,” his wisdom reducing itself to remarking that one should not collectivize what is only fit for “back-yard poultry.” That's just where the trouble is! As though the utopian-reactionary character of the “generalized collectivization” held only because of the fact of a premature collectivization of domestic fowls and not at all of having wanted to force the creation of large farms while lacking the technical bases which alone could have assured the predominance of these large farms over the small ones.

The Stalinist Retreat

The circular of the Central Committee already goes much further than Stalin's article. In retreat, just as in offensive, the Centrist leadership unfailingly drags along behind the tail of organic processes and their repercussion in the apparatus. After the “collectivization” had embraced—only within a few months of time!—more than half of the peasant class, the leaders suddenly perceived that the “well-known (!) recommendation of Lenin is being violated” concerning the indispensable character of the free distribution that must preside over all socialization. The circular at the same time profits by the occasion presented to accuse the “executors” of having equally violated “the code of the artel of rural economy” published by the Central Executive Committee. Now this code appeared only quite recently, that is, after the collectivization had already embraced more than fifty percent of the peasants' holdings. And moreover, this code—something far more important—is full of contradictions and gaps because it deliberately ignores all differentiation among the collectivized peasants, presenting matters as if outside of the especially excluded Kulaks, the remainder of the peasant class constituted a homogeneous mass. The whole policy of collectivization amounts to the policy of the ostrich. The circular of March 15 charges the unfortunate “executors” with all the mortal sins up to treating them (in the name of the Central Committee!) as “dangerous zealots,” thus shifting “rudely and disloyally,” as is the custom, the mistakes of the leadership on to the inferior agents who took seriously the “logan of the liquidation of the classes ‘in the briefest time’.” After the impotent and gross circular of March 15 the unlucky “executors,” and following them, the entire Party, find themselves definitely driven into an impasse. And now? More than half of the immense peasant ocean is already socialized. What share in this result falls upon the “dangerous zealots?” Five percent or is it forty? In other words, does the character of the collectivization accomplished, seen as a whole, rest upon an economic or a purely bureaucratic foundation? The circular does not reply to this fundamental question. Yet the reply is not only obvious but merciless for the “general line” of the leadership.

But the retreat will not halt at these first manifestations, not in the field of economic policy any more than in relation to the internal life of the Party. This time blindness of the leadership has been demonstrated outwardly in too striking a manner. The Party will have to stand the gaff. The de-Kulakization, the collectivization in mass, the bureaucratic transformation of the artels into communes—all these pro-

cesses, still encouraged yesterday without any restraint, are today checked in full swing. Of course, a diplomatic and administrative maneuver can sometimes assume a character of brutality; but abrupt turns reverberating to the vital foundations of 25,000,000 peasant holdings and flinging them Left to Right for a whole year cannot pass with impunity for the Party. Short-sighted Centrist and bureaucratic adventurism will come out of this experience irremediably compromised.

A correct policy in the U. S. S. R. is conceivable only in harmony with an international policy of the proletarian vanguard. The leadership of the Communist International has fallen to a much lower level than the leadership of the Russian Communist Party.

The Theory of the “Third Period”

Since 1923, the Communist International has not rid itself of its tragic ways which undermine the organization and weaken its influence upon the working class. Dragging at the tail of events and stumbling each time against their echoes, the leadership of the C. I. for these seven years has constantly had an opportunist policy during the phases of revolutionary high tide and a policy of putchism during the phases of ebb tide. The most recent years, after the Chinese revolution had been lost thanks to the leadership of Stalin-Bucharin, after the saboteurs of English trade unionism had succeeded with the aid of the blind bureaucracy of Moscow, in stamping down the uprising of the revolutionary masses, the leadership of the C. I. has proclaimed the event of the “third period” as a period of direct revolutionary struggle. Since then, that is for two years, the aspect of world revolution has been systematically falsified by deforming it in the spirit required by “the third period”. Revolutionary policy reposing upon the real state of the class struggle gives way to a policy of fireworks.

Now it happens that the years of follies of the C. I. were the years of the reinforcement of the social democracy. A new generation of workers had come forward; a generation that did not live through the treason of the social democracy during the war, but which has, on the other hand, known the indecision of the Communist Parties during these six or seven years. Hoping to attract this whole mass and to kill two birds with one stone, the Sixth Congress adopted the theory of “social fascism”. As if one could conquer the power of the enemy by means of magic formulae.

In resolving to confuse the democratic bodyguard, the C. I. has rendered the social democracy a signal service. In the countries where fascism presents a real force, such as Italy, then Austria and Germany, the social democracy has not found it very difficult to show the masses not only the difference but the antagonism that there is between it and fascism. By the same token, it absolves itself from showing that it is not the democratic servant of capitalism. The whole political struggle is thus transposed to an artificial plane, and that to the greatest profit to the social democracy.

Having thus erected a wall between it and the social democratic masses, the Communist bureaucracy has in actuality ceased all struggle against the social democracy, reducing its task to tumultuous mobilizations of that small working class minority over which Communist influence extends. That is what the “Red Days” serve for.

The work within the trade unions is invested with the same character. Referring to the indubitable necessity of utilizing the economic conflicts for revolutionizing the masses and preparing the general strike and uprising, the Communist bureaucracy, under the lash of the theory of the “Third Period”, applies an adventurist tactic which can lead only to defeats. The study of the concrete conditions of the struggle by strikes gives way to quotations taken from the latest directives... from Manuilsky or Molotov. The political utilization (the “polittization”) of strikes is most frequently reduced to substituting sham slogans behind the back of the disoriented masses. For the Party bureaucracy, above all other prob-

In Italy

How Does Italian Fascism Stand Today?

Many facts, of an international character as well as of one specific to the internal situation in the country, put the Italian crisis, the crisis of the fascist regime in Italy on the order of the day. Among the facts of an internal order, there is a whole series of movements characterizing the awakening of the masses and a new disposition on their part to fight. In the field of international facts, must be considered in the first place the Spanish events in connection with the fall of Primo de Rivera. The difference existing between the two dictatorships has already been remarked upon: between the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, born of a "pronunciamento" of military juntas in a country that is among the least economically developed and where the weight of old feudal elements is still very tangible; and the dictatorship of the Black Shirts, born of a long period of civil war between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and leaning upon a movement of petty bourgeois masses.

The Class Character of Fascism

Yet up to now there has never ceased to be a discussion on the character of the fascist dictatorship in Italy. For the parties of the bourgeois anti-fascist concentration, which has its seat in Paris, fascism is, in general, a phenomenon above the classes, to be studied in the cabinets of psycho-analysts (Labriola); a morbid phenomenon having its origins in the psychosis of war (Nitti); a deviation, a degeneration from the normal paths of capitalism (Treves and Co., the emigrated social democratic chiefs being still desirous of seasoning their analysis with a bit of sweetened Marxism). Others again have wanted to apply the term of Caesarism to fascism (it is even said that Bucharin, fascinated by such an analogy, once had the idea of writing a book on fascism from this point of view). But the only correct method for the understanding and analysis of fascism is always the method that Marx taught us: the method of having the class struggle at its basis and applying itself to the conditions in which the class struggle develops in modern times.

Viewed from this historical angle, fascism is only the dictatorship of Italian capitalism in its present phase. Like every definition of fascism, this one naturally also gives only the essential content: the class content. The fascist movement is not a simple, a homogeneous one. Its line of development from its origin till today, has been in the direction of the defense of

.....
lems there is primarily the problem of staying in power. The grosser its errors, the hastier it is to transpose its methods of internal Party struggle to the field of the trade union movement, consolidating for a certain time its positions in the apparatus as compensation for those it has lost in the masses.

The official press, and principally the Moscow *Pravda*, leads its readers into error concerning the real situation within the C. I. Nevertheless the facts are there. At the present moment, when the commercial and industrial crisis create anew a great instability of capitalist relations, socially and internationally, we see that the Communist Parties are weakened, internally disorganized, without confidence in the leadership and without the faith of the masses in the slogans of the C. I.

The gravest thing is that under the cover of "self-criticism", there has been instituted in the C. I. as much as in the C. P. S. U., a disastrous regime of servile adulation before all the zig-zags of the "general line" concocted by a group of irresponsible functionaries.

The Right wing of Communism, which directs the openly opportunist elements (Brandler, Louis Sellier, Lovestone, Jilek, Roy, etc.) who, only yesterday, were joined with Stalin in his blind fury against the Left, succeed in enrolling many revolutionary workers misled by the nefarious adventurism of the official policy. But the number of worker-Communists who fall finally into the most complete indifference is still greater.

(To Be Continued)

capitalist profit and the rabid struggle against the revolutionary movement of the working class; but the stages traversed by fascism in its development are different, and each of its stages corresponds to a different moment in the development of the class struggle and the social relations of hostile forces: bourgeoisie and proletariat. These stages can be fixed about as follows:

1. Up to the occupation of the factories (September 1920), the epoch when the revolutionary wave reached its culminating point. At its beginning, fascism is a melange of combative spirit, or "arditism". It still is, so to speak, an organization of cadres, limited to the cities and composed in its majority former "arditi", former war volunteers, mutilated soldiers and demobilized officers. Its first activities against the working class are "razzias", surprise actions organized with the aid and complicity of the liberal State. (The governmental measure assuring the cadres of the fascio is a decree that bears the signature of a social reformist minister: Bonomi; it is the decree which provides for the support of demobilized officers in service activity at state expense.) In this period, the workers' movement is still too strong to be openly tackled even by the State forces. (Giolitti, instead of entering into conflict with the workers entrenched in the factories, prefers to let the social reformists operate so as to have a reason for occupying the factories). The force used by the bourgeoisie in this acute period of the class struggle to maneuver against the working class is principally the social democracy which, by the aid it brings the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class blazes the trail for fascism.

2. The second stage of fascism, the stage of "squadriste" and "camionnisme" (assaults by armed squads mounted on military carriages), the stage that prepares the March on Rome, opens with the beginning of the defeat of the working class (defeat of the factory occupations).

Of all fascism's stages, this one is the bloodiest. On the countryside a veritable civil war develops. The liberal state, the old liberal state, throws off its stifling legality; it organizes, supports and protects the illegal violence of the fascist bands.

In this second stage, fascism is no longer only an organization of armed bands: the defeat of the workers' and revolutionary movement in Italy—due to the internal defects of the proletarian movement and principally to the lack of an organized party of the revolution—has as its result the driving into the arms of fascism of important layers of peasantry (farmers, small proprietors) whose sympathy had been progressively alienated from the socialist party as much because of the wrong policy of "land socialization" as because of its tactic which set against it the various categories of agricultural laborers, instead of endeavoring above all to realize a political alliance between the latter and the small peasants. Coming to increase still more the ranks of the fascio, are the demobilized and jobless petty bourgeoisie, the tradesmen hampered in their business by the socialist cooperatives, and also, to a weak extent, workers frustrated in their attempt at revolution.

The Period of Civil War

Crisis of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie; the defeat of the revolutionary labor movement (September 1920): these are the conditions fascism profited by to develop.

It is precisely in this second stage that there took place what is called, the "ruralization" of fascism. Steel and fire assure the submission of the country to agrarian slavery. The cities—where the industrialists in their turn now pass over to lockouts, "purge" the factories of revolutionary workers, applying "their" fascism to them in the shops—remain isolated from the peasants. In 1921 and 1922—up till the march on Rome—the civil war is in full swing in the cities and villages of Italy.

And it is in the furnace of the civil war that the Communist Party is born and

organized. Since the working class is forced to beat a retreat, the Communist Party of Italy has as its first task to organize the workers' line of resistance, in order to lead it later to the victory that escaped it in 1920. Bitter and difficult battle, ending in a new defeat of the working class that still remained too attached to maximalist Centrism and to social reformism whose policy at this epoch consists of preaching passivity and hoping for the liquidation of the fascist bands by the very ones that armed them: by the decomposing liberal state, by the monarchy, the industrialists, the large land owners.

If in the first stage of fascism what best characterizes the treason of the social reformists is their pact signed with Giolitti for the evacuation of the factories; in the second fascist stage, the treason of the socialist chieftains is called "the pacification pact" concluded with Mussolini.

A propos of this coup d'Etat, I will recall in passing the discussions that were held at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, meeting in Moscow at the period of the march on Rome. Bordiga then denied the possibility of speaking of a coup d'Etat, expecting that it was always the same class remaining in power. "The bourgeoisie cannot make a coup d'Etat against itself," he said. And he was right. But the coup d'Etat of October, 1922 was not against the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it was a coup d'Etat for the bourgeoisie, for the big banks, of big industry and big landowning, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of imperialist capital against the interests of the broad masses of the people. The march on Rome consequently marks the violent break with the old liberal and democratic forms, henceforth incompatible with the defense of capitalist profit; it means the establishment of the open dictatorship of capitalism, the creation of the industrial-agrarian-fascist governmental bloc under the direction of monopolistic capital.

The Bourgeoisie Behind Fascism

It is a fact that the social composition of the fascist movement has undergone important changes in the different epochs of its development. But it is an error to believe, as is done by *Lo Stato Operaio*, review of the Italian Communist Party, that fascism, at a given moment of its development—notably at the period preceding the march on Rome when the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie had a very clear predominance within the fascio—had for a certain period been an autonomous political movement of the petty bourgeois masses and that, as such, it could have conceived and realized a plan of its own for state conquest against the old directing groups. In reality such an error leads to attributing to the middle classes an initiative it hasn't got and which it can have even less of in the present period of the class struggle (domination of monopolistic capital, period of the proletarian revolution). This conception also violates the Marxist conception of the modern state, the organization of capitalist domination. They forget, in pursuing this error, the class which organizes and rules the apparatus of domination (the state); and they finish by seeing only the ruling political personnel of the organization of the state, a personnel which, on the contrary, can very well be recruited and hired by various processes and in various circles (fascism or social democracy, for instance), according to the degree of the class struggle and the relation of opposing forces. Besides, there must still be noted the confusion that exists between the class content (dictatorship of capitalism) and the forms that the organization of the dictatorship can assume in the different historical periods of the class struggle (liberal, parliamentary forms or fascist form).

To sum up: It is strictly correct to say that fascism has not been, at any moment of its development, an autonomous political movement, even if the petty bourgeoisie who formerly adhered to it and still do, were able to think and still think so today. (Many are the fascists convinced that Mussolini is conducting an

independent policy at Rome). But the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie are not the reality. The reality is given in the relation of forces which hide behind these illusions. Since the birth of fascism, it is a fact that it has been raised and constantly guided by the ruling classes of the Italian state, by the bourgeoisie, by capitalism. The proof of it is that those who subsidized the first fascio (bankers, landowners, industrialists), are the same ones who later subsidized the march on Rome (Confederation of Industry, Commercial Bank, Agrarian Consortium, etc.).

In October 1922, the Italian bourgeoisie had thus realized all the political conditions for the march on Rome: defeat and dispersal of the labor movement; rupture of the contact between workers and peasants (isolation of the cities, of the country); anticipation and even resignation to the coup d'Etat by the democratic sections, Amedola, head of the liberal democracy, fascist victim who died abroad, had an attitude of support and encouragement for "the experiment of Mussolini" before the march on Rome). That is how Mussolini could reach Rome and take power without a blow being exchanged.

3. It is from this moment that the third and new stage of fascism must be considered. It is the stage of the realizations of imperialist capital; the stage of the ferocious policy of squeezing and despoiling the working masses for the accumulation of capitalist profits. It is the stage of industrial and banking concentration; of the development of big capital, of big industry and of the agrarian bourgeoisie.

These few remarks on the subject of fascism are, in our opinion, necessary as to allow a reply to the question we posed at the outset. By all that has preceded this, one sees that to reply to the question "How does the fascist dictatorship stand in Italy today?" signifies to analyze the elements of the situation permitting to define; first—how does the crisis of Italian capitalism and its fascist regime stand? and secondly—how do we stand with the formation of the revolutionary bloc of the workers and peasants?

That is what we will endeavor to determine in other articles.

—AKROS

A Stalinist Canard

The Daily Worker of May 13, 1930, publishes a story entitled "Trotskyite Tries It Out on 3 Dogs, But First on Labor", in which it declares that comrade James P. Cannon is a staff writer on the New York Telegram. The story was reprinted in the *Freiheit*. The "proof" for this contemptible canard is a story in the Telegram signed by one "James Cannon, New York Telegram Staff Writer". Needless to say, there is absolutely no relation between comrade Cannon and the Telegram reporter, a fact quite well known to the author of the lie, Earl Browder. The James Cannon of the Telegram is a fairly well known New York reporter whose stories have appeared for years, first in the "tabloid" New York Daily News and lately in the Telegram. The writers on the Worker and the *Freiheit* seem to think that anyone working for the capitalist press is a scoundrel. So far as they are concerned, they can affirm this from personal experience. Most of the *Freiheit* staff, for example, from Olgin up, received its training as Abe Cahan's office boys on the yellow socialist *Forward*. They are the proper people to practise filthy Brass Check journalism in the Stalinist press today.

We should suggest that the Daily Worker now print a story identifying comrade Cannon with Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist church, and thereby prove that the Trotskyists are all Methodists, and agents of Herbert Hoover. Anyone who thinks the Daily Worker incapable even of this, does not know the infantile mind of Earl Browder, or has not yet plumbed the depths of Stalinist depravity.

If the number on your wrapper is

46

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

The I. L. P.**Saviors of Reformism**

The detailed reports that have arrived about the Birmingham conference of the Independent Labor Party enable us to judge its decisions with greater accuracy. As the first cabled reports already indicated, its most important act was the decision to organize as an independent faction the "loyal" I. L. P. representatives in the House of Commons Labor Party group, with a program and a discipline separate from that of the Parliamentary Labor Party as a whole.

The Discrediting of Reformism

The reasons for this radical step will best characterize its significance. The second Labor Party government has been a fiasco not only from the point of view of the revolutionary working class, but from the point of view of reformism itself. So reactionary has been its course, so essentially similar to ordinary Tory regimes has it been, so nobly has it defended the empire on every occasion, that it has awakened the enmity of whole sections of the working class, or at least laid the basis for such an awakening.

"In ten months," said Allen Young, one of the delegates to the I. L. P. conference, "Mr. Thomas has done more to enthrone in autocratic power the financiers and bankers than the previous Tory administration in its four-and-a-half years, and had made intensely more difficult the tasks of future Socialist Governments". In the field of foreign affairs, the great pacifist MacDonald conclusively demonstrated that imperialist interests could be defended as well and as violently by him as by Chamberlain or Baldwin. At the Hague, Snowden roared for Britain's blood-money like a Shylock unleashed. At the London conference, MacDonald's ardor for "our naval supremacy" was indistinguishable under the microscope from that of Lord Grey's in India. Laborite machine guns fire precisely the same bullets as the Tory type. At home or abroad, for the miner of South Wales as for the Egyptian fellahin, the Laborite government has run up a record fully as black as any of its predecessors, so black indeed that even wet-nosed liberals of the New York Nation type have felt constrained to mew a mild protest.

The socialists in power are thus proceeding to accomplish one of their most important if not involuntary tasks: the destruction of working class faith in the efficacy of reformism. The I. L. P. conference decision is a reflection of this fact from two diametrically opposed directions.

First: it is a result of upward pressure from below, the demand from the ranks for a more militant and aggressive struggle against capitalism and its most willing lackey, the Labor Party. There are thousands of revolutionary workers in the I.L.P. who are moving towards Communism, confusedly and unconsciously, but nevertheless they are moving. The pressure they exercised on the Birmingham conference was a step in this direction. From the point of view of the ferment in the ranks, the Birmingham decision is unquestionably to be greeted as a reflection of a powerful molecular process.

Maxton as MacDonald's Saviour

Secondly: the decision is a result of downward pressure from above, the desire of the I. L. P. leaders to save the miserable face of reformism to set up a new wall against the forward march towards revolution of the workers who have been jolted out of their belief in reformism by the brutal realities of its treachery. Maxton, in his keynote speech, adequately showed that he was against the Communist movement because he is against the proletarian revolution, but against the Labor Party only because it brings discredit to, let us call it, intelligent reformism. Just as the Labor Party opposition to capitalist parties is developed rigidly within the frame-work of capitalism, so Maxton's opposition to MacDonald is with equal rigor confined to the limits of reformism. Maxton and Co. have set up a concentration camp two miles to the Left of the Labor Party, and two hundred miles to the Right of the proletarian revolution, in which to intern for as long a time as possible those

workers who would otherwise have no obstacles on their road of march from disillusioning reformism to militant Communism. That does not make Maxton and his colleagues revolutionists, but rather the most skillful deceivers of the working class, the Swiss Guardsmen of reformism. In a word, from the point of view of the I. L. P. leaders (in contradistinction to the progressive ranks), Birmingham marked only a clever and temporary shift of front.

The Incapacity of the C. P.

Were there in England a Communist Party capable of understanding and action, instead of a sect that chases hopelessly after Third Period mirages, this capital situation could be utilized to the utmost for the revolutionary movement. But that is too much to expect of the Murphys and Rusts. British Communism nevertheless has an excellent opportunity to tear aside the contemptible tatter with which the new saviors of reformism have clothed themselves in an attempt to rig up in England a weak-tea imitation of their Austrian prototype, the professional capitulators to reaction. Maxton and his clique will never blaze the trail of revolution in England—it is not in their blood. But the British Communists can. They need only to unlearn Stalinism and learn Marx and Lenin.

The Fight for Harry Eisman

The ruling class has few scruples in its punishment of Communists. It picks from the ranks of fighters for the working class and hits with equal severity at all challenges to its rule. Now from the picket line, now from the Party, and it does not hesitate to send to its prisons even the "tender" youth. Harry Eisman, a member of the Young Pioneers has been sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Hawthorne Reformatory for participating in the March 6th unemployment demonstrations.

It Depends on Whose Holiday It Is

The ridiculous farce of the charge truancy against school children participating in working class holidays and demonstrations is quite apparent. Countless times throughout the year holidays are officially proclaimed by the authorities—flag day, decoration day, Lincoln's Birthday, etc. Here the students are turned loose into the streets and forced to sing and cheer the "Star Spangled" capitalist and land of the slave. The boy scouts camp fire girls, etc., are released from school almost any time the jingo militarists want to show their masters what gracious and valuable service they are rendering them.

But just let a working man's son or daughter walk out to demonstrate against unemployment and the storm breaks loose. Expulsion, terrorism, and even imprisonment awaits the working class children. The capitalist class knows well the phrase: "The youth is the hope of the future." All forces are brought into play to make this

No. 10**BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION**

Published in the Russian Language

Summary of this Issue

L. Trotsky: The Party Situation and the Tasks of the Left Opposition (Open Letter to the Members of the C.P.S.U.).—Yes or No? (The First Reply on the Assassination of Blumkin).—Markin: The Dissolution of the Party into the Class.—L. Trotsky: The Five Year Plan and World Unemployment.—"A Course but Not a Policy": on the New Course in the U.S.S.R.—Correspondence of the Opposition.—Letters from Russia.—Alfa: "Pure and Transparent as a Crystal".—R. Well: The Split in the Leninbund.—The International Unification of the Left Opposition.—Berg: The Labor Movement in Lithuania.—Etc., etc.

25 cents each 18c in bundles

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue New York, N. Y.

Unemployment**A Capitalist Monstrosity**

A study of the world-wide unemployment which faces the capitalists of all countries reveals some very interesting facts. Capitalism in its development has come face to face with a monster of its own creation, the monster of unemployment. The breakdown of the capitalist mode of production and distribution has come to be an awful and compelling truth. The worker is beginning to realize this, to realize that it is not a matter of the personal merits of public officials but that the cause is fundamental and that the true offender is nothing less than the system of class rule under which he is exploited.

But if the worker is beginning to have some faint conception of these things the capitalist class has a much clearer conception. They realize that not only have they no solution to the two problems which chiefly effect the lives of the vast majority of workers today, unemployment and low wages, but also that there is being established through the existence of these two legitimate, inevitable offspring of capital-

ism a real economic basis on which a revolutionary working class driven to desperation by hunger and starvation can unite.

Capitalism has no salvation to the problems of unemployment and low wages because (first) unemployment is caused by the fact that when the workers is employed he receives about one sixth of the product of his labor which in turn produces a huge surplus, an era of capitalist overproduction, so that the worker is turned out to starve while the boss finds a market for his surplus goods. Second, on the question of low wages we find that capitalism, being competitive, is forced to sell its goods in an open competitive market and the manufacturer who sells the cheapest will be the one who get the orders. But in order to decrease the cost of production, he must either increase production through the speed-up or he must cut wages. That the worker is being victimized by both of these methods of exploitation is a fact too well known to deserve mentioning to any extent here.

During the recent unemployment parades the capitalist dictatorship, especially in America, has shown its fear by its brutality. Every move of the working class which might contain a germ of revolutionary spirit is met with the club and bayonet. Giant strides in the class conscious awakening of the proletariat will bring in their train a series of repressions of a hitherto unheard of character. The American capitalist class is the most aggressive, arrogant ruling class in the world today comparable in brutality only to the French feudal lords of 1789, and will not make any retreat except it be a forced one.

However, as the machine age and the dawn of the super-machine age forces more and more workers into the ranks of the unemployed to face destitution and starvation, and as the class struggle becomes sharper, this inevitable acceleration of the masses toward a revolutionary concept will take place. It would be idle to make any predictions as to how long before a decided development of this phase takes place.

Super-Machine Age

War is of course inevitable. Modern capitalism however, has at its command the inventive genius of the world. Never before in the history of humanity has insensate mechanism been able to perform the tasks of both brawn and brain as it does today. One of our radio engineers a few years ago waxing enthusiastic over the success of some experiments in radio-control, predicted that not only was the driverless automobile and the manless battleship here, but that the workerless factory was just around the corner. Predictions of this type are usually dismissed by the average unimaginative worker as so much "bull" until the dream becomes a reality and he finds himself out of a job as the consequence. Quite recently one of the big electric companies was demonstrating the telovox, or mechanical man, so that we see that the human supervisor of the machine is about to be replaced by the machine supervisor of the machine.

Reflecting on the tremendous advances of this inventive genius and on the driving force of various capitalist nations to secure the world markets, it is easy to comprehend that a gradual introduction of this super-machine era will take place. Searching for a way to save itself from extinction by competition, capitalism will pave the way for its extinction by revolution. Trying to save itself by avoiding one road it will be hopelessly lost by taking another. Under no circumstances is it possible for a return to the periodical resurrection of capitalist prosperity in the sense of giving part time employment to nearly all the workers. We must organize not to stop the onrush of the machine age but rather to stop any further advance of the machine age slavery. You must fight for the abolition of the capitalist ownership of the machine and the emancipation of the working class through the dictatorship of the proletariat. —G. ROBERTS

We see from the papers that a little while ago the Lovestone group sent a letter to the Senate Committee protesting the Hoover nomination of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court, evidently with the desire of getting some one into that position who would be fair to labor...Not many days later, the Senate voted to reject Parker. The American bourgeoisie must simply have been scared out of its wits by Lovestone.

—GEO. CLARKE

☐

Ruining a Movement

Decline of the Chinese Communist Party

SHANGHAI—

The Chinese revolution of 1925-27 was drowned in blood by the joint forces of the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie with the help of Stalin. The Communist Party suffered a series of defeats in the struggle and became completely impotent both by physical extermination of the white terror and the demoralization caused by Stalin's theories. The Sixth (last) Congress of the Party held in June 1928 did not sum up the lessons of the greatest revolution in the East and straighten our political line in order to prepare the third Chinese revolution; instead it deepened the past mistakes and disarmed the Party ideologically and politically before the bourgeoisie.

The Congress defined the character of the next Chinese revolution as still a bourgeois democratic one and refused to see that the course and experiences of the 1925-27 revolution have shown that the solution of the tasks of a bourgeois democratic revolution can only lie in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Congress gave ambiguous expressions concerning the present stage of developments, saying that although there is no broad mass revolutionary upheaval, it is nevertheless inevitable; we can already see weak symptoms of this upheaval but we must not overestimate them.

An Open Road to Adventurism

Thus the Congress did not give correct and definite estimations of the present period as the one between two revolutions, and did not put up transitional, revolutionary democratic slogans for the conquest of the masses. Instead it opened all doors to every adventurist explanation of the resolution. Every manifestation of discontent among the masses, no matter what character it assumes no matter how sporadic and spontaneous it is, a defensive strike or a mutiny of the soldiers, or the riots of the rickshaw coolies in the breaking up of tramways—all this is put into the scheme of the approach of the great mass revolutionary upheaval is seized upon to prepare the uprising or general strike. Those who do not believe this way are, of course, Trotskyists and therefore liquidators.

By defining the character of the next Chinese revolution (or the present unfinished one, according to the Stalinists) as bourgeois democratic, the Party raised in its "Program of the Chinese Revolution at the Present Stage" ten demands, as for example: Expropriation of the enterprises and banks of foreign capital; establishment of the workers-peasants-soldiers Soviet government; confiscation of the lands of all landlords and transference of all of it to the peasants. This means that the enterprises and banks of Chinese capital shall not be touched and violated in the revolution. It also gave elastic formulae concerning the peasants' movement, such as, "It is not correct deliberately to force (or to intensify) the anti-rich peasants struggle...but this is not to mean that we should give up the class struggle against the rich peasants...."

Such formulations naturally become repulsive and excite indignation among the rank and file of the Party members under the conditions of sharp class struggle antagonisms in China after the revolution. Already in the enlightenment campaign on the Sixth Congress, the workers in unit meetings demanded why the enterprises of Chinese capital should not be confiscated by the revolutionary power. The workers were not silenced by the scholasticism of the Party functionaries and said in indignant protest: "You are the second Chiang Kai-Sheks, only without arms," and then quit the meetings.

The tactics towards the rich peasants, when put into practice, can only mean the union with them but not the struggle against them. The rich peasant in China is most hated by the poor peasants, and by the village laborers, because he is a user, robs the poor peasant by making loans at heavy rates of interest. Now the Party

calls upon the poor peasants not to force the struggle against the rich ones when they should be the direct object of attack.

What did the poor peasant answer? In the province of Hupeh, for example, they said in one meeting: "We shall make no more revolutions. What good does it do us?" They slept in the meeting instead of taking an interest in it, that is, they passively resisted the official policy. In some other provinces, the rich peasants made their way into the Party, filled its ranks and even occupied leading posts there. When the Central Committee issues its directives to such Party locals, with slogan against taxes of every kind, against rent and payment of loans, then these locals only carried out the directives against taxes but not against rent and loans.

Zig-Zagging Policies

Because of the Stalinist leadership in the Comintern, the Party is left without any policy and definite line. It is helpless before events. Right on the eve of the war between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kwang-Si clique in the Spring of last year, the Central Committee of the Party categorically stated that no war is possible between these two militarists' groups, and this in face of the feverish military preparations and transport of arms which convinced even the local Party organs of the inevitability of war. Only yesterday it spoke of not forcing the struggle against the rich peasants and denounced the Trotskyists for such a standpoint. Today, it opens a campaign in the Party press against those members of the Party who show hesitation in the struggle and announces itself ready for fighting the rich peasants to the bitter end. Yesterday it said that Chiang Kai-Shek represents the bourgeoisie against the "feudal power" of the Kwang-Si clique. Today, it says that "the Kiang-Su (the province where the Chiang government is located) ruling class is dominated by feudal elements". All these theories are changed like the weather or one's linen. What serious revolutionist can have confidence in such a leadership?

In the sphere of action, the Party leadership shows no less lightmindedness. Since the first of May, the Party has again entered the era of adventurism. Demonstrations were held in the streets according to the calendar of revolutionary festivals, if not with the masses then with the Party members alone. Instead of "taking possession of the streets", some hundred people together with the bystanders, stand on the sidewalks of an appointed street at an appointed time, then someone gives the signal with firecrackers, some slogans are shouted, leaflets are thrown into the street, and then there are some arrests, most of the participants and observers going quietly home.

Of course such farcical demonstrations can only lower the standard of Communism, make the Communist workers leave the Party's ranks, and arouse the antipathy of the workers. The attendants at the demonstrations become less as the former become more frequent and desperate. When the attendants diminish, then workers are hired to show up in the streets! No serious agitational work is developed in the factories or works, in the important big factories only two or three Communist workers remain and even then no regular meetings take place—sometimes for two months. The local organizers get in touch with them only when it is necessary to enlist them in demonstrations.

Decline in Membership

The membership under such conditions is miserable. According to an official admission in a circular of the Shanghai Eastern district (the biggest industrial district in Shanghai), the membership decreased since last August from 85 to 82. The membership in all Shanghai, according to the most optimistic figure, is about 800. There are many other industrial cities where the Communist workers do not count more than ten. We owe all this to Stalin's blind policy of adventurism, to the destructive work of the Stalinist which attacks

the Party from the workers. Indeed, things have even gone so far that in some Shanghai factories, the Communist workers try to organize their own unions behind the backs of the official leadership and oppose their meddling in their affairs.

The characteristic feature of this period of adventurism is that it is combined with opportunism of the worst kind. The C. C. last year sent Communists into the army of the Left Kuo Min Tang generals to cooperate with them in the military campaign against Chiang Kai-Shek. The Party has sent representatives to attend the anti-Chiang Kai-Shek conference in Hong Kong in which the reactionary militarists and the Left Kuo Min Tang participated. Many lower Party workers were taken in by the Left Kuo Min Tang's military adventure against Chiang Kai-Shek. Others followed the tail of the Left Kuo Min Tang in the economic struggle and trade union tactics. At the top of the Party, a wild campaign is developed against the Left K.M.T. full of invective and abusive words, but behind the scenes, the official leadership coquettes with these same Lefts, organizes the armed uprising together with them. The Central task and slogan of today's official leadership is the general political strike, partisan's warfare, armed uprising, organizing the local uprisings, preparing to establish the revolutionary power, etc., that is, to run further away from the workers in order to combine with the Left Kuo Min Tang and become in fact the instrument of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Guerilla Warfare

As to the guerilla warfare, in many places it becomes "aimless burning, killing and pillaging under the leadership of the declassed elements" (from the Party circular), since it lacks a mass basis. It sometimes violates the poor peasant's property because the armed forces of the landlords and rich peasants are too strong to permit of plundering. In other villages, the guerilla warfare which has some mass basis, divides the land among the peasants and annuls loans, doing something in the interest of the peasants by exterminating the landlords and bureaucrats. But these acts are too far from the important cities to exercise any influence upon them, and besides when it assumes a more menacing character, it is overpowered and driven away by the government's troops.

Since last year, the Party has concentrated all its propaganda work in the struggle against "Trotskyism", because the Communist Opposition has begun to work in China. Since then, it has taken a series of organizational measures against us. It fights most fiercely against one slogan, the Constituent Assembly, denouncing it as the slogan of the Left Kuo Min Tang. Thus, the constituent assembly, together with the 8-hour day, the confiscation of land, and the fight for the complete independence of China and self-determination of nationalities within China, which form our transitional revolutionary democratic demands to mobilize the masses, are "liquidators' demands" in the eyes of the Stalinists. But that does not in the least prevent the official leadership of the Party from organizing the "League for the Struggle for Freedom", together with the discontented petty bourgeois elements, intellectuals and professors, which is necessarily a decorative and helpless institution like the Anti-Imperialist League all over the world: a veritable tail of the petty bourgeoisie.

NIEL-SIH

April 13, 1930.

Φ

ATTENTION!

The Militant office is anxious to get hold of a copy in English of "The Conditions of the Working Classes in 1848" by Frederick Engels. The book must be in fair shape and the price asked for it should be equally fair. If you have a copy you would like to sell, please communicate, giving details about price, conditions, etc., to The Militant, 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. We will appreciate all offers.

TROTSKY'S BOOK FREE!

Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many workers anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The Militant is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subscriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is \$2.00; for six months it is \$1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward them to the office and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This \$5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

Φ

OR YOU CAN GET A FREE COPY OF

The Real Situation in Russia

This book is also available free of charge to all workers. Here you will find the only English translation of the famous Platform of the Russian Opposition, suppressed by Stalin, and Trotsky's letter exposing the falsifications of the History of the Russian revolution and the Communist Party. You will also find here the important Testament of Lenin. It is a \$2.00 book but you can get it free from the Militant by turning in 5 yearly subscriptions (at \$2.00 each) or 10 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each). Renewals are accepted.

Φ

WE ALSO OFFER A FREE COPY

Since Lenin Died

This book by Max Eastman was the first work in the English language to tell the truth about the struggle in the Russian Communist Party between the Opposition led by Trotsky, on the one hand, and Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Stalin on the other. You will have an excellently drawn picture of the beginnings of this fight after reading this book. The Militant has succeeded in getting the last few dozen copies of this book, of which no other edition exists. It has been sent to us from England, the American edition being exhausted. It sells for \$1.00, but you can get it free of charge by turning in 3 yearly subs (at \$2.00 each) or 6 six-month subs (at \$1.00 each).

Φ

Send All Subscriptions and Funds to
The Militant

25 Third Avenue, New York City

THROWS HUNDREDS OUT OF JOBS

MILLTOWN, N. J.—With the closing of the Michelin Tire Co. works at Milltown, near New Brunswick, hundreds of French workers imported from Brittany are jobless here in a strange country. They staged a short walkout two years ago, in revolt against a wage which sounded good in Brittany when they left their fisher nets to look for gold in America. Arrived in Milltown, they found the \$12 a week wage paid adult men didn't mean what the equivalent in francs would buy back in the old country.

Φ

CLEVELAND—Over 109 men have been dropped from the Cleveland Railway Co. payroll since January 1. The company saved \$74,663 in maintenance in April, and \$14,000 was cut off operating expenses.

- THE YOUNG VANGUARD -

The Breakdown of the Mexican League

The period from April 1929 until August of the same year when the III Congress of the Young Communist Federation of Mexico was celebrated, was one of rapid progress for the Mexican Communist Youth movement. From a small number of non-functioning units, composed mostly of peasants with a disorganized central apparatus, an organization of 660 effective members in over 30 units and a central executive in which half a dozen departments functioned regularly was built up. During this same period, it is well to observe, the Communist Party of Mexico was disintegrating and losing one important position after the other, in the trade union and anti-imperialist movements, and also in the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" that had been formed opportunistically through concessions to the petty bourgeois directors of the National Peasants League (Galvan and Co.).

The national plenum of the C. C. of the Party was obliged to recognize in July 1929 that the youth federation had a better status than the Party and it was generally accepted that the Y. C. F. had more effective members in its organization than the Party itself.

The Apparatus Men Get Busy

At this stage, preparations for the III National Congress of the Y. C. F. of Mexico were made and a representative of the Young Communist International, comrade Matlin appeared on the scene. Already there had been several minor struggles on technical questions between the C.E.C. of the Y.C.F. and the C.E.C. of the C.P. in all of which the personal political interests of E. Sormenti, representative of the Party C.E.C. in the corresponding organ of the Y.C.F., were to be seen. Sormenti utilized the C. E. C. of the Y.C.F. as a "big stick" to win his ends in the C.E.C. of the Party.

A very weak political thesis, destructive in its analysis of the past work of the Y.C.F. and with proposals for the immediate commencement of numerous new "political" tasks was presented by the representative of the Y. C. I. who, it goes without saying, had a very deficient knowledge of the situation, the strength and possibilities of the youth federation. In this thesis it was proposed to commence at once the formation of youth sections in the unions, agrarian organizations and in the Red Aid, the organization of nuclei in the army, the organization of a National Sports Federation, of a League of Youth against imperialism, and to call an early date a national convention of the Red Pioneers. It was declared imperative that the Y. C. F. commence immediately all of these tasks.

When the opposition group continued in its demands that definite stress be laid on the more important work of organization, and the trade unions, and that the anti-militarist, anti-imperialist, young peasants league and youth section of the Red Aid be considered not of immediate importance with practical rejection of the last three the "guardian of the Holy Grail" from Moscow threatened us with expulsion should we insist on carrying the points of difference to the floor of the congress. After some minor changes regarding the criticism of past work, the draft thesis was accepted. In order to prevent a split in the Federation, the opposition group agreed not to bring the question up at the congress.

The congress took place without any opposition to the line of action laid down by the presidium which was controlled by Matlin and Sormenti. Veiled accusations were made against the "liquidationist", "social democratic" and "anti-Communist" tendencies, of the oppositionist comrades and by employment of true Stalinist methods, such as declaring that "foreigners" could not form part of a Central Committee, (!) the new C. C. and C. E. C. were named. Perhaps realizing that the new C. E. C. would have to work under the dictatorship of some Party or international representative and for fear of developing leadership it was decided that no General

Secretary should be named, and that all political functions should be carried out collectively by the C. E. C.

Immediately the deficiencies of the new C. E. C. were to be observed. The different theses approved at the congress were not sent to the units or even to the regional committees. All of the work of the C. E. C. fell into disorganization as no one knew where or how to begin. All the scolding of Matlin and the nearness of the "imminent" workers and peasants revolution could not get the new apparatus to function. The only work that did not become completely demoralized was the press and Pioneer work. Delegates were no longer sent to the interior to carry on direct work with the units and with the masses.

Knowing that an anti-militarist campaign would be certain to bring down a still more severe repression of the movement by the authorities, and without counting on any real mass support, this work was given not only preference by the Y. C. F. but was actually turned into the principal task of the organization. The spirit of adventure always found in the youth was appealed to, and the comrades in different parts of the country vied with one another in seeing which local could get the generals exasperated first.

No sooner had the campaign been commenced than the repression struck with full force. In a period of about two months all the leading elements of the light largest urban locals were imprisoned, including the whole C. E. C. with the exception of one comrade, besides many Party and trade union leaders. About 20 foreigners

were deported from the country, five comrades (of whom four were members of the Y. C. F. and one of the C. E. C.) were exiled to the penal colony in the Pacific Ocean and the Y. C. F. of Mexico was reduced to complete impotence. The "mass" demonstrations were few, rickety and ineffective. In the midst of all this, after organizing the expulsion of the writer of these lines from the Party and the Y.C.F. for his criticism of the line in Mexico and disagreement with the general splitting policy of the Comintern abroad and greasing the slides for others, Matlin fled cowardly from Mexico, without so much as notifying the Central Executive Committee.

Expulsions Continue

At the present time the expulsion fever continues to rage full blast in the C.E.C. of the Y.C.F. which seems to be about to result in its expelling itself. It may be interesting to note that the present C.E.C. of the Y.C.F. of Mexico is composed of one alternate, named in the congress, and two comrades, both of them quite incapable of national direction and who were not elected at the congress.

There is still hope however. This lies in the reorganization of the Young Communist forces in Mexico under the banner of the International Left Opposition. When the present "Left" turn of the Comintern takes its inevitably sharp Right turn, and the same young Communist elements in Mexico (and there are many) realize the correctness of our position, we may hope for a rapid improvement of the situation. Those who have striven for the building up of the Y. C. F. of Mexico will not stand quietly by while the organization is smashing under the combined blows of the governmental reaction and the Centrist bureaucracy.

—RUSSELL BLACKWELL

The Rank and File Is Ominously Silent!

On Tuesday, May 14, at 8 p. m., at a general membership meeting of the New York district of the Young Communist League took place. I read in one of the last issues of the Militant an article about the last N. Y. "united front" May Day conference. In that article it was stated that there was hardly any discussion from the floor, etc. Now at a Y. C. L. membership meeting which is called to act on a Plan of Action given out by the N. E. C. one would think that there would be adequate discussion.

But the fact is that there was NO DISCUSSION from the rank and file members. Of course even you might not believe it, so I will explain what took place. First, Shohan, the District Organizer, reported for about an hour. When he was through, we were supposed to have 3 minutes discussion for each speaker. Well, the first was a comrade who spoke on the Young Worker in the name of the District Committee. Then a comrade on the Needle trades, who made an announcement that all the comrades should leave the meeting and go to the general needle trades fraction meeting in Manhattan Lyceum where Bedacht was reporting. Then the district anti-director took 15 minutes to give some instructions about giving out leaflets to the fleet. He also reported that Saturday's mobilization "was a flop". Then two more, the great unknown, John Steuben and Sam Reed each gave us a speech a piece.

After this Shohan too the floor without asking the members whether any discussion is needed and "summed up".

We were separated into fractions, that is, needle trades, food workers, etc., and were supposed to join the T. U. U. L. as a start in the membership drive.

League Members, Wake Up!

I think it's about time the League members woke up. It has gone far enough this bureaucratic way of conducting work. Shohan in his report, speaking about the unemployment work of the Y. C. L., said: "As far as the League is concerned, it is a one hundred percent failure."

Just think, after Shohan, criticizing the rank and file, making insinuations that unit organizers have misappropriated funds

(collection boxes were given to each unit on May 1-3, and only five units had returned their boxes thus far, Shohan asked whether they used the money for movies or to pay their rent), in his whole speech he NEVER EVEN ONCE CRITICIZED THE LEADERSHIP. He didn't even bother to take a vote to approve the Plan of Action.

Now I will ask some of the older members in the N. Y. League what has happened? Have they become robots and stopped thinking? Where are Fanny Rothman, Freema Katz, Ben Harper, H. Nussbaum, Eda Elisman, Morris, Bindler, Kucher, Mae Kuperman, Friedman, Shavelson, Slipian (Harlem), etc.?

I will end by quoting from a speech delivered to the Third Congress of the Russian Y. C. L.: "A Communist who would dream of boasting of his Communism on the basis of the ready-made conclusions taught to him, without performing the most serious, the difficult and persistent work, without understanding the facts of which he should be extremely critical, would be a miserable Communist indeed." Let this be the guide for every Y. C. L. member.

—LEO RING

All members of the Young Communist League are invited to write articles to the Young Vanguard on the condition the Y. C. L. finds itself today. The surest way to stop the wrecking tactics of the Y.C.L. bureaucrats is to expose them before the membership.

We are sure nobody will accuse us of not taking life seriously when we say that upon reading the Daily Worker (5-17-1930) we laughed till we collapsed. That irrepressible humorist, Harrison George, writes there: "The Communist Party has nothing to hide from the workers. It publishes its opinions, its programs, its resolutions, so every worker can find out just what the Communists stand for... It is going to hold a national convention next month and being a really (emphasis in original—Ed.) democratic organization it consults its members on the Thesis drawn up by the Central Committee on the Economic and Political Situation." This fellow will be the death of us yet

In the Y. C. L.

The Plan of Action

The feeling which one experiences in the Young Communist League these days is that of a man trying to lift himself by his bootstraps. There seems to be a tremendous strain, a terrible commotion, much shouting mingled with many threats, but amidst all the fury there stands the League still tugging violently at its bootstraps. Each successive resolution appears more dismal than the preceding one. In every sphere of activity nothing but failures and defeats stare the League in the face. The membership turnover has assumed the character of a rationalized factory.

"Do More Work"

Through all the discordant noise and din, shrill and relentless, rings one penetrating strain: We lag behind, we lag behind, we continue to lag behind, we never seem able to stop lagging behind, we must not lag behind but we do lag behind, lag lag, lag behind. This strain has many variations but all have the same theme. The puny League bureaucrats, devoted disciples of Browder and Foster, are not in the least, however nonplussed. They have a remedy for everything. "You must do more work!" they thunder to the membership. And then to show that they have even heard of such a strange matter as Leninist analysis in determining the cause for failures, they add: "We must fight both the Right and Left dangers". They hope to conceal their impotence behind a screen of "theoretical" verbiage.

To be sure, the Right danger is the main danger, they say. But "there is also the so-called 'Left' danger which stands as a main barrier to be overcome in successfully combatting the main danger, the Right danger." (Resolution and Plan of Action of National Executive Committee —Young Worker, May 12, 1930). Life, it seems, is indeed most complicated. And the road in the struggle against the Right danger is most devious. With so many different varieties of social fascists, time is certain to produce new dangers. Then the alarm will have to sound, and it will be observed that we lag behind. The resolutions will have to bristle with warnings like these: There is also the so-called "Middle" Danger which stands as a main obstacle to be overcome in successfully combatting the so-called "Left" danger which stands as a main barrier to be overcome in successfully combatting the main danger, the Right danger.

The League membership must call a halt to all this idiotic jabbering and criminal phrasemongering, all of which is intended only to conceal the bankruptcy of the Stalinist leadership.

The "Plan of Action"

The so-called Plan of Action, this latest innovation with which the Steubens, the Harveys, and the Greens are attempting to cover their recent miserable failures, cannot be realized with the present false policies and opportunist regime. It will be as successful as the last membership drive which it was claimed recruited 1,100 new members. The resolution on the Plan of Action says: "Every unit must be made to function so that they can hold the gains made in new members, and not lose young workers for the League as we did during the last membership drive." And Shohan, D. O. of the N. Y. district stated at a recent membership meeting: "This drive must not be like the last drive where we recruited 200 members on paper." The adoption of such high-sounding titles as "Plan of Action" and "shock troops" cannot make the present drive any different than the last.

The members of the Y. C. L. must be alert. They must not permit themselves to be deceived. They must try to find out what is wrong, and what is all this unceasing "lagging behind" all about. They must study the viewpoint of the Left Opposition. Some are already doing this.

—GEORGE RAY

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 22,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, June 7, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Electric Chair Threat to Left Organizers

Six workers face death in the electric chair in Atlanta, Ga. because they addressed meetings of Negro and white workers and urged them to fight against lynching and unemployment. They include two white women and two Negroes.

The six workers are held under a state law passed in 1861 which calls for the death penalty for those convicted on the charge of "inciting to insurrection". Up until the present time no one has ever been convicted under that law.

The prosecuting attorney has stated that when the six workers are brought to trial he will demand that they be sent to the chair. Only if the jury that convicts them urges clemency, can they be given a prison sentence instead of being burned to death. The Southern capitalist class wants to quickly stamp out any efforts to organize the Negro and white workers for a united struggle. There is no doubt that a maximum effort will be made to secure a conviction, hoping in that way to terrorize the workers.

Those facing the electric chair are M.H. Powers, Communist Party organizer; Joseph Carr, Young Communist League organizer; Mary Dalton, National Textile Workers Union organizer; Anna Burlak, International Labor Defense organizer; Gilmer Brady, national organizer, American Negro Labor Congress and Henry Storey, a member of the Atlanta branch of the A. N. L. C.

The International Labor Defense is conducting the campaign for the defense of these six workers. So far it has failed to arouse the masses to action. Only a few isolated meetings have been held which have hardly received any publicity in either the capitalist or Party press.

A broad united front movement must be started all over the country on behalf of the six workers. The International Labor Defense together with all labor organizations that can be brought into action must arrange mighty protest demonstrations demanding freedom for the jailed

Indian Ferment and Chinese Lessons

Reports from subsidized sources minimize it but British imperialism is nevertheless unable to suppress the fact that the Indian ferment is still gaining in breadth and in depth. The insurgents have begun to pass over from breaking the government salt monopoly to the refusal to pay taxes. Simultaneously the civil disobedience campaign which the petty bourgeoisie, in fear of real mass action strives to hold within the limits of pacifist non-resistance—is overflowing the barriers erected for it by the Nationalist Congress.

After generations of oppression and exploitation, the Indian masses moving in tidal waves of revolt are presenting the world with one of the grandiose spectacles of history. The uprising of the colonial Orient, precipitating the solution of the agrarian and national problems of the democratic revolution in conjunction with the international and socialist revolutionary whose class bearer is the proletariat—this is one of the outstanding features of the final stage of capitalism.

MacDonald—Bourgeois Agent

It is no less characteristic that the torch-carriers of the imperialist suppression of the Indian revolt, should be the "socialist" Labor government of the canting MacDonald.

How can any worker still cling to his last remnant of faith in the social democracy? The Indian situation fully confirms the justice of Lenin's contention that the "socialists" are agents of the bourgeoisie. MacDonald is prepared to repeat a hundred times over that he is a socialist.

Powers and Carr are scheduled to go on trial on June 7. The date for the trial of the others has not as yet been set. The time is short. Action must be swift. Let the campaign to free the six workers be started on a basis than can bring success.

dred Amritsar massacres to maintain the Empire. No revolutionary Marxist expected anything else from the Labor government but the continuation of the long chain of crimes and betrayals committed by the Second International since 1914. Socialist reformism inevitably becomes socialist imperialism.

But it would be a profound mistake and delusion to conceive of the present crisis in India as the decisive struggle for freedom from British imperialism. The movement of the masses still has no other leadership than the bourgeoisie and all historical experience bears out that the bourgeoisie will betray the struggle at the first opportune agreement that they reach with the foreign imperialists and at the first sign that the masses are turning not only against the foreign but no less against the native exploiter. The bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism is incapable of carrying on a consistent struggle for the democratic revolution, and has no intention of peacefully allowing the proletariat to assume the leadership. Here the lessons of the Chinese Revolution are an invaluable source of instruction and guidance for the proletarian vanguard in India.

India and the Proletariat

The Indian Revolution will triumph under the leadership of the Indian proletariat or not at all. It will triumph as the dictatorship of the proletariat or not at all.

This means that there are certain indispensable pre-requisites for the revolution. That the Communist International, the world organization of the revolutionary working class, should have to enact the role practically of a passive onlooker in the present crisis, is one of the most damning indictments of the Stalin regime. That there is no Communist Party in India today worth its salt is the direct outcome of the

(Continued on Page 8)

Build Mass Movement for Mar. 6 Jailed

Growing out of the campaign on behalf of the millions of unemployed workers in the United States, and directly from the March 6th Unemployment Demonstration in Union Square, New York City, Wm. Z. Foster, I. Amter, Robert Minor and Raymond have been serving sentences of six months to three years upon trumped up charges and conviction for "inciting to riot". In unparalleled star-chamber proceedings denied bail and jury trial and an opportunity to have defense witnesses heard, the defendants, Communists, were railroaded to long, harsh prison sentences.

New York capitalism has demonstrated graphically the viciousness and hatred of capitalist class justice against workingmen and their leaders. In other parts of the country, the bourgeoisie follow the lead of New York in the extension on a national scale of the persecution of the Communists and other workers.

The passivity and apathy with which the New York convictions have been met is appalling, and symptomatic of the impasse which the official Communist Party has reached. Hardly any agitation is carried on by the Party press or Daily Worker to effect the release of the four Communists and to expose the machinery which brought about their conviction. Why has the Party made virtually no efforts to rally on behalf of the four convicted leaders those workers who it declared followed its banner at the height of the unemployment crisis? Why are there no steps taken for a wide united front to arouse the working class to demand these comrades be released forthright from their incarceration? It can and must be done. Various elements in the labor movement can unquestionably be brought into action in this case.

Rumors are widely current in Party circles that behind the scenes a game is being played to obtain the release of the framed-up men. This is wrong and will get the movement nowhere, and least of all

(Continued on Page 5)

Maintain the Weekly Militant!

Shall the WEEKLY MILITANT continue? Our readers, the sympathizers, supporters and members of the Left Opposition have to decide this question now—and decisively.

On November 15, 1928 the first number of the semi-monthly Militant appeared, and first publicly broke the conspiracy of silence and the reign of ideological and physical terror of the Stalins and Bucharins, the Fosters and the Lovestones, carried on for years against the true standard-bearers of Bolshevism, the Russian Opposition-Bolshevik-Leninists, led by Leon Trotsky. For over a year and a half now, the actual views of the International Left Opposition have been regularly brought before the American Communists and the working class. The Militant, official organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition), has been all this time a flaming torch, burning away the poisonous roots of the Centrist and Right wings in the Communist International and the United States, and guiding the bewildered Communist movement again onto the path of Lenin's teachings.

The incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and other outstanding Bolsheviks have appeared regularly in the Militant, and only in its columns.

The truth about the conditions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the causes of the divisions and splits in it, the ramifications of the Russian struggle in the Communist movements of all countries, the program of the Russian Opposition to save the Bolshevik Revolution from the danger of Thermidorian developments, has been unfolded in the Militant.

Now more than ever the Militant must remain a weekly. The present adventurist course of the Communist Parties internationally follows upon the heels of the brazen Right opportunism of the previous period. We are now paying the price for all these years of accumulated blunders, in the prevailing apathy among Party members, in hundreds of good fighters quitting the struggle for lack of perspective. We are losing one position after another in the unions. The Left wing Industrial Unions have been reduced to impotence. Only the Militant presenting a clear line of Leninist tactics, combatting the irresponsible regime of Browder-Foster as well as the Lovestone Right wing can turn the wave of apathy into one of struggle, can prevent the Syndicalists and "Socialists" from turning the crisis in the Cominteru to their profit.

The Communist movement and the working class can ill afford to lose the Militant, or to have it retreat to an existence again as a semi-monthly publication.

With confidence and faith in the integrity of the rank and file of the American Communists and the working class, the National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition) held in Chicago in May 1929, decided to launch the Weekly Militant, and to rely for its continuance upon the support of the honest worker-Communists in and outside the official Communist Party.

A period of six months trial for the Weekly Militant was projected. By might and main, by heroic efforts by the members and sympathizers of the Opposition, the WEEKLY Militant has been maintained now for almost seven months.

NOW WE ARE FINANCIALLY AT A CRUCIAL POINT, and we put the question squarely and frankly: SHALL THE WEEKLY MILITANT BE MAINTAINED?

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist League, after thorough discussion and analysis, came to the viewpoint that the WEEKLY MILITANT CAN AND MUST BE MAINTAINED for the cause of revolutionary Communism. Again, we declare our belief, based upon the experiences of the past year and a half, that the genuine adherents of Communism will make this historic task possible. We began the Militant on a shoe-string. We maintained it as a semi-monthly. We started the WEEKLY without substantial resources, but the militant fighters of the Opposition dug deep and made it live.

We turn again to our supporters and readers and ask them to rally to the WEEKLY MILITANT. For lack of funds, we have already skipped one issue of the Weekly. We do not want to miss another. For the next period, in addition to the normal income of the Militant, we call upon our readers and supporters to donate \$2,000.

Much as has been done, new ground yet remains to be broken. We have been pioneering with ideas. The ideas of the Opposition, the aspirations and needs of the working class—must triumph. By helping to MAINTAIN THE WEEKLY MILITANT, you can do your share.

Send your contributions at once to the MILITANT, 25 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

DENY AID TO MEERUT VICTIMS

Comrade Maurice Spector, member of the national committee of the Communist League (Opposition), is one of the eight witnesses for whom leaders of Indian trade union and revolutionary movements on trial in Meerut, have applied to the British viceroy—hitherto without success. The Daily Worker, organ of the British Communist Party reports in its issue of May 7, 1930:

"Over five weeks ago some of the Meerut prisoners, whose trial still drags on, although the censorship allows no word of it to come direct to Britain, made an application direct to the Viceroy.

"Their application was for permission to call as witnesses eight workers in the revolutionary movement in England, Canada or Australia, the list being: Harry Pollitt, J. E. Potter-Wilson, of the Indian Workers' Welfare League. C. P. Dutt, S. Saklatvala, J. Ryan, director of the Sydney Labour Research Department, Australia, J. Tanner, A. E. U., Maurice Spector, Communist Party of Canada, J. R. Campbell.

"Out of the prosecutions 320 witnesses, 8 from England have already been examined, and one from France. They have given 'evidence' as to the actions of 'co-conspirators' such as Harry Pollitt. But Pollitt is not allowed to go to India to answer this 'evidence' and to give evidence for the defense.

"These police spies, who have brazenly admitted in court their system of opening letters in the post, photographing them, sticking them up again and sending them on, have 'produced' volumes of printed 'evidence' to prove the conspiracy. The workers who wrote or published many of these 'documents' in England, Australia or Canada are not allowed to enter India to explain, defend or justify them."

Readers of the Militant should bear in mind that this procedure, characteristic of the most brutal persecutions of the capitalist class, is being followed by His Majesty's Most Servile Government, the Labour Party cabinet of Ramsay MacDonald.

Comrade Spector was the leader of the Canadian Communist movement and chairman of the Political Bureau of the C. P. there, as well as member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, until his expulsion from the Party some 18 months ago for "Trotskyism". He is now actively engaged in the work of the Opposition.

BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Published in the Russian Language

— CONTENTS —

A Big Step Forward; L. Trotsky—Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism. Some more on comrade Blumkin. L. Trotsky—A Squeak in the Apparatus; Y. Gref—The Collectivization of the Villages; I. E.—Collectivization in Central Asia; N.—Apparatus Falsity and Reality; Kote Czinczadze—A Letter to M. Okudszava; Letters From the Soviet Union. THE PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION. L. Trotsky—An open Letter to the Italian Communists of the Prometheus Group; G. Manuyn and the Comintern; From a Group of Former Red Army Slovaks to all the Former Fighters of the Red Army; T.—Mayakovsky's Suicide; Zaslavsky—The Prop of Stalinism; A Voice from the Apparatus Ranks; N. M.—The forgetful Miasnikov; and other important items.

25 cents each

18c in bundles

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue

New York, N. Y.

Our National Tour

Shachtman Tours for Opposition

The national tour by comrade Max Shachtman, arranged by the Communist League of America (Opposition) is meeting with marked success wherever comrade Shachtman reports on his lengthy visit to Leon Trotsky at Constantinople, the conference of the German Left Opposition held and the preliminary International Conference of the Left Opposition at Paris, France. Comrade Shachtman was the delegate of the Communist League of America to both of these conferences.

Meetings have already been held in New York City, New Haven, Conn., Philadelphia, Pa. Boston, Mass., Montreal, Canada and Toronto, Canada. In Boston in addition to the mass meeting, comrade Shachtman also spoke before Independent Workmen's Circle No. 18.

Additional Cities Added

Requests to hear comrade Shachtman came in from additional cities, with the result that Youngstown, O., Duluth, Minn.,

and Superior, Wisconsin have been added to the schedule. It was not possible, because of the crowded schedule, to fill a last minute request from Winnipeg, Canada at this time.

In connection with the mass meetings, comrade Shachtman is also holding special sessions with the Branches of the Communist League of America (Opposition). At these meetings comrade Shachtman is giving detailed reports of the recently concluded Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist League, and is taking up with each Branch the expansion of activities of the organization in the next period.

The tour of comrade Shachtman which commenced in New York on May 15th will cover approximately 25 cities, extending as far west as Kansas City. It will conclude with meetings in Pittsburg, Pa.

As the Militant goes to press, the following cities are yet to be visited.

Watch This Schedule for Your City

HAMILTON, CANADA

Tuesday, June 6th.

DETROIT, MICH.

Saturday-Sunday, June 7-8.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Monday to Thursday, inc., June 9, 10, 11, 12.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Friday, June 13, Mass Meeting at COOKS & WAITERS UNION HALL, 520 Hennepin Avenue (above Unique Theatre).

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Saturday, June 14. Twin City Membership Meeting.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Sunday, June 15. Mass Meeting at LABOR TEMPLE, 8 p.m.

DULUTH, MINN.

Monday, June 16, Mass Meeting at CAMEL HALL, 12 E. Superior St.

SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

Tuesday, June 17, Mass Meeting at

WORKERS HALL, Tower Avenue.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.

Friday, June 20. Mass Meeting at —HALL, 914 Grand Avenue, 2nd Floor.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Thursday & Saturday, June 19 and 21—Branch Meetings.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Sunday-Monday, June 22-23. (Place to be announced.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday-Thursday, June 25-26. (Place to be announced.)

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Friday, June 27. (Place to be announced.)

PITTSBURG, PA.

Saturday-Sunday, June 28-29. (Place to be announced.)

Rank and File Unrest in the Amalgamated

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which met in Toronto received the usual tribute of liberal plaudits. The liberals whose miserable task it is in our times to try to soften the sharp edge of the class struggle, feel a deep affinity for Hillman and his associates. They have been thoroughly captivated by the whole pseudo-scientific apparatus of "production standards" unionism.

The convention in Toronto was organized to present the most plausible front to the world of labor. The Left wing which has been craftily outmanoeuvred by the "honest" Hillman machine, realizes fully how false this front is. Perhaps it will impress some "impartial" workers more if instead of merely repeating our own root and branch indictment of Hillmanism, we can cite the testimony of one so remote from Communism as H. Schneid in the "socialist" Wecker (May 31). In all the fine speeches of the officialdom any reference to that which is the heart of the matter—the consideration of living and working conditions of the workers—was studiously avoided. For a considerable time, he goes on to admit, conditions in Baltimore, Boston, Montreal, Toronto and Chicago, not to speak of New York have been developing from bad to worse. "All you need have done at the convention was to put the question to a delegate. 'How much do you earn' and it would have opened the wound." Here is another most significant fact. Of the two hundred delegates with 80 resolutions before them, only one delegate took the floor, apart from the official machine.

Such is the balance sheet of the Hillman-Beckerman regime in the men's clothing industry. Growing misery, economic

insecurity, the delivery of workers to speed-up and more grinding exploitation; and simultaneously the intimidation of the workers by expulsion and similar threats to the point when rank and file democracy has been replaced by the rule of the officialdom, and its staff of hired experts, both of the gangster and the research variety.

It is high time for the militants in the Amalgamated to renew their struggle. The apathy of the workers will quickly disappear once they sense that the Left has again thrown down the gage of battle to the bureaucrats. But for this it is necessary that the Left wing should base its policy and leadership on the tried and tested revolutionary strategy of Marx and Lenin. It is folly of the most dangerous kind to set up old prejudices of American syndicalism and De Leonism as the latest evangel. The Left wing has practically surrendered the workers to Hillman and his well-oiled machine. Schneid's side-lights on the convention make clear that even at this convention organized without the participation of the Left there was considerable rank and file discontent and unrest, although it has been driven by the absence of the Left and the suppression of workers' democracy, to seek expression in the lobby corridors and not on the floor itself. What is the policy of the Communist Party under these circumstances? It is expressed in the statement issued by the G. E. B. of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (Daily Worker May 22nd). That statement is a direct appeal, which if followed would have the immediate effect of isolating an insignificant group of Left wingers from the main body of the masses in the union.

THE BLUMKIN ASSASSINATION

In Moscow, only the narrow Party circles know about Stalin's assassination of Blumkin. By these circles rumors are systematically spread that Blumkin committed suicide. Stalin still does not dare to admit openly that he shot the "counter-revolutionary" Blumkin.

It is highly remarkable that the world capitalist press did not at all hurry to utilize the case of Blumkin. It calculates, and quite correctly, that the defense of the Left Communists from the Stalin atrocities is not in its interests. At the more persistently and uncompromisingly must therefore the Left Opposition carry on the campaign of exposing the Stalinist crimes.

We informed the comrades previously that besides Blumkin, two more oppositionists, the comrades Silov and Rabinovitch, have been shot. This question, therefore, takes on exceptional political acuteness: only the echo of Stalin's crimes among the advanced workers of the world will stop his bloody atrocities against the Bolshevik revolutionaries.

The former Communist Souvarine has hastened to come to Stalin's aid, declaring that Blumkin was carrying out the directives of the Opposition inside the G.P.U., and that so long as the G. P. U. exists, it must assassinate agents that break faith, Souvarine draws the conclusion that "on the thirteenth year of the revolution" (?) the G. P. U. must be destroyed.

We have no basis whatever for entering into a political discussion with Souvarine. We consider it sufficient to make the following declaration:

Comrade Blumkin never carried out, and because of the very nature of his work never could carry out the directives of the Opposition either inside the G. P. U., or through the G. P. U. Suffice it to say that Blumkin spent a considerable part of the last period in the Far East, primarily Mongolia.

To prohibit workers of the G. P. U. as well as workers of the military institutions from holding views differing from those of the Central Committee, means to deprive Communists working in the above named institutions of their elementary Party rights. Only Stalinist bureaucrats can defend such an outrage.

The G. P. U. is the organ of self-defense for the proletarian dictatorship. In so far as the October Revolution on its thirteenth year is still surrounded by a world of enemies it cannot give up such organs—the dictatorship cannot cease being a dictatorship.

Only liberals and liberalizing social democrats can pose this question on a formal plane. We raise it on a class plane: In the name of what are repressions applied? Against whom are they applied? Whom and what do they serve? It is a matter of revolutionary expediency, and not super-class justice.

The assassination of Blumkin, as well as the repressions against the Leninist Opposition in general, weaken the proletarian vanguard, undermine the Party and strengthen the class enemies. The struggle against this treacherously-cowardly murder of Blumkin by Stalin, we carry on in the name of the proletarian dictatorship.

Let this be known to our friends and enemies!

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

In Germany

The «New Turn» in the C.I.

BERLIN—

conformity with the new course decreed by the Stalinist leadership after the 15th of March the presidium of the Executive Committee has ordered a general turn in all sections of the Communist International.

The new turn cast its shadow before it a while ago. It was announced in the speech of Manuilsky last November during the sessions of the Young Communist International. During the course of his speech Manuilsky attacked with extreme violence the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party which he reproached with having "sectarian conceptions" for having spoken of an imminent revolutionary situation at the time of the aggravation of the Austrian crisis, and for having played with insurrection. He thus exposed the thoroughly opportunist character of the new turn.

For it was the leading bodies of the Comintern, with the German C. P. Central at its head which had simply thrown the leadership of the Austrian C. P. into the "zeal of insurrection". The Constance conference of September 18, 1929, declared that "today the question of the seizure of power presents itself in Austria" and Remmele declared at a meeting of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party at which were present members of the Austrian Central Committee, that it was not sufficient to propagate the idea of Soviets but it was now necessary to set about realizing them.

The Real Responsibility

The Left Opposition rose up against this playing with insurrection and showed that the Party had already let slip a decisive occasion when it neglected to mobilize the masses against the repressive regime of Schober; nevertheless it was denounced as "defeatist" and its slogan—the creation of defense committees in all factories against the threatening fascism—was not even given a hearing.

The hopeless bankruptcy of the "Left" Stalinist course was revealed in all its tragicomic aspects last fall in Austria.

The cowardly and pitiful retreat of the theoreticians of adventurism, of the Third Period inventors, before the political conclusions of their slogans and their theories in the Austrian crises clearly portrays the character or rather lack of character of the new turn.

Without appearing to do so, Manuilsky in his report set out to outline a new interpretation of the "Third Period". Until quite recently it was the period of "violent revolutionary upsurge", of the imminent collapse of stabilization; now, however, the maturing of a world economic crisis is very modestly announced and the phenomena of the crisis coming to light in the various countries are examined. "It is not yet the finish of stabilization that approaches, but only the beginning of the decomposition, for the collapse of capitalist stabilization would mean the collapse of the capitalist system, that is, the birth of an objectively revolutionary situation in the capitalist countries"; that is what Manuilsky announced while the Berlin Rote Fahne spoke, since February 1st, of the capitalist collapse that is developing at a "breath-taking pace".

But isn't such a "re-interpretation" made to reveal the whole stupidity of the theory of the Third Period? Does not the whole strategy outlined by the Sixth Congress threaten to give way under this weak attempt made at revision behind the back of the Party? And does not the collapse of the theoretical and strategical basis of the "Left" Stalinist course threaten to shake the authority of the all-powerful apparatus of the C. I.? The fear of seeing these questions posed openly absolutely dominates the exemplary bureaucrat in the first and timid attempt at revision. And that is why Manuilsky swiftly throws a morsel to the astonished members of the Communist Party; he declares that the "growing revolutionary upsurge has already mounted a degree".

These contradictions in Manuilsky's

speech are only the reflection of the contradictions of Centrist policy in general. Each attempt to correct itself must be paid for by the "deepening" of its past errors; in this manner, Centristism more and more prepares the ground for avowed opportunism and favors the development of adventurism and openly Right wing tendencies.

The Turn a la Thaelmann and Co.

The most perfect picture of internal contradictions, of half-measures and of the most dangerous opportunism is furnished us by the turn affected in Germany at this moment by Thaelmann, Neumann and Remmele. The resolution adopted at the meeting of the C. C. of the C. P. G. on March 20 and 21, declares that "all the recent events prove that the revolutionary upsurge, in spite of its unequal developments is rising upwards as before..."

And in the name of the revolutionary upsurge, the resolution of the C. C. demands "a strong consolidation of the struggle against social-fascism".

Now, the "strong consolidation" consists in the fact that the C. C. suddenly discovers the difference between the social democratic workers and their counter-revolutionary chiefs. At the same time, the resolution attacks the "Leftist sectarianism" and declares that the "fraction work has considerably diminished lately in the reformist and Christian unions."

And still at the same time, the C. C. declares that "the existing revolutionary unions must be strengthened in the most energetic manner".

Rarely has a leadership tried in a more cowardly and disgusting manner to wash its hands of its mistakes behind the backs of its adherents. It is at last discovered that "the theory of the little Zoergel (according to which the simple social democratic worker is a "class enemy") belongs to the realm of absolute cretinism. This discovery is masked by the slogan of the "consolidation of the

struggle against social-fascism".

The need for working within the free trade unions (social democratic), to which more than 5,000,000 workers belong, can no longer be evaded. But to conceal the recognition of this necessity, the work is made equivalent to that done in the Christian trade unions and at the same time "the most energetic strengthening of the revolutionary trade unions" is demanded.

Effects of the Turn

This cowardly right-about-face of the Party bureaucracy which, within 24 hours, tramples underfoot what it still proclaimed to be patented Bolshevism yesterday, has had various effects in the Party. A part of the apparatus, specialists sworn to the struggle against social fascism, has responded to the turn by an apparatus rebellion. At the head of this "apparatus rebellion" is the trade union strategist, Paul Merker, member of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. Among the members of the C. P. there is above all, an extreme agitation. The rebellion of Merker has found substantial support in the Central Region (Berlin). The Party functionaries, by 70 votes against 7, have rejected the new "turn", and demanded the exclusion of Remmele and Heinz Neumann from the C. C. It is a typical trait of the hypocrisy of the leadership that it now tries to convince the militants that the manifestation of the ultra-Leftist Merker group is... "a resurrection of vanquished Trotskyism". And this after having declared for years that the Trotskyists and the Right wing were identical! The leadership of the Party will not succeed in unloading its faults, and the responsibility for the line it defended up to now, upon the Merker group. It will succeed still less in putting into the same bag the real Left of the Party and the ultra-Leftist Merker group.

The Left Opposition which has been fighting for years the erroneous course of Stalin and Thaelmann, now fortified by the unification of the Left Opposition that took place on March 31, will fight more vigorously than ever in the Party in order to win to the ideas of the International Opposition the most advanced elements of the Party.

—K. I.

In France

The Impending Crisis in the Party

The Communist Party of France and the French revolutionary trade unions have had, ever since their foundation, a considerable handicap in the struggle for influence among the workers. The powerful wave of post-war revolution carried an enthusiastic majority of the old Socialist Party over into the ranks of communism, at the scission of Tours. The splitting, bureaucratic policy of the Jouhaux-led C. G. T. drove still more workers toward the revolutionary trade union center, the C. G. T. U., born under the United Front slogan. Thus, organizationally, the original post-war conditions favored the revolutionary movement, gave the Communists a considerable advantage over the yellow reformists.

The Stalinist Course in France

However the vacillating, equivocal, adventurist character of the Comintern "line" after Lenin's death, initiated, as elsewhere, in France too, a serious disintegration of the revolutionary ranks particularly as far as the political side of the movement is concerned. The membership of the Party has been almost decimated. (From well over 120,000 members after Tours, there remain now from 15 to 30,000.) The influence of the press has immensely fallen. The socialists have been able to recover and strengthen their positions—at the expense of the Communists.

An example of passive reaction among the rank and file, was offered to view on the First of May. The Party and the C. G. T. U. issued a manifesto, calling for a "Day of Struggle" appealing to their adherents to come "All into the Streets". What actually happened, was this:

In Paris and in the suburbs several hundreds of thousands of workers struck, obeying the call, not only of the C. G. T. U. and the Communists, but also that of the C. G. T. and the S. P. There were, however, no demonstrations, no meetings, whatsoever.

At the Grange-Aux-Elles, the C. G. T. U. headquarters, only the flies (cops) were to be seen in appreciable numbers. Rue Lafayette (the Party office) was likewise deserted. At the Sante prison, where the Party called for a demonstration in the evening, there was instead, a veritable demonstration—of flies...

Rise of Left Opposition

Why this inactivity, why this apathy among workers organized in hundreds of thousands in mass revolutionary organizations? The apparatchiki, the greater and the lesser bureaucrat explain this away with "self-criticism". They didn't make a "bon boulot" (good job) of the preparation! They are in general imbued with an entirely non-Communist, non-Marxist spirit of subjectivism. Revolution to them is merely an administrative affair, a matter of stereotyped routine. As a result: Among the youth a positive abhorrence for theory, a strong inclination for "revolutionary gymnastics", for the many times over discredited and unmasked "Herveism". Among the adults, slavish execution of "instructions".

The more serious, the more sincere elements in the Party and the League have, however, lately begun to be affected by the meager results of their work. They are beginning to think things over. In the C. G. T. U. these elements are rapidly developing into a principled, pro-Party, anti-bureaucratic opposition, grouping themselves about our comrades of the Verite and the Ligue Communiste. Among the youth, a similar process is taking place.

The Stalinist apparatus-men have, in fact, become alarmed already. They are now groping about for a suitable label to tag on to these new oppositionists, before proceeding with the customary suspensions and expulsion measures. And this groping about displays a pitiful intellectual confusion, a true reflection of chained intelligence.

The editorial of the May number of the Cahiers du Bolchevisme sets itself the task of "analyzing" the new opposition. The objectives that guide the "analysis" are clear. One, to discover a scape-goat upon which to cast the guilt for the errors committed by the bureaucrats themselves since the inauguration of the "third period"—and lately condemned by the infallible Manuilsky-Stalin. The other, to discredit the real opposition as much as possible in the eyes of the workers.

The second objective produces only a barrage of abuse and slander, which the workers will hardly tolerate. The new oppositionists are called "centrists", allies of the "Popists", "hidden opportunists", agents of the reformist minoritaires" and similar epithets. But, it is well known that the militants of the new C. G. T. U. opposition have always fought the syndicalists and opportunist tendencies of the Monatte group as well as of the Rights, Comrades like Aulas, Douemanget, Villatte possess a prestige among the workers for that. After "analyzing" the opposition "currents" into "pessimists" and "left phrase mongers" (the discovery, then, of some ephemeral "Merker" group in France?!) the editorial writer proceeds with illuminations.

Finding a Scape-Goat

"As to the latter," he writes, "they displace the practical work by bombast and by mechanical procedure (!) and surrender themselves to Leftist demagoguery (exaggeration of the crisis (!) slogan of the conquest of power as a practical task (so!) etc.). A perusal of the Humanite of the "third period" in any arrangement of days whatsoever would enable anyone to call these mysterious "latter" by their real given names. But—it seems—the "texts" were, nevertheless correct; the question here deals, with such "latter" phrase-mongers, who "...interpreted the texts, falsely denatured our estimations" etc. It is clear that this to date non-existent ultra-Left "group" is to be picked in the main from the conscientious lower layers of functionaries who simply took the slogans issued by the directing organs on good faith. To these are to be attributed all the sins of the "Left turn" in the first section of the third period just finished.

However, it is extremely difficult to find an "important" personage who has gained the disfavor of the council of the All-High, to attach to this group as a sort of a loadstone. Even Vassart, among the leading until recently in the Party and the C. G. T. U. can only merit the label "pessimist" (despite his well-known attack against Chambelland of the "forty years of social peace"). This is a real dilemma for the analyst. Yet, the new opposition has been "proven" an ally of the Right wing; Vassart as "skeptical" and "pessimist" has been created a confederate of Chambelland, in the Party ranks and even those ephemeral Leftists are some sort of opportunists anyway. And so, our writer trembling for his own hide (as Lovestone, for instance, did for his, in the days of our own Trotskyist Right danger) concludes:

"In our Party we cannot speak of two battle fronts (this is already sacrilege) as among the youth (reference to Manuilsky). The few Left errors, which might have been committed by good revolutionary workers ought to be eliminated, but they should not be confused with the "Left" bombast of several braggarts (!) who by that means attempt to disguise their opportunism. There is only one opportunist front with different shadings which we have underlined above."

The Perspectives

This confusion, this uneasiness in the ranks of the bureaucracy, marks an impending crisis. Couple this bureaucratic uneasiness with the growing dissatisfaction among the better rank and file elements, who watch in pain and despair, the fluctuation and the diminution of the Party influence, who begin to recognize the disrespect, the neglect of revolutionary theory, as the source of the evil, and we perceive the dawn of a fierce inner struggle in the French Party, an important opportunity to lead to the rehabilitation of the Party as the party of the proletariat. The French section of the International Left Opposition under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky and the Russian Leninist-Bolsheviks, will be at its post in the days to come. Under the banner of Leninism. It will fight to lead the French Party on to the correct Communist path, as part of the struggle for the renovation of the Comintern.

Paris, May 10

—S. G.

An Open Letter to the Members of the C. P. S. U. (b)

(Continued from Last Issue)

The Position of the Left Wing

The break between the epigones of the leadership and the Leninist tradition presents itself under a well-defined form of organization: all the cadres which participated in the building of the Comintern and presided over its leadership in the period of the first four Congresses are not only thrown out of the leadership, but in their overwhelming majority excluded from the ranks of official Communism. This fact alone suffices to denounce the whole abyss that has been created between today and the revolutionary past. The new "theory", the new policy and the new regime have acquired new people. It must be said openly to the workers: at the hour of danger, at the moment of decisive combat, the revolutionary inconsistency of the apparatus of the C. I. will become strikingly obvious to all. Irresponsible subalterns, always ready to accommodate themselves to each new leadership, have never been capable of leading the assault against the ruling classes.

The Left wing (Bolshevik-Leninists) whose spirit of clear-sighted criticism and slogans have been entirely confirmed from the point of view of the internal development of the U. S. S. R. as well as the situation on the international arena, is submitted to the vilest offensive. Nevertheless, and in spite of all the lies of the official press, the Left Opposition grows in numbers and is being fortified ideologically in the whole world.

The progress has been great especially this last year. The press of the Left Opposition in Europe, in America and in Asia constitutes at the present time the only serious Bolshevik-Marxist press, analyzing events, drawing the conclusions, proceeding to the formation of new cadres and preparing the regeneration of the Communist International.

In every country, the Left Opposition has put out of its ranks all those who, under cover of its banner, endeavored to dissimulate their spirit of opportunism, their petty bourgeois dilettantism or their half-anarchist hostility to the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

In spite of all the calumnies of the official press, the international Left Opposition remains unshakably faithful to the October revolution and the Soviet State.

The false friends whom the Soviet bureaucracy draws to itself by means of concessions or alms—these Purcells, Fimmons and Barbusses of all countries—are all very good for anniversary "festivals" but not for the revolutionary struggle. The Opposition is an ideological selection which the persecutions and the fury to which it has been exposed has hardened. At the serious moment it will be found in the front lines.

The Role of the Social Democracy

The Russian Mensheviks, the Social-Revolutionaries and other groupings reduced to nothing at the same time as the bourgeoisie, anxiously scent the crisis, hoping to rise again out of the void. The "democratic" scoundrels of the exploiting classes think to find their rebirth in the fall of the Soviet power which they await impatiently. In reality, the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat would signify the opening of a long period of civil wars for many years, with sporadic attempts at impotent Bonapartist dictatorship in various corners of the country, in the Chinese or Deniken manner, with the inevitable consequence of the arrest of economic and cultural development for many years. The way out of all this chaos could not be in the sense of a democracy—this political form being least likely in Russia, given the structure and historical past of the land—but much rather under the form of colonial subjugation or of a new October revolution.

The international social democracy does not want to and cannot take into account the economic and cultural expanse of the October revolution, whose creative force in every field is without equal in any known historical regime. All the dangers of the present moment whose source lies in the great betrayal by the social democracy which submits deliberately to capitalism, all the mistakes of the Stalinist leadership, cannot for a single instant obscure the fact that thanks to the proletarian char-

acter of the State, we have been able to attain a tempo of economic development that capitalism has never known. The very possibility of experiences in the form of plans and of collectivization, with all their contradictions and errors, constitutes a gigantic acquisition for all of humanity. Can they be compared for an instant with such "errors" as the patriotic participation of the social democracy in the imperialist slaughter or the present disgusting game of Mueller and MacDonald who crawl about in search of a recipe for the rejuvenation of capitalism?

The conquests of the October revolution show the incalculable possibilities that could be attained by Europe and humanity as a whole if the social democracy of Germany, England and other countries where it can formally become a majority (if it should "want" it, that is, if it should formulate a proletarian program) were to inscribe on the order of the day a socialist reconstruction of relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of an indissoluble collaboration.

Against "Socialist" Treachery

But that is out of the question, for the social democracy constitutes the "democratic" basis of capitalist conservatism and is the penultimate resource of a society based upon exploitation. The ultimate resource will be fascism.

The social democratic "criticism" of the Soviet regime is like the cry of the night-watchman: it is destined to maintain the tranquility of the propertied and to guarantee them peaceful slumber. To fight against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the social democracy utilizes the difficulties that it has itself created for the Soviet Union, augmented by those the leadership has caused. If, in relation to the capitalist world, the social democracy plays a role of protection towards the U.S.S.R., its aim bears a character of restoration. The struggle for "democracy" and "liberties" in the very sphere of world imperialism, one of whose guardians the social democracy has made itself, really signifies the struggle for the re-establishment of capitalism. Only thus the question is important. It indicates that to the extent that the crisis becomes graver, the more implacable will become our struggle against all the democratic agents of the restoration no matter who they are. At the same time, the further we go the more clearly we see that Communism cannot fight victoriously against the social democracy except on the road marked out by the Opposition.

* * *

The Party is the supreme political weapon. It is in the Party that the possibilities of the revolution and its future are embodied. But it is from this very source that the dangers proceed today. The adventurism of the bureaucracy does not halt with the destiny of the Party. Parallel to the generalized collectivization there takes place the generalized registry of factories and trades in the Party. This means nothing less than the dissolution of the Party into the class, that is, in reality the suppression of the Party. In this way, the bureaucratic apparatus acquires more extended power of oppression.

Its follies do not encounter the resistance of any criticism, neither correctives nor reactions, so long as life does not set itself to reply to them violently. The first warning of this kind has just been given. Everything leads to the belief that the subsequent one will be much more peremptory than all the preceding ones.

The country, even though not very distinctly, is taking this into account very profoundly. Naturally, each class in its own way. A dull uneasiness reigns in the Party. But the order that prevails in the Party is such that nobody would dare to express his fear aloud, nor even to put a question. The regime of "self-criticism" in its new stage consists of the obligation for each and every one to subscribe not only to the precision but also to the "genius" of the leadership and to hound those whom the leadership orders to hound.

Stalin's Victory over the Party

It is evident from this that the "victory" of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the Opposition was at the same time a victory over the Party. This process coincides with the withering away of a whole section of revolutionists, with the growth of bureaucracy and of the petty bourgeoisie in

the U. S. S. R., with the strengthening of the capitalist reaction and the social democracy in the whole world, with the defeat of the revolutionary movements, with the weakening of the positions of Communism and the strengthening of opportunist tendencies in its ranks.

The crisis in grain provisioning of 1927-28 having led it to a blind alley the Stalinist apparatus abruptly reversed its positions and entered into struggle against a part of the petty bourgeois forces with whose aid it has set upon the Left wing. Without the slightest hesitation, the Opposition subscribed to this turn about face and declared itself ready to support in full the leadership in any of its move orientated in the sense of a revolutionary policy and a cleansing of the regime within the Party.

But it is now incontestable that the swing to the Left in 1928, constituting a particularly brutal zig-zag, did not result in a new course. It could not result in one, since it was not accompanied by an ideological regeneration of the Party. Nothing has changed: there is still the same miserable and eclectic porridge instead of a living theory; still the same bureaucratic-functionary selection of the personnel, only much narrower; still the same methods of mechanization pushed to the highest degree.

The program of the administrative liquidation of a class is in actuality no less disastrous in the political field than was the scandalous report of Stalin to the conference of Marxist-Agronomists in the field of theory. It is not conceivable that there are not in Lenin's Party thousands upon thousands of people in whose mind the politics and the theory of Stalin does not sow uneasiness and indignation. Nevertheless there was no protest at all. Nobody dared to reply, while in the press the latest brood of reptiles set about to develop the ideas of this illiterate report as being the latest revelation of historical thought.

The leading Stalinist group has arrogated the power in its most cynical form. That is precisely why its supreme point of victory—the moment when the "leaders" of the Right wing capitulated—was at the same time the point of departure for a decrease of its domination over the Party. The coronation of the infallible leadership was judged necessary at the moment when this same leadership felt itself on the eve of bankruptcy.

The Party leads an ever more, ghostly existence. Stalin is much more revoltingly impudent with the Congresses than was the Czar towards the Duma.

Furthermore, on the very inside of the schematic cadres of the Russian Communist Party there are tens of thousands of revolutionary proletarians who can and will become the creative forces in the rebirth of the Party. It is to this nucleus that we attach the destinies of our group.

Conditions of the Opposition Cadres

The circumstances under which the cadres of the Opposition find themselves placed are without example in the history of the revolutionary movement. The harsh material conditions of deportation are aggravated by the application of complete political isolation. The complicated system of State and private measures of order is especially intended to sap the health of the deportees. At the same time the official press brings the Oppositionist relegated to a forsaken spot, triumphant information on the progress of the collectivization, of the industrialization, and on the uninterrupted victories of the Communist Parties throughout the world.

Certain of the isolated and weaker elements do not resist this pressure. But the majority of the capitulations are obviously simulated: broken and exhausted, they sign what they have no belief in. A new series of capitulations is being prepared for the Sixteenth Congress, proceeding from furtive negotiations followed by secret agreements behind the scenes. This sort of stage-play is one of the most disgusting manifestations of revolutionary exhaustion and moral decay. The pathetic invocation of the so-called need of "returning" to the Party betokens only cynicism toward that same Party. For can the Party be served by deception and falsehood? That is why the most "eminent" capitulators are immediately transformed into political cadavers left unburied, while the expelled and

hunted Opposition remains an active factor in the life of the Soviet republic and the Communist International.

After all there is nothing very astonishing in this. The innumerable books and pamphlets against the Opposition published since 1923, the special collections of quotations intended for Congresses and Conferences, the collections against "Trotskyism", etc...are today the most convincing proof in favor of the Opposition. We keep our Platform in reserve. They fear it mortally, while seeking to assail it by means of provocative polemics. Yet today as yesterday, the whole ideological life of the Party turns around the Oppositionist Platform as around a pivot.

The declaration of comrade Rakovsky, supported by the fundamental cadres of the Opposition, was an application of the united front towards the Party.

The Centrist leadership replied to it by sharpening the rigors of repression. The Opposition having sincerely proposed to attenuate the rigidity of organization of its struggle for a purely Marxist line, the apparatus replied by having Blumkin shot. We must say it openly to the Party and to the working class. We must explain the import of our proposal, name those responsible for its defeat, and proclaim our indeluctable determination to fight for our opinion and to increase two-fold, five-fold, ten-fold our efforts towards consolidating the Bolshevik Leninist fraction. In that alone can loyalty to the October revolution be manifested today.

* * *

A French proverb says that one must know how to fall back sometimes in order the better to leap. That is the condition in which the leadership of the Soviet state, as well as the leadership of the Communist International finds itself at present.

Both are driven by their own adventurism to the depths of an impasse. Placing its "prestige" above the interests of the world revolution, the Centrist bureaucracy draws ever more the noose around the neck of the Party. In matters of tactics, the first task is the following: to beat a retreat by abandoning the positions of adventurism. The retreat is inevitable in any case. It must therefore be carried out as soon as possible and in the best possible order.

(To Be Continued)

A Tribute From a So. African Militant

Cape Town, South Africa

Dear Comrades:

It was with great joy that I received from comrade Glass of Johannesburg the first few copies of the Militant followed a while later by a complete file which you sent him and which I have eagerly read.

As a theorist of Marxist-Leninism as a proletarian strategist, as the embodiment of proletarian sagacity and courage and honesty, as a master of lucid exposition and vivid prose Trotsky is unequalled in the workers' movement. And if the American comrades of the Opposition had done nothing in the past for the movement (and they have—their records are great), and if they should do little in the future (which is extremely unlikely), they yet will deserve and obtain the deep gratitude of all honest Communists for making available in English the writing of the leader of the world Opposition.

Comrade Glass and myself were amongst the small band of comrades in South Africa who from the very first, gave adherence to the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky and took an active part in the publication of the Bolshevik, a monthly journal, at the Cape. Comrade Glass, I believe, has given you an account of the position in the South African Union and I will not dwell on it here save to state that under the leadership of a Stalinized Comintern, the gospel of Marcus Garvey is written large in the platform of the South African Communist Party.

I enclose a donation of ten shillings towards the sustaining fund of the Militant and will endeavour to make it a monthly donation. Wishing you the very best of luck in your splendid work for the cause, I remain

Yours for Communism,
—MANUEL LOPES

In Italy

Italian Fascism and the Economic Crisis

One can best explain the evolution of the fascist movement by following the transformations of Italian capitalism, its difficulties, and its vicissitudes in the course of the economic crisis provoked by the war.

Italian economy, despite its "victory" in the war, has retained its inferior position as compared with the great capitalist powers. The reasons for this economic inferiority lie principally in the lack of raw materials and capital, in the dependence on the importation of machinery from abroad, in the disproportion between the increase of population and the increase of wealth, a disproportion aggravated nowadays by the closing of the frontiers to emigration. All this lends justification to the definition of Italian capitalism as "a capitalism organically feeble" but it is not enough to recall this definition. We must at the same time analyze the changes which have taken place in the economic situation of Italy.

After the War

The war brought with it an extension of the basis of production and under the impulsion of finance capital, even a reorganization of the forms of production. Italian economy came out of the war profoundly transformed. The movement of the concentration and centralization of business enterprise had received a powerful impetus. During the war Italy was compelled to depend on its own resources in industry no less than in agriculture and commerce to provide the materials which it has been accustomed to receive from abroad and especially from Germany. Particularly active in the course of the war and consequently afterwards, were the mining, the machine, chemical and textile industries. Shipbuilding also experienced a big expansion.

As a whole Italian economy came out of the war considerably transformed and developed. But agriculture on the other hand had suffered enormously. The character of the soil was unfavorable to the change in the forms of cultivation required by the situation. In addition there was a scarcity of agricultural workers (the rural male population had been reduced by successive mobilizations from 4 to 2 millions). There was a lack of fertilizer. There was a dearth of cattle. Consequently there was a reduction in the area sown. But despite all these negative features, for the peasantry the war was a source of enrichment thanks to the rise in prices.

With the ending of hostilities, Italy entered on the period of economic crisis in which she still finds herself. In the official organs of the Italian Communist Party, this crisis is habitually characterized as an "organic and progressive crisis". In reality this feature of the crisis is not peculiar to Italy alone; it is what distinguishes in this period the quality of the world economic crisis of capitalism as a whole. It is not enough to say that we are in the midst of an "organic and progressive crisis"; one must study the origins of the crisis and the rhythm of its development.

If it is true that for capitalism to postpone its difficulties does not mean to surmount them, it is no less true that so long as these difficulties can be evaded, they can be momentarily overcome.

A country economically feeble, Italy thus experienced in the most direct and profound fashion the effects of the war crisis. As for other countries so for Italy also it was a crisis of raw materials, of lack of equipment, of capital markets, transport, etc. This raised the following problem: what class would be compelled to shoulder the expenses of the war? In other words, would it be at the expense of wages or of capitalist profits that the problems of prices (the very crux of the present economic crisis) would be resolved? The significance of the violent struggles waged in the post-war period, before and after the advent of Fascism is rendered clear by this sharp contrast between the level of wages and capitalist profits.

In industry as well as in agriculture the cost of production is very high, a fact which does not facilitate sales. Given the specific character of Italian capitalism, it must solve the problem of net costs by operating principally on wages, by increasing the length of the working day, intensifying production, by raising tariffs reducing the cost of maritime and domestic transportation, settling the problem of monetary circulation, balancing the budget, etc.

and all at the expense of the working class.

It was from the necessity of giving a solution to all these problems that fascism was conceived and developed; to gag the workers, to establish the absolute despotism of the employers in the factories, ruthlessly to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie and to give it a single-willed leadership—in a word, as a special attempt of Italian capitalism to assure its own stabilization.

The "Crisis of 1921"

Having overcome the crisis of "demobilization" (1919), the period of factitious prosperity (1920) was followed in Italy as in other countries by a serious economic depression which reached its lowest point in the years 1921-22.

1921 was for Italian economy the most serious of all the afterwar crises. The crisis was industrial, commercial and financial. By comparison with 1920 foreign trade was reduced almost by half. Every phase of economic activity reflected this depression. The value of government bonds fell disastrously. Not only the smaller but even the more gigantic businesses were hard hit. The number of failures reached enormous proportions. The most resounding failure of this period is that of the Ilva at the beginning of 1921 bringing in its wake the crash of the Banque d'Escompte and the ruin of several thousand small depositors. The army of unemployed reached the figure of 463,000 in July 1921. The one profiteer from the crisis was finance which extended its work of conquest.

We have already said that Italian capitalism came out of the war completely transformed and that the organizing activity of the banks assumed at this time a role of great importance. After the war, finance capital, its power reinforced by the war, developed its plan of conquest and domination of Italian economy at an accelerated pace and parallel with it the plan of subjecting to its control the whole state machine. This plan which went on the rocks during the "democratic" government of Nitti (against which both the proletarian masses, on the one hand, rose and the ruined petty bourgeoisie on the other) was completely realized by the government of Mussolini.

The big bourgeoisie (bankers, industrialists, landed proprietors) utilized the fascist movement to destroy the proletarian organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, etc.) but once in power, Mussolini could find no other solution for the demands of the petty bourgeoisie who had been mobilized against the workers—than that ordered by Big Business. From the

very first day Fascism exposed its role as the body guard of capitalism. A whole series of measures were adopted that were anything but what the petty bourgeoisie had hoped from "their" government.

The program of financial and economic reconstruction unfolded in accordance with the necessities of the defence of the bourgeoisie. Instead of the "return to a regime of full economic liberty", instead of a "renunciation on the part of the State of these of its functions bearing a monopolist character", etc. from the day of the arrival of the fascist government in power the victory of monopolist capital spread itself over the whole of Italian economy. From this there followed the necessity of a transformation: in the mechanism of production and in that of the state by means of which the bourgeois class exercises its own political domination.

The Revival of 1923 and the New Crisis

At the end of 1922 with a general revival of international economy there was a certain expansion of production. Unemployment decreased substantially. From December 1922 capital investments in joint stock companies acquired an intense tempo. Before the war stock companies numbered 48 with a capital of 2,212,000,000 lire and in 1914, 8,138 with a capital of about 5,000,000,000 lire; in 1923, the number of companies reached the figure of 9,078 with a capital of 28,500,000,000 lire. (At the end of January 1930 existing companies number 16,278 with a total capital of 49,842,500,000 lire.)

All the figures of economic activity during 1923 show the same revival. Money is cheap and its abundance engendered by the inflation still pushes to the development of enterprise and the increase of productive capacity, especially in specific industrial groups (hydro-electric, shipbuilding, chemical industry, artificial silk, etc.). But already towards the end of 1923 there are many signs of weakness. A great discontent prevails among the working classes as a result of the constant wage reductions and the continuous rise in the cost of living. In 1924 unemployment again begins to rise; the situation sharpens. In the meantime, the working class has regained vigor and wants to fight. In this year there are 163,000 unemployed in comparison with the 66,000 of the year before. The petty-bourgeois masses, thwarted by Fascism, crushed under the weight of the cost of living and taxation are in their turn in an agitated state.

That is the situation in which the Matteotti crime supervenes with its enormous repercussions throughout the country.

—AKROS

Rationalization and Capitalist Monopoly

Rationalization is the current term for a three-fold process (a) the introduction of newer industrial methods and more scientific organization to which no one but Gandhi can take objection in themselves, (b) the speeding up and intenser exploitation of the workers which they must resist furiously. This phase of the process is accompanied on occasion by a nominally higher wage, an illusion since it leads to greater output by fewer workers, to more frequent intervals of unemployment and to premature exhaustion. The American engineer, Taylor, formulated the underlying theory of the speed-up some 15 years ago in his "Principles of Scientific Management", and Ford proved their most successful practical exponent. A third phase of rationalization is the weeding out of the smaller and less "efficient" enterprises through the medium of the merger movement in the direction of more complete monopoly.

Before the war bourgeois economists tried to minimize the possible extent of trustification, arguing for example, its alleged failure to make headway in retail distribution. The chain store came to give these economists (always a few laps behind facts of social evolution) something to explain anew. The "marginal utility" theory of value scarcely proved less unreal than their hopes for the "individual entrepreneur", the individual business organizer who was supposed to represent the spirit of competition. The merger movement proved to be more powerful than the cobwebs of the "pleasure and pain" psychology

or the Sherman anti-trust legislation. The only question is: will the mergers stabilize capitalism or will they sharpen its dilemma?

Available statistics testify to the great merger impetus of the past few years. The Federal Trade Commission has reported for the United States that a half-dozen companies control one-third of American water power, four companies control one-half of the copper deposits, eight companies control three-quarters of the luminous deposits, etc. In Germany, the Chemical Trust controls practically the entire output of dyes, fertilizers, drugs, explosives, etc. It represents a merger of numbers of separate companies previously operating under a wide range of cartel and other agreements. In Canada the group about Sir Henry Holt brings into one vast combination the Royal Bank, British Empire Steel, Pulp and Paper, and electric power. In addition to the national there have been a number of international combinations like the European Steel Cartel, Franco-German Potash, the European Chemical Trust, International Copper Syndicate, etc.

International Monopolies

The monopolies have mostly been formed in the branches of production producing raw materials or semi-finished products, commodities capable of mass production and easily subject to standardization. The national monopolies are the basis of the international. The purpose of getting together is to increase profits, but not necessarily through a rise in prices. That

may also be achieved through standardization, better equipment, all sorts of economies and worsening of labor conditions.

The aim of the international monopolies is either to raise or maintain prices, since there is no scope here for the reduction of the costs of production by more efficient management and organization of production. The rise of the monopoly is reflected in the changed attitude of the capitalist state which is no longer moved by the interests of the small businessman. Even in the United States which went through a Rooseveltian spell of "trust-busting" legislation, all kinds of loopholes are now available to get round the Sherman, Clayton and other acts against "combinations in restraint of trade".

Socialist "Ultra-Imperialism"

As to the significance of the monopolies, there are two basically opposed interpretations. The social-democratic theorist Kautsky wrote some years ago: "From a purely economic point of view it is not impossible that capitalism will yet go through a new phase, that of the extension of the policy of cartels to foreign policy, or of ultra-imperialism". And Hilferding writes: "We have taken a step towards a stable economic society for the first time since the end of the war... capitalism has surrendered the principle bulwark it erected against socialism, the capitalist principle of free competition, for the socialist principle of production according to plan" and from this he sees but a short step towards organized production under state control. In the monopolies, he sees an "economy of conscious organization by the capitalist class".

Sharpened Contradictions

In contradistinction to this view is the revolutionary conclusion of Lenin that "there can be no doubt that development is tending towards the formation of a single all-embracing world-trust which will include all undertakings and all states without exception. This development, however is proceeding at such a rate, in such circumstances, with such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals—not only economic but also political, national, etc.—that even before we arrive at an ultra-imperialist alliance of national-finance capital, imperialism will inevitably collapse and capitalism will turn into its opposite".

The "New Industrial Revolution" cannot strengthen the profit system but increases its difficulties and sharpens its contradictions. The application of the newer industrial technique and the speeding up of labor, both raising the level of human productivity to unheard of levels will further aggravate the market problem of capitalist production, and the general crisis of the whole system. The growing productivity of labor results in lessening the opportunities for employment. This can only mean a contraction of the home market, and in view of the greater industrial competition in the world, a more desperate struggle for the foreign market with the certain perspective of the appeal to arms as the final argument.

The solution of the social crisis lies in the hands of the working class. Its revolutionary political and industrial organization to take power into its own hands as the force most necessary for production, would cut the Gordian knot. The way out lies in the abolition of production for private profit, and in the rational socialist organization and distribution of the world's resources. The New Chemistry and Giant Power must be harnessed to the service of a society of producers. The horde of parasitical coupon-clippers must be abolished, and no less the standing army of the unemployed.

Free March 6th Jailed

(Continued from Page 1)

will educate the workers on the kind of "justice" that capitalism dispenses to the workers. Maneuvres, dickers with politicians behind the scenes, failure to rally and to count upon a mass movement of the workers to free the class war prisoners, are methods wrong both from a practical and working class policy. Such ways smack of the methods of "petty-bourgeois politicalism" so vigorously condemned by the official Communist Party in theory and, apparently, so easily adopted in its practices.

Revive the campaign to free the unemployed victims. Build a broad united front movement on behalf of Foster, Amter, Minor and Raymond. Rank and file Communists! Demand that the Party leadership

The Plenum of the American Communist Opposition

By JAMES P. CANNON

Another important step in the development of the Communist Opposition was marked by the full meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League of America—the first full meeting since our National Conference—which has just concluded its sessions in New York City, May 24-27, 1930.

Since our Committee contains representatives of most of the important districts of our organization the committee meeting had the significance of a small conference. Such gatherings are rare with us, and not because we see a virtue in this rarity.

The great difficulties under which we conduct our fight—our numerical weakness, our poverty and the great distances which separate us—preclude for the time being that frequency of representative gatherings toward which we aspire. This makes us value all the more those meetings which are possible under the circumstances and imparts to them an exceptional importance in the life of our organization. We have to expect that such meetings will yield the political maximum and not be merely formal and decorative affairs.

Our National Conference held last year at Chicago bore such a character; and the meeting of the National Committee just held in New York—a meeting, like all our activities, made possible by Spartan sacrifice—will no doubt bring fruitful results in our work for the near future.

Political Unity of Plenum

The National Committee is a unit on all important political questions. We are at one with the leadership of the Opposition on the International field. Exhaustive discussion over a period of several days demonstrated that the fundamental unity of our conceptions on the basic principles which lie at the bottom of our fight as a regiment of the International Marxist Opposition is joined with a complete solidarity on tactical questions and perspectives. This applies to our approach to the general problems of the class struggle as well as to the narrower issues of the struggle against the Centrist bureaucracy in the Communist movement. All these questions are bound together.

The platform adopted at our National Conference a year ago gave a correct Marxist answer to them.

All the intervening experience has served to confirm the platform and it retains its validity today. It forms the basis of the decisions arrived at by the National Committee for the further extension of our fight.

Opposition Platform Confirmed

The economic situation in the country has developed in the main along the line of our analysis and forecast a year ago. There are no important signs yet of a speedy recovery from the industrial crisis and there are many indications of tendencies which will prolong and aggravate it; driving the financial overlords of America irresistibly to seek for a solution at the expense of Europe. A still heavier pressure upon the American proletariat and a sharpening of the international rivalries and conflicts are the inescapable implications of the situation.

Even if the subjective reactions of the American workers proceed slowly—and that is so far the case—the soil is being prepared for a profound change in their attitude toward the capitalist system. There are many reasons to calculate upon an accelerated process of working class radicalization and a vastly expanded field for the development of a proletarian Communist movement. To prevent the reformist canalization of the oncoming movement and to develop its revolutionary implications is the Communist task in the period that lies ahead. The bungling, the corruption, the eclectic zig-zags and Leftist adventurism of the Centrist bureaucracy is the greatest obstacle to the execution of this task and an objective aid to social reformism. The Lovestone Right wing is an ideological bridge to social reformism which will become an increasing danger to the Communist movement in a period of intensifying class struggle. The fight for Marxist methods and Marxist policies falls to the Communist Opposition and is carried on by it alone. Such, in brief, was the general estimate of our Plenum which shaped its decisions regarding our future activities.

The question of perspectives in the crisis in the Communist movement occupied a prominent place in the discussions of the Plenum. On this point clear and definite answers were given. We will not relent in our revolutionary fight against the Centrist bureaucrats for a single moment on a single issue. On the contrary, sharper, more intransigent, more irreconcilable struggle for a Lenin Party was the watchword of our Plenum.

Perspectives of Party Crisis

The opposition, despite all obstacles, all perversions of our standpoint, all suppression all terror, all slander, is growing and will continue to grow in the proletarian ranks of the Party. The internal crisis from which the Opposition is just emerging in a number of European countries has passed us by. We had no capitulators worth mentioning; no elements poisoned by Zinoviev-Maslow cynicism. We unfurled the banner of the International Opposition at the time of its lowest ebb when there could be no perspective but that of a long and stubborn struggle as an expelled minority. Our tradition is the tradition of years of struggle for a proletarian movement against the petty-bourgeois current of Lovestone-Pepper-Wolfe and the trade union eclecticism of Foster-Johnstone-Browder. Thus we were "prepared by the past", as Trotsky said, and the intensity of the struggle does not pull us apart but binds us more firmly together.

Preparing New Forces

We will continue, as before, to base ourselves primarily on the Party and the Left wing workers immediately under its influence. The great bulk of the revolutionary workers are there, and this fact determines our position as a faction of the Party, not as another Party. We do not identify the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party and the Left wing with its corrupted upper stratum. The Plenum, while confirming our general policy on this question made a just criticism of the inadequate organization of our fight within the Party. Measures were adopted providing for more energetic and systematic work in this respect. The near future, thanks to these decisions, will see our unflinching criticism "from without" supplemented by a determined struggle "from within". The recruiting power of the Opposition in the Party ranks is by no means exhausted. It is only beginning as events already maturing will demonstrate. The second layer of Oppositionists will soon confront the Centrist phrase-mongers as an organized faction.

The Needle Trades Situation

An especially interesting and significant phase of the National Committee meeting was a discussion of the situation in the Needle Trades, based on the report of a prominent comrade in the Union who has recently found the way to the Platform of the Opposition. This discussion laid the ground for the preparation of a comprehensive statement of policy in the needle trades crisis, similar to our statement on the Miners' Union, which is soon to be issued in the name of our League. The trade union section of our Platform is borne out by the experiences in the needle trades in all respects and it will provide the guiding line of our concrete statement of policy. The Party leadership has brought the needle trades Left wing to a blind alley. The workers must be told the truth and shown the way out of this blind alley.

This means to give a Marxist analysis which ignores none of the realities and to draw inferences based on the fundamental resolutions of the Comintern under Lenin on the trade union question. The Party bureaucrats have attempted to deal with the crisis by the most shameful scandal-mongering against the Right wing factional opponents of today—their factional brothers of yesterday and brothers yet under the skin. The sole beneficiaries of this monstrous example of "self criticism" up to date are the Black Hundred gang of Schlesinger, Wolf and Co., and in the final analysis the employers. What is needed now is an objective Communist statement of policy that will show the Left wing workers how to regain their lost ground. The discussion of this question at our

Plenum indicated the line for such a statement.

Maintain the Weekly Militant

Is it possible to continue the publication of the Weekly Militant? This question, startling in its implications to every supporter of the Opposition who knows its incomparable value, was faced and discussed by the National Committee in the most thoroughgoing and realistic manner. We have no money. The Plenum met without enough on hand to pay for the current issue and it had to be skipped. The regular income of the paper covers only half of the expense. How has the Weekly been maintained up till now? No scientific auditor or accountant would undertake to answer that question. For all the known rules of financial management have been broken and miracles have been performed. Our main resource was the fund established before the Weekly was launched. But that was used up long ago. For months now it has been nip and tuck for every issue. Special donations, loans here and there, last minute collections, voluntary labor, unpaid wages and the devil knows what other expedients tell the story. But now we are flat broke and in debt and the question posed itself categorically: shall we continue? Can we continue? And the answer of the Plenum with one voice was: We can and we will!

Weighing the matter soberly and practically we decided that, great as the sacrifices have been, we have not yet exhausted our resources. Various practical measures for raising new funds and effecting still further economies were decided on. Plans to develop the support from branches through methods employed by the Minneapolis Branch were worked out. A systematic program of meetings, affairs and money-raising devices was projected. Most important of all, perhaps was the decision to carry the appeal to the wide circle of sympathizers through a public campaign in the Militant. Up till now the members of our League—and not all of them—have shouldered the main burden. Now we must broaden out and go to every supporter and sympathizer of our historic movement with the appeal for financial support to maintain the paper.

Trotsky on the Militant

Comrade Trotsky called the Militant an inspiring force for the entire International movement of Communism. He said we should make "heroic efforts" to keep it going as a Weekly. It was with this faith that our movement is capable of even heroic efforts that the Plenum decided to launch a new campaign for the Weekly Militant.

Along with this was the working out of systematic organization and propaganda work to follow the tour of comrade Shachtman. The tour of comrade Shachtman, reporting on his work as our international delegate, cannot fail to strengthen the solidarity of our members with the embattled oppositionists of other lands and to effect a corresponding stimulus in their activity on the national field. An organization tour is to be arranged for early fall, with another meeting of the National Committee and one or more additional lecture tours in preparation for our Second National Conference in the Spring. The program of book and pamphlet publication long deferred for financial reasons, will also soon begin. The necessary organization of the Left wing workers who sympathize with our policy will soon begin to take shape in at least a few unions, according to the decision of the Plenum. All together, it can be said without exaggeration that the meeting of the National Committee will bear fruit in the development of our organization work as well as in political and ideological consolidation.

Strengthening the Center

The final important action of the Plenum was the decision to strengthen the Central administration by the addition of other qualified comrades. By this decision comrade Spector is to remain in New York and comrade Swaback is to come in the near future.

With these additions to the center it will begin to take more definite shape as the nucleus of a political committee of the Communist movement reacting to all issues of the class struggle, which is the

true and proper function of the leading body of the Opposition. The progressive development of such a leading political group is unquestionably one of the great historic tasks which the Opposition must accomplish in preparation for the future. Our struggle against the stream, under a machine-gun fire of calumny, is not without its positive sides. It is a testing and sifting process in which the capacities of revolutionaries to solve problems by their own resources and to remain steadfast in the struggle for principle is determined. Without such qualities a genuine proletarian leadership is impossible. The history of the International labor movement teaches no lesson more clearly than this one.

The ruling bureaucrats have no need to bring a Marxist objectivity and moral prerequisites to their offices. They secure appointment by an infinite capacity for obedience to those "above them" and they rule by arbitrary command over those "below". The inevitable outcome of such a perverted system is not only a political, but also a moral stultification. It would be the greatest folly to imagine that such people, on the whole, can constitute the leading force of the proletarian movement on a Leninist path. Exceptions are possible in the case of individuals, but the decisive nucleus of the future leadership will not and cannot come from that corrupted circle which is today befouling the banner of Communism and undermining its influence. Our task is to develop the leadership of the future in the struggle against them. The Plenary meeting of our National Committee, by all of its work and decisions, as well as by its mature political approach to them, was a striking demonstration that our fight has already yielded positive results along this line.

Consolidation

If the Plenum registered a political and ideological consolidation within our organization, the mass meeting which followed its adjournment showed an expansion and an increased confidence and enthusiasm of the sympathizing forces around us. Suppression, terrorism, hooliganism—after a temporary "victory"—are bringing the unavoidable reaction. The Communist workers, more and more, want to hear our message. And when they hear it, it becomes their own. There was a warmth and friendliness in this audience, made up in large part of new people, which offered a sharp contrast to the partly hostile, partly curious, crowds we faced in the earlier days of our open struggle.

The successful mass meeting was a fitting culmination to the Plenum. Both events said clearly to all who want to hear: the Opposition is on the march, its road is forward.

Mexico Stalinists Continue Splitting

The Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party of Mexico continues its splitting policy, the latest victim of the present "line" being comrade David Alfaro Siqueiros, General Secretary, until his recent removal by Party orders, of the Unitarian Sindicalist Confederation. One of the principal charges against comrade Siqueiros is that he supports the Left Opposition, about which we have no exact information as yet, but which indicates the narrow sectarian policies of the official Party leadership. Siqueiros was a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Party until recently, and was also head of the Mexican delegation at the Latin American Trade Union Congress held at Montevideo, Uruguay in 1929. Comrade Siqueiros is at present under arrest for participation in the May Day demonstration.

We are also aware of the fact that two of the five members of the Central Committee of the Young Communist Federation of Mexico have been barred from activity, an act equivalent to their suspension. These comrades, Eduardo Calero and Jorge Pino are also accused vaguely by the Stalinist bureaucrats of "sympathy with the Opposition" and causes.

Social Democratic Betrayal**Answer to a Socialist Worker**

We are in receipt of a letter from H. Engelman, a socialist worker in which he takes issue with our bitterness of attack on socialists in general and Norman Thomas, American S.P. leader in particular. The glittering theory of "social fascism" conjured up by the present Comintern regime lumps together the social-democratic officialdom and rank and file in the same fascist pot. It is a theory we decidedly repudiate. We are in a period not of direct revolutionary crisis when arguments must mount the barricades but of preparing the forces of a revolutionary class movement. Accordingly we do not believe that the best way of convincing our correspondent is by cracking his skull open, say with a blackjack. We recall a speech of Zinoviev's when still an authority in which he sharply condemned the tactics of raising a physical barrier between Communist and social democratic workers. That speech published in the theoretical organ of the International retains all its validity.

"I am a socialist," the letter runs, "because I do not believe in acquiring anything through violence and blood-shed. I am a true follower of Debs. Of course our Party is infected by opportunists and traitors. Every party has them. Even the Communist Party..." And further on he adds, "while I agree with your denunciations, I fail to comprehend your conclusions. You predict that if Norman Thomas was in MacDonald's position he would do the same in regards to our colonial policy. You know this is a very dangerous argument, because the same thing can be said of you or anyone else. What is there to assure us that if Trotsky replaces Stalin the former will adhere to Leninist principles... Suppose I grant the indictment of European socialists. Are they the only workers' movement that is misleading the workers? According to yourself, Stalin is doing the same. Does that mean the Communists are unworthy of workers' support? No, you will have betrayals in any movement, no matter what color it is... You cannot indict a whole movement..."

Indictment of Social Democracy

But of course you can indict a whole movement in the sense that we indict the "social democracy", and the author of the letter would have no difficulty in understanding us if his philosophical point of departure were historical materialism instead of a vague idealism and his argumentation grounded in the realities of the class struggle instead of the sterility of social pacifism. There are well-intentioned, honest, "sincere" and "cultured" people on all sides. But the essence of the matter is the class struggle which rages throughout the capitalist world between those who live by the extraction of rent, interest and profit, determined to maintain their privileges and perquisites either by "democratic" or fascist means and the class subjected to exploitation. Leaders, parties and movements in the social struggle, their program, and their deeds are motivated by class interests.

When we indict the Social Democracy we indict the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy which is in control of the masses, and history has made it possible to predict the course of that bureaucracy with tolerable accuracy. The program of the social democracy is a program of class collaboration, of constitutionalism, of parliamentarism, of legislative reformism in accordance with the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie. It follows inevitably that the socialist leaders will oppose the developing mass action of the workers at every turn in the struggle against Capital, from choking off strikes in the interests of "conciliatory methods" to forcefully resisting the proletarian revolution. In logical accordance with their class interests the socialists practise coalition government with the bourgeoisie and reject the idea of the proletarian dictatorship. It follows inevitably that social reformism and opportunism (class collaboration on the basis of "democracy" in time of peace) will be translated into social imperialism and patriotism ("National Defense") in time of war.

A Record of Betrayals

The records of the past few decades bear this out in full. You cannot serve both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat with-

out committing social treachery. The historic function of the social democracy, ever since its break with Marxism, has been that of an agency of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement, and the conscious recognition of this fact by the individual social democratic leaders is not necessary to make it true. The march of events speaks for itself. For years before the world war, the Left inside the Second International warned against the ominous consequences of socialist opportunism, of ministerialism, of parliamentary cretinism. The collapse of the International on the declaration of war like a pack of cards was a complete vindication of the Left struggle against both the Right wing and the centrists.

Can it be gainsaid that the German Social Democracy ruined the prospects of the Revolution of 1918 for the working class? With every nerve they consciously worked for the restoration of German capitalism. They deluded the workers with paper plans of socialization. They called in the white guard generals to help crush the revolutionary Spartacist movement with fire and sword. They liquidated the Soviet movement in favor of the bourgeois Assembly in Weimar. They came to the rescue of the capitalists in every subsequent crisis, and notably in 1923. They

The Suicide of Vladimir Mayakovsky

The most celebrated of the contemporary Russian poets, the futurist Mayakovsky shot himself in the heart on April 14th in Moscow. He was for years at the height of renown and in the limelight. Indefatigably he spread in the gazettes a socialist optimism of the most orthodox kind. His evolution was still more marked in this direction lately. Only a few weeks ago he gave his resounding adherence to the Society of Proletarian Writers of Moscow. His unexpected end is almost inexplicable.

This audacious spirit, this enemy of romanticism and sentimentality wrote in a final note addressed "to all" that suicide was certainly not a solution, but there was no other way out for him.

He made some reference to affairs of the heart that were thwarted by the conditions of life. After which the publicist Koltsov who knows how to make fun of a reader compares in the *Literary Gazette* the "accident" that happened to Mayakovsky with the accident to Shelley who was drowned while canoeing, and Verhaeren who was run over by a train. One can obviously not make these comparisons without a cultivated sense of humor. At the same time there was a good deal of talk of illness. But neither affairs of the heart, nor even serious illness can entirely explain the end of such a man.

This death supervened after eighteen months of heavy literary confusion (not a production, not a single one during this whole lapse of time) but frenzied campaigns against Tom, Dick and Harry, major and minor excommunications, incessant recognition of mistakes! It is certain that we did not know how to hold this artist. The great official fame and publicity he received, the money success, were not sufficient for him, perhaps because of the element of falseness involved and the emptiness that he experienced from it. He was a magnificent "fellow traveler" of the revolution useful and courageous; he squandered the best part of himself in futile and harassing search for some correct ideological line that he could never find for many reasons, and that a handful of petty pedants and petty censors demanded from him because that was their job, their way of earning their bread and butter (not in the sweat of their brow). Having become a brilliant rhymster, the most sought after by the newspapers he suffered from this daily demand which was bound to be ruinous to his art and the richest part of his personality. He made the best of a bad job up to a certain point. His work of the last years remained very unequal and full of weaknesses. He was aware of this. He felt himself diminishing. He did not cease to justify himself and to plead superior force.

What lesson can be drawn from the finish of this career of a great poet attached

delivered the German workers over to the tender mercies of the Dawes and Young Plans. And has the course of the "Labor Government" in Great Britain differed in any essential respect? What plans and election promises of socialism have they carried out even on an "installment" plan? They have not had the power? Then what are they doing in office. They are serving the class that has the power—the capitalist class.

We have adduced the classic experience of the German and the British social democrats. We could with equal truth, space permitting, have dealt with the like "socialist" evidence from Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, France or any other party in the Second International. Consider the Russian Mensheviks who strove obstinately to divert the Russian revolution into the channels of a conventional bourgeois republic for expansion of private capital; and now continually hope for a crisis which will compel the Soviet Union to retrace its path to a "democratic revolution" (denationalization of the factories, a stop to collectivization of the country-side, cessation of support of revolutionary movement abroad, entrance into League of Nations, etc.).

The Role of the Maxtons

The writer of the letter refers to the Independent Labor Party (Maxton group) as the "real" socialist party. Once more he argues from the present pseudo-oppositionist of the Maxton group as if we had no political experience of the role of the "Independent" socialists in the working

with every fiber to the present—to this present which Yessenin could never completely grasp. The better part of wisdom is to leave these "fellow travelers" to find their own road, and to find their own work without pretending to baptize them, catechize them, regiment them, without imposing on them too minute requirements, without imagining that one can by the combined method of copyright, suppression, criticism and lashings in the press "bolshhevize" them to the marrow.

A Stalinized «Ten Days That Shook the World»

No proper appraisal of the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, can be made without giving due consideration to all the leaders of the Russian people who played leading roles and made the Revolution possible.

That is why we of the Opposition so insistently and always expose the attempted falsifications of history of Yaroslavsky and other Stalinist historians. Comrade Trotsky's great part in the revolution cannot be explained away permanently. Future history we know must give him the credit due him.

I have just seen the picture "Ten Days That Shook the World". The great mass events of the "Ten Days" are faithfully given. The photography, direction and scenery are all wonderful and as we know from other Russian pictures, it is a refreshing change from the usual American pictures. But the point any serious student of events will notice very quickly in "Ten Days" is the entire omission of L.D. Trotsky anywhere in the acting of the picture. The impression an uninformed observer gets is that he must have played a very minor role when we all know that the names of Lenin and Trotsky were inseparably connected with the whole Revolution as well as all of the first years following it.

I could not help but ask myself, "What would Lenin say?" about the entire omission of the man who was President of the Petrograd Soviet in the crisis and of whom Stalin himself has written, "All the work of practical organization was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the Party owes principally and above all to comrade Trotsky." (*Pravda*, No. 241—"Role of the Most Eminent Party Leaders".)

John Reed is given no credit for the title, as he should be, especially before American audiences.

—W. P. S.

class movement. But we have, and it is more than melancholy experience. These "Left Oppositions" in the social democracy are always the reflection of rank and file unrest, dissatisfaction and radicalization. The function of the Maxtons is to canalize this movement, avowedly to prevent it from flowing into the currents of Communism. Their "independence" is a sham. In the course of the developing class struggle in Germany, the Independent Socialists split, the Right going to the majority socialists, the Left to the Communists. The Austrian social democracy presents one of the most shameful spectacles of verbal radicalism as a cover for a petty bourgeois policy of surrender to the pressure of big bourgeois reaction. A municipal program of bigger and better apartment houses and swimming pools cannot conceal the fact that in every crisis Otto Bauer and his associates have held the proletariat back from revolutionary action to the point where the forces of the bourgeoisie, of clericalism and fascism have never been so powerful since the war.

The Way of Thomas

In the light of all this we see no reason for inventing some unique exception to the internationally tested principles and experiences of the class struggle so as to exempt Norman Thomas.

Just now it costs him nothing gently to remind the British labor imperialists of the necessity of a modicum of internationalism in their relations with India. It would not be difficult to find an equivalent sentiment among certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie outside the socialist leadership. After all this is England's funeral. It was not hard in the past, nor in the war to whip up petty bourgeois enthusiasm for the right of self-determination of the other fellow's subject nationalities and more than once the world rocked with accusations of Belgium's mismanagement of the Congo, of Germany's brutalities in her African colonies, of Austrian repressions in Bosnia. During the Brest Litovsk negotiations even the German militarists suddenly manifested an ardent desire for the self-determination—of the Ukraine... But this Norman Thomas is the man who shortly after the New York civic elections proposed to change the name of his party from "socialist" in order to make it more palatable to and indistinguishable from, the liberals, and was only prevented by the opposition of the more cautious Hillquit.

The Line of Bolshevism

We are quite ready to have the record of Bolshevism stand comparison. The achievements of the socialist dictatorship speak for themselves. Under the Communists the Russian workers conquered political power and have held it. They are building the foundations of a socialist society. If they have encountered formidable difficulties the principal reason is not far to seek. The isolation of the Soviet Union, the retardation of the international revolution is the basic objective factor in the difficulties of socialist construction and for this isolation, the successive betrayals of the social democracy and its cooperation with the bourgeoisie, is in turn chiefly responsible. The Communists made mistakes but these mistakes were of an entirely different character from the "mistakes" of the social democrats which were sheer counter-revolution.

Certainly there is no absolute guarantee against the manifestation of conciliatory and social democratic tendencies inside the Communist movement. The present struggle of the factions in the Comintern testifies to that. Under conditions of capitalist stabilization and encirclement of the Soviet Union, of the slowing up in the pace of the world revolution, the petty bourgeoisie begins to exert a pressure on the Soviet and Comintern apparatus that is dangerous. The consequences of such pressure have in some major instances already been tragic. It has been the requirements of the resistance to this petty bourgeois pressure on the Party that has given rise to the fight of the Left Opposition for the continuity of the line of Marx and Lenin against both the Right and Centrist factions in the Comintern. With a keen memory of the reasons for the degeneration of the social democratic leadership, the Left Opposition is determined to fight to the end against every revision of the program of the proletarian revolution, against every deviation from the base of internationalism.

—M. SP.

Towards the XVI Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Dissolving the Communist Party into the Class

At the end of January 1930, a new recruitment of workers into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was proclaimed. The February issues of the *Pravda* are full of information about the "great upsurge", about "the mass flocking of workers into the Party" etc. The Central Committee has already given the directives: "To get not less than half the Party membership from workers in industry until the Sixteenth Party Congress" (*Pravda*, Feb. 11). Translating this into the language of figures it means that in approximately two months the Party has to admit a minimum of about 150,000 new members*. Up till now there are already about 200,000 applicants. In a few weeks the number of members and candidates in the Party will exceed 2 million.

Collective Admission

All the newspaper statements underline the collective character of submitting applications for admission to the Party. They enter in brigades, shifts, crafts, and even whole factories. Factory crafts, that "is several hundred men, with the foremen at the head, and often even with the technicians and engineers, are poured into the Party. The nuclei grow, 100, 200 and more percent. Formally, the procedure for admission is as always, individual, but in reality the admission is collective. The newspapers and the Party leaders insist that the commissions for recruitment rush with the formalities. The Central Recruiting Commission decided to "simplify the admission into the Party" (*Pravda*, March 4). This is why, in view of the purely formal character of the procedure, the percentage of rejected applicants is extremely insignificant. The lack of the least serious judgement of candidates, in a word, all this really anti-Party method of the campaign is already alarming the less short-sighted Communists.

The pursuit of high percentages (almost always fictitious) result in the fact that a recruiting agent, grabbing by the sleeve one who refuses to join the Party begins to persuade, advise, etc. As a result—a worker correspondent remarks in the *Pravda*—"political illiterates having insignificant industrial experience go into the Party". What this policy leads to can be seen from the partial cleansing of the Party. For example, in one of the Donbas districts (Usovca) one third of the members in the industrial nuclei were expelled (*Pravda*, February 1). The results of the cleansing in Sumara speak still more eloquently that the apparatus has wiped out the boundary line between the Party and the class, taken into the Party a raw mass, which is not only not transformed in the Party melting pot but in view of the terrible condition of the inner-Party regime, is pushed away, either by expulsion, or by falling away. In place of those falling out, new raw material is poured in. The Party entrance and exit gates are wide open.

A Premium on Political Illiteracy

Almost the only, at any rate, the decisive criterion for admission into the Party is the question of the productive work and the "model discipline" of the applicant. "The most important proof of fitness for admission into the Party, is the degree of the active participation of the workers in the shock brigades, in socialist competition, and their actually advanced role in industry"—these are the instructions of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. (*Pravda*, Feb. 11). Did you participate in socialist competition? How many days were you absent from work? How much did you subscribe for the loan, and did you sell it? In what way do you help collectivization? These, and some more in the same spirit, are the questions that are asked of an applicant. There are no Party and political questions. (Even "classic" Trotskyism is absent.) One may think it is a matter of one's admission into the cooperative or the trade union, this is the extent to which Party spirit is lacking. But what does the Stalinist apparatus need that for? It looks upon the new additions to the Party only as a "shock" support to the industrial organs. Lacking any kind of political outlook the adventurist leaders consider this—sometimes semi-compulsory (the chairman asks: "Who is against?") naturally, there

During the year 1929, 200,000 workers entered the Party.

aren't any. All voet ("for") inclusion of crafts and factories into the Party as a means of raising the productivity of labor, as a more successful realization of intensification and higher tempos. They are not concerned as to what becomes of the Party, or whether the Party exists as such.

The Gap Between Leaders and Masses

In December 1929 the influx of workers into the Party was still very low. But now, the *Pravda* states, "there is an unexpected great change". The Party organizations are caught "unawares". "At the factory something unexpected and unforeseen occurred: columns of workers sign up for the Party. The nucleus could in no way expect it" (*Pravda*). The writers and editors do not even notice what a fatal verdict this is for the Party regime, what a terrifying statement on the deterioration of all the Party tissues. If we assume, according to the apparatus—that there really is a mighty rise in the working class, and the apparatus sitting there does not know anything, "does not expect" anything, "does not foresee" anything, then it must be recognized that it is separated from the mass with an impenetrable partition. The fact in itself shows even to the blind, the depth of the abyss the apparatus has dug between itself and the mass.

The Kolomensk factory entered the Party almost in a collective body. Eight thousand workers from this factory already entered the Party. "The Kolomensk workers should be an example to the others"—appeals *Pravda*. It is therefore interesting to consider this factory in a few words.* The Kolomensk factory produces machinery (tractors, locomotives, Diesels etc.), it is something over a hun-

* The figures on the age of those in the factory entering the Party are very interesting. Most of them are 30-40 years old—this holds true for other places. Fifty percent of them have more than ten years of industrial experience. "The change that occurred among the older workers, those working in the factory for the last 20-30-40 years, is particularly gratifying," *Pravda* writes. It is doubtful whether this fact is "particularly gratifying". An old worker who was not shaken by the October, or the civil war—is advanced. The youth, the Comsomols, that is the most advanced and active part of the mass is lagging behind. This symptom is more alarming than "gratifying".

Indian Ferment and Chinese Lessons

(Continued from Page 1)

tragic collaboration of the Stalin-Bucharin faction with the bourgeois Kuomintang in China and the connected theory of Workers and Peasants Parties as substitutes for the Communist Party in the colonial countries.

But instead of soberly recognizing their mistakes, the Stalin faction desperately clings to office by the sowing of illusions inside the official Communist parties. On May 30th, the *Daily Worker* dedicated almost its entire issue to heralding the convocation of the "First Soviet Congress of China". There are no words strong enough to condemn the criminal and fantastic light-mindedness with which the *Daily Worker* misrepresents the actual situation in China. An eighth of the whole territory of the country, it is claimed, is under the sway of Soviet authority. Yet the fact is that there is not a single Communist daily in the country. Thanks to the consequences of the Stalin-Chiang Kai-Shek alliance in the Kuomintang the Communist Party first subordinated to bourgeois discipline for years, was then decimated by the executions of Hankow and Shanghai. The Red Trade Union movement was devastated by the White Terror. The Canton insurrection was drowned in blood.

Nevertheless, with that the adventurism which is the reverse side of Stalinist opportunism, the Sixth Congress refused to work out a series of transitional demands about which to rally the masses anew. As a substitute for the Communist Party and the requirements of mass action, recourse was now had to armed bands who roamed the country waging sporadic guer-

ried kilometres from Moscow. The proletarian staff of the factory was always considered in the Moscow Party organization as a backward one, and it really was. Over 70% of the workers are not only "bound" to the village, but they have their own cabin, cow, garden, etc. The brother, the father of a Kolomensk worker is a peasant, he works in the factory and helps them—they own their holdings together. The psychology of an average Kolomensk worker is that of a peasant. He often considers his work in the factory as a support for his peasant holding. A Kolomensk worker resembles very little the Leningrad proletarian. It is this factory that became now the vanguard of the workers army, and Leningrad its rearguard. (Up to March 14 the Moscow district had over 90,000 applicants and the Leningrad about 30,000). And it is no accident. An explanation for this fact will be found not in the city, but in the village, and particularly in the "collective" policy. The collective pushed the Kolomensk, Podolsk and Mytishchensk worker into the Party. His peasant status decided. Without penetrating into the complicated problems of collectivization we nevertheless will point out that the element of insurance played no small role. "I will have to enter the collective anyway, then I may as well enter it as a Communist—there will be more privileges." This way he hopes to get easier credits, inventory, etc. On the other hand—and this is the most important—the non-Party worker in the factory does not see any big difference between himself and the Party worker. Why shouldn't I get into the Party, perhaps it will be easier—he asks himself. Depriving the Partyite, as well as the non-Party of all rights, pressing them in the bureaucratic clamps, the usurpationist apparatus has made of both of them speechless executors.

Neither the non-Party nor the Party worker dares to decide, criticize, or deliberate. Opening wide the Party doors wipes out the distinction between the Party and the class. The Party ceases to be the vanguard, it ceases to be a Party. But this is precisely what the apparatus is striving for. Simultaneously with the dissolution of the Party in the class, the apparatus rises above it all the more. Both these processes are parallel, one supplementing the other. On the top the apparatus became a supra-Party institution, it is without control, it is infallible, it commands—the Party below ceases to exist. The further development of this process is the decay, the death of the Party as a Party—we must be frank about this, stating it with all determination. March 30, 1930

—N. MARKIN

Trifling with the Textile Workers Union

The decline of the Left wing National Textile Workers Union goes on. While the United Textile Workers Union, with its policy of class collaboration continues to gain recruits among the textile workers, especially in the South, the N. T. W. U. is steadily losing ground.

When one studies the activities, or rather lack of activities of the N. T. W. U. during the last period it is amazing that even the shell of the union continues to function, for there is no doubt whatsoever that only a mere skeleton of the organization is left.

At the center the notoriously incompetent Clarence Miller has been replaced by William Murdoch who is now in charge of the national office. Murdoch has had his eye on the secretaryship for many months and at last is rewarded for his patience and subservency. Previous to Eli Keller's election to that post almost a year ago he was an active candidate for the post, but due to the opposition of Jim Reid, the president of the union and others, he was not given the position.

Murdoch is the fourth secretary of the union in about a year's time. First there was Albert Weisbord, who was removed for not following out the third period program as desired by the Stalinists. He was succeeded by Eli Keller who became a Lovestoneite. The next was Miller who has likewise disappeared from the scene. How long will Murdoch be at his post?

The appointment of a new national secretary of the union is accompanied by a new district organizer in New Bedford, which was and still is the only city where the union has any members. At one time it numbered about 3,000. At present about 300 are left. The previous organizer, Martin Russak, from Newark, has been removed for some sort of a deviation. His successor, Joe Rappaport from New York, is the fifth within a year. He follows Keller and Ellen Dawson now in the camp of the Right wing Lovestoneites and John Nahorsky, a fourth rate functionary who asked to be relieved when he found that the job was too big for him.

As we stated in several previous articles and now repeat: unless the Stalinist stranglehold is removed from the N.T.W.U. and all militant and left wing workers who belong to the organization are allowed to freely participate in its work, there will be no organization left, except in the minds of the Party "leaders" and in the reports of the *Daily Worker* and other Party papers.

The textile workers, especially in the South, are ripe for organization but the irresponsible policy of the Party alienates them. Many workers who join drop out in disgust, others never join due to the typical methods used by the Stalinists who head the organizations.

Members of the organization must demand the end of this policy at once and the opening of a campaign to organize the textile workers into the N. T. W. U. on a basis which will allow all militant workers to participate in its activities. Any other policy will mean that before the year is out, the union will exist only in name and all the gains achieved by several years of struggle in Passaic, New Bedford and Gastonia will be lost. What will the Party choose?

Φ

PARTY MEMBERS! NOTICE! IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the *Militant* will contain an important declaration of the National Committee of the Communist League of America to the Members and the Convention of the Communist Party. Watch for it!

If the number on your wrapper is

47

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III No. 23,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, June 14, 1930.

PRICE 5 CENTS

BACK TO LENIN! MANIFESTO TO THE RANK AND FILE AND SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE C. P. U. S. A.

The crisis in the Party, manifest to all but the self-contented bureaucracy, demands the most serious attention of all Communist workers. It is to aid them to break through the rigid barriers erected by the ruling regime in the Party for the worthless "pre-convention discussion" that the Left Opposition addresses this appeal to the Party membership.

There is a widening gap between the possibilities for the strengthening of the movement in the United States and the accomplishments that the leadership has to record. The increase in Party membership and influence over the workers corresponds less and less to the activity of the Party. There is not a single mass organization of the workers where the Party has succeeded in consolidating or advancing its position in the past year or two, be it in the Left wing unions, in the conservative A. F. of L. and independent unions, in the cooperatives, in the numerous language fraternal orders, etc. In the ranks of the Party itself there is a deadening passivity, an indifference and a growing dissatisfaction with the prevailing Party course, which are prevented from completely paralyzing all activity only by feverish administrative lashings and the ever harder measures of the control commission.

In the upper strata of the Party, new "leaders" appear every day and old "leaders" disappear or are demoted without the Party or working class knowing anything about it until they are informed by the official press. The suppression of all initiative and the complete dependence of all activity upon decrees from above make the Party immobile, and the leadership endeavors to make up for the Party's failure to meet situations in time by plunging it unprepared into adventures and consequent debacles.

The Party's immobility and the leadership's adventurism is the more dangerous because of the broad perspectives for the growth of Communism in this country.

Apart from the historical causes, the immediate reasons for the bourgeois, class-collaborationist ideology and political backwardness of the American workers have been the relative prosperity it enjoyed in the past few years and the privileged position it occupied in comparison with the European and Asiatic working class. The American workers have developed for the better part of a decade under the illusion of a "permanent prosperity".

The Economic Crisis

The collapse of the stock market, the deep-going decline and crisis in industry,

For Unity of Communist Ranks

We raise before the Party convention the question of restoring the Party membership of the expelled comrades of the Opposition on the basis of the foregoing statement of aims and views. We also propose to the Convention that it take a stand for the reestablishment of the Unity of the Communist International by calling for the reinstatement of the Russian and International Opposition, and for the immediate cessation of those measures which especially undermine the Party and the Proletarian Dictatorship and strengthen the enemies of the working class—the arrests, exile and banishment of the Russian Opposition.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

and the creation of a huge army of the unemployed are having the effect of wiping out this illusion in the minds of broad sections of the working class. The sharp contrast between the previous "prosperity" and the misery of unemployment which and hangs like a Damoclean sword over has cut into more than 6 million workers the rest of them, is jolting the working class out of its bourgeois stupor. A deep-going process of radicalization is beginning to take place. The process will be accelerated by the exhaustion of the "prosperity reserves" of the workers. The attempts of American capitalism to issue out of its crisis by a re-adjustment of its industry for more effective competition on the world market, attempts which spell

rationalization, wage-slashing, and in general an offensive upon the workers' standards of living, can only hasten the process. U.S. imperialism can re-create a bourgeois working class in this country, such as England had at the opening of the century, only by enslaving the rest of the world, the mere endeavor of which involves the most violent military and revolutionary eruptions.

Under the pressure of these developments, the American workers are moving away from bourgeois influence and ideology, and their former passivity. There is a growing mood for struggle and militancy. The huge demonstration on March 6 and even the smaller ones of May Day

(Continued on Page 3)

Rally to Weekly

New York Leads the Way!

As we go to press, we are informed that the New York Executive of the Communist League (Opposition) has met in response to our appeal for \$2,000 to maintain the Weekly Militant, and has pledged a sum of \$500.00 toward this end. A Day's Pay from every member of the Branch was accepted as an immediate action. In addition, the Branch members will proceed to canvass sympathizers with special lists, and will inaugurate house to house collections and other means to assure it quota of \$500.00 being raised in the given time.

New York has set a good example. We look forward with confidence for adequate pledges and results throughout the country.

The Militant has been a fighting guide to the Communists and Left wing in their struggle against the labor bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the "labor leaders" of the Hillman-Beckerman A. C. W. crew.

The Militant has fought for the organization of the masses of unorganized workers into labor unions on a militant industrial basis.

For the Unemployed

The Militant has conducted a campaign on behalf of the unemployed millions under the slogans of work or compensation, for social insurance, the six hour day and the five day week, etc., and has mercilessly and accurately shown up the thread-bare "prosperity" of the imperialist regime of Hoover and Company.

The Militant has maintained a consistent position for revolutionary Communism, for the preservation and defense of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. It has with equal vigor combatted the revisionist theories, the opportunism and bureaucracy that have been nourished by and grown to huge proportions under the directions of the false disciples of Lenin — the Stalins and Bucharins.

For the Opposition

The Militant has espoused the cause of the Russian Opposition—the Bolshevik-Leninists led by Trotsky—who, in prison or in exile, maintain the struggle for the preservation of the proletarian dictatorship and who struggle for the regeneration of the Party of Lenin on its October basis.

The Militant fights for the building of a revolutionary Communist Party in the United States on a Leninist foundation, as against the caricature of one as developed by the Fosters and Lovestones.

The Militant as a WEEKLY publication, has been better able to carry on these historic tasks than in its early days as a semi-monthly paper.

Last week, we spoke of the danger and possibility of a return by the Militant to existence again as a semi-monthly. We called upon our readers, members and sympathizers to render us financial assistance that we may continue as a Weekly Militant in the forthcoming period, and to solidify our position.

Our Appeal

We need \$2,000.00, over and above our regular income of subscriptions, bundle payments, etc. to insure our existence as a Weekly publication for the next six months. We believe that we can count upon your support.

Respond generously for the maintenance of the WEEKLY MILITANT.

Help raise the \$2,000.00 Fund for the WEEKLY MILITANT.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT ONCE TO THE MILITANT, 25 Third Ave, New York, N. Y.

The Militant
25 Third Avenue
New York, New York
Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find \$..... as my contribution to the maintenance of the WEEKLY MILITANT

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Left Needle Workers Convention Meets

The Second National Convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union met in New York City last Saturday and Sunday, June 7th and 8th. There were over four hundred delegates present of whom 307 hailed from New York. According to official reports 200 shops sent delegates from New York City. In other words this is an indication of the lack of Left wing organization in the thousands of New York shops which were not represented.

The two days of the convention were devoted to combatting the Lovestonites, without any intelligent discussion of the actual needs of the union. The General Executive Board that was elected was a continuation of the Stalinist factionalism which is undermining the Left wing influence in the unions. Not only were one-hundred percent members of the Stalin faction and their plant supporters elected to office but even Party members who at one time or another had happened to express a word of criticism or were unfortunate enough to harbor an independent thought were eliminated from the G. E. B. in spite of their superior experience.

We go to press just as the convention concluded and are therefore compelled to hold over for the next issue a thorough and detailed analysis of the course and perspectives of the Industrial Union.

Save Georgia Class War Prisoners

One of the most brazen examples of American capitalist class justice is the attempt to send to the electric chair the six militant workers, H. M. Powers, Gilmer Brady, Henry Storey, Joseph Carr, Mary Dalton and Anna Burlak, the last three of whom are members of the Young Communist League, at Atlanta, Georgia. The Southern Bourbons threaten to deprive them of their lives for holding meetings of Negro and white unemployed workers and for distributing Communist literature! For this they have resurrected from the archives of 1861 an unused law on insurrection.

The indictment is so astounding that it seems almost incredible. But if anyone thinks this is just some farcical trickery with which the reactionaries of Georgia are trying to amuse themselves let them at once drive this dangerous illusion out of their head. These legal lynchers are in deadly earnest. They want the blood of the workers. They hope to terrorize the Negro and white workers, and prevent organization for better conditions. They want to maintain the South as the stronghold of feudal reaction while the most modern methods of industrial exploitation are developed. But they live in the past.

The alarm must be sounded. The workers of America must be aroused to the terrible fate which await these six workers in the prisons of Atlanta, if the bloodhounds of the South are permitted to carry through their murderous plans. Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Remember Mooney and Billings!

MILITANT OUTING

Members of New York Branch Communist League (Opposition) and sympathizers will have an outing Sunday, June 15, at Hunter Island. Hikers will meet at Pelham Bay Park Station at 10:30 a. m.

Senate Red-Baiting Probe Starts

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Edgar Hoover, chief of the Bureau of Investigations in the Department of Justice—the job formerly held by W. J. Earns—will testify behind locked doors, June 9, in the first session of the star-chamber hearings to be conducted by the special House committee on investigation of Communist plots in the U.S. Rep. Fish of New York, chairman of the committee, announced the program when he emerged from a secret session of the five committeemen in Speaker Longworth's office, June 4. Longworth, Majority Leader Tilson and Chairman Snell of the Rules committee, the actual bosses of the House, had been in meeting with Fish and his associates. They had apparently agreed that about \$40,000 would be provided by the House for the early expense of the probe.

Barring of the press and public from the hearings at which the governmental departments' officials will testify, was declared by Fish to be necessary. Oscar Lühring, head of the criminal section of the Department of Justice, was slated as the second witness. After him would be summoned anti-radical spokesmen from the Labor, Postoffice, War, Navy, Treasury Commerce and State Departments. The evidence and allegations given to the committee by these administration officials was to be confidential. The press would have no chance to analyze or dispute it.

On the other hand, Fish said, he expected to summon President Green of the American Federation of Labor and Acting President Woll of the National Civic Federation to testify in open sessions. The date for their appearance had still to be arranged. When Congress adjourns, the committee will conduct hearings in New York City. Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation and other prominent anti-Communists will be invited at that time.

To the surprise of his critics, Fish announced that no counsel would be employed by his committee at the start. Four lawyers are members of the committee, and it appeared that one or more of them had proposed that the committee do its own work, so far as the questioning of witnesses is concerned. But a staff of detectives will be employed at once. They will be called investigators, and will be picked by Fish with a view to gathering all possible evidence of Communist propaganda against American government.

Edgar Hoover, chief of detectives for the Department of Justice, was the law officer of that bureau at the time of the Palmer "red raids" and what the late Louis F. Post called the "Deportation Delirium of 1919-20". He was feverishly active against labor radicals in that after-war period of unrest, and he convinced Immigration Commissioner Caminetti that the Communists were about to attempt armed revolt if conditions seemed favorable. Caminetti, frightened, caused warrants to be issued for the sudden arrest on deportation charges, of 20,000 alien workers in industrial centers throughout the country. Thousands of these workers were herded into over-crowded cells, into corridors of federal buildings and other unfit places of imprisonment, and were held under barbarous conditions for days. Their release under bond or upon showing of false arrest, were effected in some cities, such as Detroit, only after citizens' committees had demanded that Palmer's hysterical persecutions be stopped. Only a few of the army of victims of these raids were found to be legally liable to deportation. Several deaths resulted from the raids. The wife of one man thus arrested went insane.

Φ

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—Five Communists, one a woman, Ida Rothstein, organizer for the Trade Union Unity League, have been sentenced to the San Francisco county jail on rioting charges arising from a demonstration against deportation of 4 members of the Party. All received 30 days except one, sentenced to 90 days; one defendant failed to appear. All have appealed the case and are out on bail.

Our National Tour

Meetings Stir Great Enthusiasm

Good crowds, despite the hot June weather, are turning out to hear comrade Max Shachtman, now touring for the Communist League of America (Opposition) on his visit with L. D. Trotsky at Constantinople and the conference of the International Left Opposition at Paris, France and Berlin, Germany.

Splendid Meetings in Boston

The Boston meeting was a splendid and enthusiastic gathering with over 100 in attendance. A good discussion followed the lecture, in which the Lovestoneite, Stephens took part, and to whom comrade Shachtman replied effectively and strongly. On the morning of the same day, comrade Shachtman spoke before Branch No. 27 of the Independent Workmen's Circle on "The Communists and Work in the Mass Organizations". Sixty people were present, evincing great interest and applauding the position of the Communist League.

The Boston branch members are highly pleased over the results and expect as a result to gather new forces and to increase their activities.

The Philadelphia Meeting

In Philadelphia comrade Shachtman spoke before 60 workers. A warm discussion took place in which a Communist Party defender found himself in a defenseless position — ideologically.

The small branch of New Haven had a good-sized meeting and additional activ-

ity can be expected there.

Stalinists Boycott Meeting but Workers Turn Out in Toronto

A crowd of 100 attended Shachtman's meeting in Toronto, Canada. The official Communist Party boycotted the meeting—after the fashion of the Catholic Index—and actually had a picket line before the hall. They did not dare to participate in the meeting and to discuss the issues, realizing that they would be uncovered before the workers and exposed as opportunists and political cowards. Shachtman's speech made a strong impression upon the audience with his review of the actual program of the Left Opposition and its activities.

A banquet is scheduled on the following day, of which as we go to press, we do not yet have reports.

The immediate dates that follow on the tour are Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and Detroit, Mich.

Chicago, Twin Cities and Lake Cities Prepare Extensively

Beginning with June 9th, comrade Shachtman will have numerous meetings in Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and Superior, and then proceed westward to Kansas City. Extensive preparations have been made in these cities for the meetings, which will undoubtedly prove the largest yet. The remainder of the schedule follows.

Watch This Schedule for Your City

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Friday, June 13, Mass Meeting at COOKS & WAITERS UNION HALL, 520 Hennepin Avenue (above Unique Theatre).

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Saturday, June 14. Twin City Membership Meeting.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Sunday, June 15. Mass Meeting at LABOR TEMPLE, 8 p.m.

DULUTH, MINN.

Monday, June 16, Mass Meeting at CAMEL HALL, 12 E. Superior St.

SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

Tuesday, June 17, Mass Meeting at WORKERS HALL, Tower Avenue.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.

Friday, June 20. Mass Meeting at —HALL, 914 Grand Avenue, 2nd Floor.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Thursday & Saturday, June 19 and 21—Branch Meetings.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Sunday-Monday, June 22-23. (Place to be announced.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday June 25, Mass Meeting at PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Friday, June 27. (Place to be announced.)

PITTSBURG, PA.

Saturday-Sunday, June 28-29. (Place to be announced.)

Upholsterers Organize to Fight Speed-Up

MINNEAPOLIS—

Upholsterers Union No. 61, Minneapolis is conducting a drive to organize the unorganized upholsterers. The organization Committee, composed of John Brinda, Israel Colton and Carl Cowl has issued the first of a series of leaflets describing conditions among the upholstery workers and calling upon the workers in the industry to join the union. The Union meets the 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month at 60--4th Ave So. at 8 o'clock.

MINNEAPOLIS—

Mike Mihalick, upholsterer at Levin Brothers Furniture Co., suffered the loss of one eye and possibly both from injuries received from a flying piece of spring steel while tying up springs. Due to the vicious speed-up system in Levin Brothers such accidents are growing more and more common. Upholsterers Union No. 61 has launched a campaign of organization in the industry as a step towards the abolition of the misery and sickness produced by the speed-up.

Φ

PITTSBURG, Pa.—(FP)—A general strike of all Pittston Coal Co. miners is near unless the company retreats from its position of closing down part of its mines altogether while allowing others to operate. The union miners are demanding that work be equalized among the various collieries.

THE WORK IN THE OLD UNIONS

The work in the old unions has been virtually abandoned. This fact is clearly revealed in the almost complete disappearance of the Party representatives from trade union gatherings. Still worse, the leaders of the factions are competing with each other in the elaboration of "theories" which preclude the idea of serious work in the old unions in the future.

The factions are outdoing each other in irresponsible striving to be "Left" in this burning question. These theories and practices are a menace to the Party and threaten to put it off the track again. It is time to sound a warning and begin a determined struggle against them. The building of the new unions and the work in the old unions must be carried on together and not the one set up against the other.

—FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

KLORKET No. 2

Yiddish-speaking comrades should take note that the second number of Klorket, organ of the Jewish Left Opposition group in France, has arrived. It contains among other articles the second installment of comrade Trotsky's "The Third Period of the Mistakes of the Comintern."

Scab Gunman is Acquitted

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—"If I had it to do over again, I'd bump off the four of you." Those were the words of "Red" Pfeiffer, Aberle mill hosiery gunman tried in Philadelphia for the murder of Striker Carl Mackley as he rode with Mackley's three companions in a patrol wagon to the police station March 6 immediately after the murder. Nevertheless he was acquitted.

Walter Morrow, one of the unionist's companions testified to Pfeiffer's words as the strikebreakers went on trial. Young Mackley was riding with three other Aberle strikers the night their auto was met by one filled with gunmen, all of whom fired pointblank into the union car. By some miracle Morrow, William Zimmerman and John Cooper were not also killed.

Red Pfeiffer and his fellow-strike breakers were given guns by a private detective agency employed by the Aberle mill company, the Hosiery Workers Federation charges. All three of the union survivors, on the witness stand, told of the murder of their friend. The union and the scab car had come to a halt before a red traffic light. Zimmerman heard the scabs yell out, "Now throw your bricks." Then he heard another cry: "Let them have it."

Then bullets began to fly. All four gunmen blazed away. A bullet grazed Zimmerman's face and went through his hat before he could duck, he testified. He flopped behind the rumble seat and pulled his companion, young Cooper, with him. Another bullet passed through the metal shield and pierced Zimmerman's back and lungs. A bullet hit Cooper but did not wound him seriously.

Mackley, a youngster highly respected by his fellow workers in the Aberle mill and a staunch strike leader when the mill was struck because of wage cuts and the yellow dog contract, was trying to open the door of the coupe when he was mortally wounded, his companions told the court. His body was found lying almost under the wheels of the car.

Leftist Sectarianism in Toronto Needle Trades

When in Toronto the bureaucrats of the I. L. G. W. U. working with the bosses betrayed the strike of the cloakmakers, promising them better conditions but utilizing the militancy of the rank and file to seat themselves more firmly in the bureaucratic saddle—I expected that now the Left wing Industrial Union would understand its duty and organize the Left wingers inside the I.L.G.W.U. shops. Numbers of Left wingers have been forced by economic necessity to register with the class-collaboration I. L. G. W. U.

This has not been the case. Under the direction of the Stalinist Party officialdom, one opportunity after another has been lost to give organized expression to the grievances of the rank and file in the Schlesinger union and also to the readiness of the Left wingers to fight the Schlesinger machine from within. The Party bureaucrats and their puppets in the Industrial Union leadership simply proceeded to expel from both the Party and the Young Communist League the needle trades comrades who had been forced by the means of starvation to register.

If we had a fraction inside the I.L.G.W.U. we could have had a big following. The betrayals and the class collaboration of the Schlesinger clique are so manifest that the workers are ready to follow the Left if they were given an organized lead. All Summer the Cloakmakers Section of the Industrial Union did not even meet and did not discuss their needs and policies. Evidently things are no better in Montreal. The Stalin policy works the same ruin in the unions as in the Party.

—A TORONTO CLOAKMAKER

If the number on your wrapper is

48

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Manifesto to Seventh Convention of the C. P. U. S. A.

(Continued from Page 1)

(we do not speak here of the bluff and exaggerations of the Party leadership, or of their incompetent direction which resulted in the frittering away of these gains) and the alarm of the American bourgeoisie at the "specter" of Communism, are signs of the changing situation. In addition, sections of the workers are moving from acquiescence in the leadership of Green, Woll and Co. to participation in the various "progressive" movements, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and to a certain extent the new "Left wing" of the socialist party. For the workers, this is a movement towards the Left. Muste, Thomas and Co. form the ideological and organizational curb on this movement, a "safety valve" against Communism, a rut for the harmless canalization of the forward movement of the ranks.

American Reformism

There is no foundation for the idea that the half-way house of reformism, or its "Left" variety, must be occupied by the American workers for a long time. There is no fatalistic analogy between the development of the German or British working class and that of the American proletariat. The unevenness of social struggles and development, and the abrupt changes inherent in the imperialist epoch, speak against this analogy. That decades elapsed between the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions, in let us say, Germany, was not at all an absolute precedent for the interval between them in Russia. The British and German workers went through their long period of reformist domination during the upward swing of world imperialism.

The American working class is developing to maturity after the world war, in the period of the collapse of world imperialism of violent wars, of proletarian and colonial revolution, of the existence of an international Communist movement which concentrates within it enormous experiences. These facts, and America's involvement and dependence upon a declining and anarchical economy, make probable a situation in which the reformist experiences of the working class here can be traversed with unprecedented rapidity.

This process and its speed are not automatic. Their acceleration depends largely upon the Communists. It is the task of the Communist Party to reduce to the smallest minimum the "reformist period" of the American workers, to paralyze the power of the Left and Right wing reformists, to fight for every worker whom they still influence. But it is precisely here that the present course of the Party and the leadership foisted upon it demonstrate their impotence. The great opportunities are allowed to pass by entirely, or else they are misused and ruined to the detriment of our movement and the advantage of its enemies.

Fruits of the "Third Period"

The weaknesses and the defeats of the Party, and conversely, the growth of reformism, are traceable to the policies pursued by official Communism for the past six years, and more recently, to the theory and practise of the "third period". The theory of the "third period" with its thoroughly opportunist motivation, officially inaugurated the present ultra-Leftist zig-zag of the Comintern.

The arbitrary proclamation of a "third period" was intended to serve as the theoretical foundation for explaining away the past crimes and blunders of the Right-Centrist bloc in the International (Stalin-Bucharin). The fatal subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, which enabled the Chiang Kai-Sheks to mount to power over the corpses of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, was and is justified by its occurrence in the "second period". The bureaucratic protection which the Anglo-Russian Committee gave to Purcell, Hicks, Swales and Co. after they had stabbed the British workers in the back, was and is explained away by the "second period". The course based upon the Kulak in the Soviet Union, the reactionary struggle against the industrialization proposals and the rest of the program of the Leninist Opposition, is similarly excused. There is, however no change in the practical consequences of the "third period", which, like the practise of the "second" results in reality in the strengthening of reform-

ism in the working class.

The United Front Policy

From united fronts exclusively at the top, with bureaucrats like Purcell, Fimmen, and their ilk, or with reactionary militarists and national bourgeois like Chiang Kai-Shek or Calles, the official policy has been changed today to no united front at all, that is, no united front with non-Communist workers who are still under the influence of the reformists. The ruling apparatus and its spokesmen in all the Parties have changed from their conception of the "progressive" leaders as fighters against imperialism to a conception of the progressive workers as "social fascists". Both conceptions have a common base: the surrender of the non-Communist workers to the control of the reformist leaders.

However, the labelling of reformists as "social fascists" does not result in the decline of their strength and influence. Social reformism is growing in the U.S.—not a little of which is attributable to the policies of official Communism. The petty bourgeoisie, heavily hit by the industrial and stock market crises, is seeking political expression manifest in the tendencies towards a "third party", and in the increase of the socialist party vote and organization, to which the desperate middle class so largely contributed (Thomas vote in New York).

The socialist party is gaining not only among the middle class, but also among the workers: in the new miners' unions of Howat-Fishwick-Brophy-Germer-Ameringer, and in partial reestablishment of socialist strength in the needle trades unions. In the South, the sectarianism and blunders of the Communist Party have made it easier for both the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to play its ordained role of labor agent for capitalism and the Mustelites to play the role of shock absorber for Green and Co. against the militancy of the workers.

The sectarian, ultra-Leftist line of the Party, its failure to apply the tactic of the united front, its refusal to penetrate and work within movements, not under the direct control of the Party has enabled Green to have a free field in the South (and in the A. F. of L. as a whole), has enabled the Mustelites to play their treacherous game in Marion and Elizabethton without the Left wing having any chance to intervene, has enabled the Muste-Fishwick combination to establish their control in the Illinois mine field without effective challenge from the Left wing.

The Party must change its course and adopt instead the tactic of the united front. Applied in a revolutionary sense, and not in its pro-Purcell, pro-Chiang Kai-Shek interpretation, it is a most effective instrument for separating the workers from their reformist leaders, and helping to speed the movement of the American proletariat along the revolutionary path. The present line of the Party is a brake on this movement.

International Roots of Party Crisis

The crisis in the American Party is not an isolated phenomenon; it is a part of the crisis in the U. S. S. R. and the Communist International. That crisis developed under the reactionary banner of the struggle against an alleged "Trotskyism", that is, in reality against the fundamental principles and strategy of Marxism and Leninism. The "Left course" has not alleviated this crisis. It has only brought it to full bloom. The Parties of the International are everywhere incapable of measuring up to their tasks, and are paying with defeats for the past years of Stalinist corrosion.

In India, with a revolutionary situation, there is no Communist Party in existence, and the mass movement is threatened with complete strangulation by Gandhi, Nehru and other representatives of the national bourgeoisie. In Great Britain, the hostility of the workers towards the monstrous treachery of MacDonald and the Labor Party is being transformed into support for the "Left" wing of the Independent Labor Party; the official Communist Party is virtually out of the picture. In Austria, Italy and Spain, where there are powerful or potential mass movements against fascism, the Communist Parties are reduced to unimportant sects with no substantial influence. There is hardly a Party in the International that is not torn by a

crisis or rendered impotent by stagnation and passivity. That is the balance sheet of Stalinism in the Comintern.

This condition is part and parcel of the crisis in the Soviet Union and the Russian Party. The attempt to bridge the gulf between an isolated proletarian state and the retarded world revolution with the utopian, reactionary theory of "socialism in a single country" has failed in two different ways. Proceeding from this theory the Stalin-Bucharin regime proclaimed that socialism would be built "at a snail's pace" by the "kulak growing into socialism".

This perspective of decades-long capitalist stabilization was accompanied by resting upon and mobilizing all the anti-proletarian elements in the Soviet Union in the campaign against the Left Opposition. The course towards the Kulak culminated not only with the organizational crushing of the Leninist group in the Russian Party, but also with the "bloodless Kulak uprising" of 1928. The pressure of the Opposition's ideas and the proletarian core of the country compelled the rupture of the Right-Center bloc and the commencement of the zig-zag to the "Left" of the Stalinist faction. But just as the Stalinist faction abandoned—with one foot—the positions of the Right for those of adventurism, so surely is it now preparing to return to its former position and to heal its temporary breach with the Thermidorian elements of the Right wing. This movement backward, foretold by the Opposition, is now in the process of realization. The serious situation engendered by the adventurist course of Stalinist Centrism in Soviet economy, which brought about a virtual rupture of the bonds between the proletariat and peasantry, which lightened the bureaucratic stranglehold that stifles the Party and reduces it to an automaton, demands the active intervention of every Communist worker.

The predictions and the program of the Left Opposition have been confirmed a thousand times over. For that "crime" it has been subjected to the foulest slanders, to imprisonment, exile, deportation and even assassination. In exile, in the factories, in prison and in the Party, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) stand on guard for the revolution and its conquests. It is the revolution's reserve of gold. The American Opposition proudly re-affirms its solidarity with the Russian comrades. Their reinstatement into the Party, like our own, is the principal guarantee for the advancement of the movement and the solution of its crisis.

* * *

The Right Wing and Stalin Factions

The pre-convention "discussion" up to now, the fact that the "theses" were officially and finally adopted long before the discussion commenced, and all Stalinist precedents, are sufficient indication that the convention will be another meeting of the functionaries of the Stalinist faction, with a purely formal and decorative attendance of workers-delegates. The convention will prove incapable of solving the urgent problems of the Party. Our appeal is therefore directed primarily and essentially to the worker-Communists in the Party.

Our warning against, and designation of the character of the Lovestone group, made while it was still the American representatives of the ruling regime in the Russian Party and the International, have been more than confirmed by subsequent events. We characterized the Lovestone faction as a Right wing group, which was leaving the positions of Communist principle, at the moment when half of the present leadership of the Party was an integral part of the Lovestone group (Minor, Bedacht, Stachel, Weinstein) and the other half was in a bloc with that group to expel us from the Party (Foster, Browder, Hathaway). All the noise and "predictions" of the "uniting" of the Right and Left Oppositions—is designed to conceal the damning fact of the unity between the Lovestones and Fosters in the fight against us.

The Right wing has turned its back upon internationalism, and applied the Stalin-Bucharin theory of "socialism in one country" to the United States. It has crystallized its opportunist conceptions of Communist work among the masses, which, while it led the Party under Stalinist dispensation, was always so thoroughly im-

bued with timid conservatism, dragging along behind the masses, bureaucratic "maneuvers" and "united fronts" at the top with all varieties of reformist leaders, exaggerations of the omnipotence of American imperialism, faith in the capture of the official trade union apparatus as a substitute for the struggle to win over the workers in the ranks. Its whole line of thought and action fitted it eminently to lead the reactionary campaign against "Trotskyism", which the present manufactured leadership is seeking so vainly to continue.

We stamped the nature and course of this group correctly and in time. We fought against its liquidationist tendencies instead of uniting with it to expel the Left Opposition. The official leaders of the Party have now undertaken a belated struggle against the Right wing but they are incompetent to conduct it. In reality, they have helped to strengthen it, and that in three ways: by uniting with it against us; by carrying out such an adventurist, sectarian, ultra-Leftist policy that they play into the hands of the Right wing and drive many Communist workers in its direction; by methods of hooliganism and "strong arguments" which discredit the Party and only create an artificial sympathy for the Right wing. The Centrists, bound to the Right wing by a hundred theoretical threads, are incapable of conducting a serious Marxist struggle against it. The smashing of Centrist impotence and theoretical confusion will be the heaviest blow against its former and future ally, the Right wing.

As in our struggle against the Right wing, the course of events has more than sufficiently justified our opposition to the present Centrist regime in the Party. The latter has only deepened the crisis engendered by the previous rule of the Lovestone faction. It has weakened the Party, paralyzed its activity, cut down its influence and prestige among the militant workers. It has driven away hundreds and even thousands of workers from the Party; it has been unable to hold the thousands of workers who have recently come to the Party; it will continue to be incapable of holding the many others who move towards Communism under the impulsion of the struggle.

Solution of the Party Crisis

The pre-requisite for the solution of the crisis is clarity and understanding of its nature and its source. To attain this clarity and understanding, the Party requires a genuine, a free discussion, which we have not had up to now because it is officially prohibited. For such a discussion, the Party requires the re-establishment of workers' democracy. For workers' democracy, the Party requires an intransigent struggle against the Party bureaucracy appointed from above and against the regime which it represents and by which it lives.

The Party must be returned to the Party membership!

The Left Opposition, since its existence as a separate group formally outside the Party as a result of bureaucratic expulsion, has continued to fight for its principled viewpoint and to defend the foundations of Communism, even under the extreme provocations of the apparatus. It is pledged to continue this struggle. The Centrist regime's deformation and discrediting of fundamental principles upon which our Party and our International were built, only necessitates a firmer and more relentless struggle in our Party since the whole future of our movement is involved. The great problems with which the whole movement, particularly the American, are confronted demand the re-incorporation of the Opposition into the Party. Our fight for Communism must of necessity be conducted in fraternal solidarity, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers in the ranks of the Party. It is they, and not the miserable, blind bureaucrats, who will decide in the end. It is to this end that we are working. It is for the clarity needed to attain this end that we address ourselves—now, in the past, and in the future—to the Communist workers.

National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)
Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Albert M. Glotzer, Max Shachtman, Carl Skoglund, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck

The Slogan of the National Assembly in China

By L. D. TROTSKY

(China has been and will continue to be one of the touchstones of Marxist theory and Leninist strategy in the Communist International. The Stalin regime has brought an incredible amount of confusion into the ranks of the Communists regarding the character, the perspectives and the slogans of the Chinese revolution. This important contribution by Trotsky on the slogan of the Constituent Assembly was written in reply to some questions of the Chinese comrades but it is of universal concern to all proletarian revolutionaries. —Editors.)

It seems to me that our Chinese friends support too much of metaphysics and—even some scholasticism into the question of political slogans of democracy.

The "delicacies" begin with the name: Constituent Assembly or National Assembly. In Russia until the revolution we used the slogan of Constituent Assembly, because it most clearly emphasized our break with the past. But you write that in China it is difficult to formulate this slogan. If so, it remains to adopt the slogan of the National Assembly. For the consciousness of the masses the contents of this slogan will depend, firstly, in the implication the revolutionary agitation will give it, and secondly, on the events. You ask: "Is it possible to carry on agitation for a Constituent Assembly while denying that it can be accomplished?" But why should we decide beforehand that it cannot be accomplished? Of course the masses will follow the slogan only if they consider it feasible. Who will accomplish it, and how will it be accomplished? Here only suppositions are possible. In case of the further weakening of the military-Kuomintang regime and the growth of discontent among the masses, particularly in the cities, it is possible that an attempt will be made by a part of the Kuomintang together with a "third party" to convene something on the style of a National Assembly. Of course, they will as much as possible cut into the rights of the more oppressed classes and layers. Will we Communists, go into such a curtailed and manipulated National Assembly? If we will not be strong enough to replace it, that is to take over power, we will, of course, go in. Such a stage would in no way weaken us. On the contrary, it would help us gather and develop the forces of the proletarian vanguard. Inside the pseudo-assembly, and particularly on the outside of it, we would carry on our agitation for a new and more democratic assembly. In case of a revolutionary mass movement we would simultaneously build Soviets. It is very possible that in such an event the petty-bourgeois parties would convene a comparatively more democratic National Assembly, as a dam against the Soviets. Would we participate in such a sort of representation? Of course we would participate. Again, if we would not be strong enough to replace the assembly with a higher form of government, that is the Soviets. But such a possibility reveals itself only at the highest point of revolutionary ascent. But as it is presently, we have not as yet approached the beginning.

Even if the Soviets were a fact—which is not the case in China at present—this in itself would not be cause enough for the abandonment of the slogan of the National Assembly. The majority in the Soviets may be (and at the beginning will certainly be) in the hands of conciliatory and Centrist parties and organizations. We will be interested to have these parties exposed in the open forum of the National Assembly. By this method the majority of the Soviets will be won over to our side sooner, and much more certainly. When our conquest of the majority will become a reality, we will counter-pose the program of the Soviets against the program of the National Assembly, we will gather the majority of the country around the banner of the Soviets, which will give us the possibility, in deed and not on paper, to replace the National Assembly, this parliamentary-democratic institution, by Soviets, as the organ of the revolutionary class dictatorship.

The Constituent Assembly in Russia

In Russia, the Constituent Assembly existed only for one day. Why? Because it made its appearance too late, when the Soviet power was already in existence, and came into conflict with it. In this conflict, the Constituent Assembly represented the

yesterday of the Revolution. But let us suppose that the bourgeois provisional government had been sufficiently decisive to convene the Constituent Assembly in March or April (1917). Was it possible? Naturally it was. The Cadets were busy with legal trickery to drag out the convening of the Constituent Assembly in the hope that the revolutionary wave would subside. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries took their cue from the Cadets. If the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries would have had a little more revolutionary drive in them they could have convened the Constituent Assembly in a few weeks. Would we Bolsheviks have participated in the elections and in the Assembly itself? Undoubtedly, for it was we who demanded all the time the speediest convening of the Constituent Assembly. Would the course of the revolution have changed to the disadvantage of the proletariat by an early convening of the Assembly? Not at all. Perhaps you remember that the representatives of the Russian possessing classes and following them also the conciliators were postponing all the important questions of the revolution "until the Constituent Assembly", at the same time also dragging out the convening of it. This gave the landowners and capitalists a possibility to mask to a certain extent their property interests in the agrarian question, industrial, etc. If the Constituent Assembly would have convened let us say in April 1917 then all the social questions would have been raised before them. The possessing classes would have been compelled to show their cards, the treacherous role of the conciliators would have been apparent, the Bolshevik faction of the Constituent Assembly would have acquired the greatest popularity and have assisted the Soviets to elect a Bolshevik majority. Under these circumstances the Constituent Assembly would have existed not

one day but possibly several months but that would have enriched the political experiences of the laboring masses and not only would not have retarded the proletarian revolution but would rather have accelerated it. This in itself would have been of greatest significance. If the second revolution would have occurred not in October but let us say in July or August the army at the front would have been less exhausted and weakened and the peace with the Hohenzollerns might have been more favorable to us. Even if we should assume that the proletarian revolution would not come a single day sooner because of the Constituent Assembly, the school of revolutionary parliamentarism would not have passed without leaving its trace on the political level of the masses and this would have made our tasks the day after the October Revolution much easier.

A Slogan to Mobilize the Masses

Is this sort of a variant possible in China? It is not excluded. To imagine and expect that the Communist Party of China can make the jump from the present conditions of the rule of the unbridled bourgeois military cliques, the oppression and dismemberment of the working class, and the extraordinary low ebb of the peasant movement to the seizure of power—this would be to believe in miracles. In practice this leads to guerilla adventurism, to which the Comintern now lends its covert support. We must condemn this policy and guard the revolutionary workers from it.

The political mobilization of the proletariat and following it the peasant masses is the first task that must be solved in conjunction with the present circumstances. And these are the circumstances of the military-bourgeois counter revolution, the power of the suppressed masses is in their number. When they awaken they strive to express their strength of numbers in pol-

itics through the medium of the universal suffrage. The handful of Communists know even today that universal suffrage is an instrument of bourgeois rule and that they can liquidate this rule only through the medium of the proletarian dictatorship. In this spirit you can educate beforehand the proletarian vanguard. But the millions of the toiling masses can come to the dictatorship of the proletariat only on the basis of their own political experience and the National Assembly would be a progressive step on this road. This is why we come out for this slogan in conjunction with four other slogans of the democratic revolution: the transfer of the land to the peasant poor; the eight hour work-day; the independence of China; the right of self-determination of the nationalities included in the territory of China.

It is understood that we cannot deny also such a perspective—it is theoretically admissible—that the Chinese proletariat leading the peasant masses and supporting itself on the Soviets will come to power before the achievement of the National Assembly in one or another form. But for the immediate period this is at any rate improbable, because it presupposes the existence of a powerful and centralized revolutionary party of the proletariat. But in its absence what other forces will unite the revolutionary masses of your gigantic country? In the meantime it is our misfortune that there is no strong centralized Communist Party in China as yet. It first has to be formed. The struggle for democracy is the precisely necessary condition for that. The slogan of the National Assembly would unite the scattered provincial movements and uprisings, give them political unity and create the basis for welding together the Communist Party as an all-national leader of the proletariat and the entire toiling mass.

That is why the slogan of the National Assembly (on the basis of the universal, direct equal and secret ballot) must be raised as forcefully as possible and a courageous decisive struggle developed around it. A month sooner or later the sterility of the purely negative position of the Comintern and the official leadership of the Chinese Communist Party will mercilessly expose itself. This will happen the sooner, the more decisively the Left Communist Opposition will unfold and develop its campaign for the slogans of democracy. In this case the inevitable crash of the policy of the Comintern will greatly strengthen the Left Opposition and will help it become the decisive force in the Chinese proletariat.

April 2, 1930

The Economic Crisis

American capitalism has been unable to overcome the serious depressions in agriculture and in the coal, oil, textile, shipping and other industries, nor will it be able to prevent the coming decline in iron and steel and automobile industries.

The rapid increase in brokerage loans, in face of an average trading volume of more than five million shares a day, presages the beginning of the end of the "bull" market far more profoundly than the price fall of June 1928. The fact that rates for stock-market had to be doubled and quadrupled, has caused the more realistic of the bourgeois economists to be very cautious in their predictions for the coming year.

The fate of American imperialism, we repeat, is now bound up with its dependence on world economy. Conversely the situation in Europe is directly linked with the development of American national economy. The United States will seek to use Europe as a shield to take the blows of its own difficulties. This will in turn create such situations in Europe, above all in Germany, where with proper revolutionary leadership, a new wave of proletarian revolt will be initiated, or the relations between England and America will come to the breaking point. This rapidly materializing process will change the correlation of forces in the United States in favor of the revolutionary proletariat, by undermining the base of the American labor aristocracy.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

In the International Opposition

Pertinent Questions to the Prometeo Group

Dear Comrades:

A few months ago you addressed to me an open letter to which I then replied. Now it seems to me the time has come to address an open letter to your group.

In Paris a preliminary conference of the International Left Opposition was recently held. This conference is a serious step forward because it was made possible only in consequence of lengthy preparatory work of an ideological character. Your group, before the eyes of which this work was being developed, did not consider it possible to participate in this conference. This extremely important fact of absenteeism prompts me to ask you the following questions:

1.) Do you assume that Communism can have a national character? This for example, is the position of Urbahns, who, while repeating the ritualistic formulas of internationalism, created a purely German sect having no connections in the whole world and consequently deprived of revolutionary perspective. Therefore do you regard yourselves as a national current or part of an international current?

2.) If in your answer to this question you state that you are fully satisfied with your isolated national existence then there would be no room for any further questions. But I have no doubt that you consider yourselves internationalists. In this case the second question looms up: to what particular international current do you belong? There are now three basic currents in international Communism: the Centrist, the Right and the Left (Leninist). Besides these there are different kinds of ultra-Left offshoots who grope about between Marxism and anarchism. Until now we thought that you stood nearest to the Left Opposition. Your hesitancy we ascribed to your possible desire to orientate yourselves in the development of the Left Opposition. But hesitancy cannot be maintained forever. Life is not stagnant either in Italy or in the rest of the world. In order to join the International Left there is no need whatever for false "monolithism" in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy. What is needed is actual solidarity on the basic questions of revolutionary strategy that has stood the test of the past few years.

Particular tactical disagreements are absolutely unavoidable and can be no obstacle for close common work in the framework of an international organization. Wherein do your disagreements with the Left Opposition consist? Are they of a principled or of an episodic character? You must reply to this clearly and precisely.

3.) Your absence from the preliminary international conference can be interpreted that there are disagreements of principle that divide you from the Left Opposition. If this be so a third question crops up: why don't you proceed with the organization of an international faction of your own current? After all you cannot conceive that revolutionary principles adaptable for the whole world are not applicable to Italy or vice versa. The passive-conciliatory attitude towards the Left Opposition combined with reluctance to join it and the refusal to participate in the life of the Communist vanguard of other countries is characteristic of national socialism or national Communism and has nothing in common with Marxist Communism.

Your reply to these questions is of serious consequence not only from the international but first of all from the Italian point of view in so far as these two viewpoints can be in any way set off against one another. The illegal character of the Italian Communist Party makes it difficult to follow up developments. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that within the framework of the Italian Communist Party there are besides the official faction, your group and the group of Rights (Tasca), numerous revolutionary elements who have not yet openly formulated their positions. Under these circumstances you are among the indefinite elements. Meanwhile precisely the illegal existence of the Party demands with double force the full principled clarity of the leading groups. Your reply will help speed up the ideological crystallization within the Italian proletarian vanguard.

It is needless to say that the Russian Opposition would be happy to learn of your decision to join the International Left.

With Communist Greetings,

L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, April 22, 1930

In Germany

The Menace of Fascism

BERLIN—

For several weeks the new government of the bourgeois bloc, the government of Brüning-Schiele-Treviranus has been in office. From the outset, it has placed itself under the sign of menacing dictatorship. It sought a parliamentary majority but it declared at the same time that if this majority were not forthcoming, it would not resign—but would govern without parliament.

During the twenty-one months when the social democracy had power in its hands, it prepared the ground for a stronger reaction; the bourgeois bloc took possession of the bloc which had been willed to it by the coalition—to carry out in a speedier and more brutal fashion that which the social democracy has begun: the throttling of the working class.

It was evident to every revolutionary Marxist that the social democratic coalition could only play the role of preparing the way. Nothing could be more false than the conception that the official Communist Party theoreticians defend nowadays after trying to rid themselves of the theory of social fascism. A leading article of the *International* (No. 7) says among other things that in the course of recent years every government has marked "one step further in the direction of the fascist development of Germany" and that consequently the "Müller government was obviously as reactionary a government as those which preceded it."

This mechanical conception has nothing in common with Marxism and completely disregards the development of the class struggle which is full of contradictions.

Why did the bourgeoisie, which called the Socialist party to the government after the elections of 1928 so brutally dismiss its "socialist" domestics in 1930?

The Communist Party and the Leftward Movement

The bourgeois government bloc suffered a mark defeat in 1928 in the Reichstag elections. The piratical tariff policy and the reactionary social policy, the brutal measures of capitalist rationalization had set the masses in motion. About a million and a half petty-bourgeoisie, workers and medium and poor peasants turned from the Right to the Left wing of the bourgeoisie, towards the social democracy, which increased its vote from 7,881,000 to 9,151,000 votes. Half a million workers abandoned reformism and the open bourgeois camp, to go to the Communist Party whose vote increased from 2,700,000 to 3,260,000. The years 1927 and 1928 witnessed an increasing activity of the masses. To stop the development to the Left and to bring confusion to the masses, to disintegrate their elan—that was the function of the coalition. Today after nearly two years one must admit that the bourgeoisie has largely attained its object. Despite as reactionary a policy as possible in nearly every field, the social democracy succeeded in putting a brake on the militancy of the masses.

With the aid of the Young Plan it succeeded in sowing illusions inside the proletariat. And as the Communist Party did not know how to lead the masses into struggle step by step, nor to organize them by the revolutionary application of the tactics of the united front, no real struggle was developed against the Young Plan against the capitalist offensive, and as the Left current of 1928 did not develop further, no real mass desertion of the

Φ

Spanish Left Organ Appears

The Militant is glad to report that the Spanish section of the International Left Opposition has just been able to establish an organ of its own under the name of "Against the Current". It is to begin as a semi-monthly and will aim to become a weekly.

The situation in Spain, with the prevailing ferment among the workers and peasants following the end of the Primo de Rivera regime is favorable. The Opposition has already made gratifying gains in the fight to win the masses for the revolutionary line against the Stalin faction which has control of the Party apparatus. Our warmest fraternal greetings to our Spanish comrades.

workers from the social democracy to the Communist Party took place.

Tricked by the social democracy, repelled by the Communist Party's politics of bluff, the bombastic phrasemongering which held sway over the Wedding Congress of the Party, great masses of class conscious workers sank into apathy and indifference, tens of thousands have been lured over into the camp of the fascists. The anger, the discontent and even the revolutionary hatred of the social democratic party have grown among the masses but at the same time confidence in the leadership and slogans of the Communist Party, in the political correctness of its line in the immediate struggles, has waned.

The bourgeoisie is well aware of this change in the outlook of the masses. Today the bourgeoisie fears incomparably less than in 1928 the development of a revolutionary movement against its domination.

The Bourgeoisie Dismisses the Social Democracy

That is why the preparatory role of the social democracy has come to its close; the bourgeoisie feel it can now reach its ends without the direct aid of the socialist party. The party was shown the

door. After the abrupt attack of Schacht against Hilferding (December, 1929) the end of the coalition was only a matter of weeks....

* * *

The new bourgeois bloc (Brüning-Schiele-Treviranus) is by its very nature a transitional regime. With its left foot it supports itself on the parliamentary regime with its right foot it rests on the open dictatorship. If contrary to all predictions, the resistance of the masses against the regime of the bourgeois bloc should become too strong, the road to a new coalition would not be barred. The transition to such a regime as exists in Thuringia—parliamentary in its externals and fascist in its essence—is quite within the realm of possibilities. What is least likely is that the bourgeoisie will at the present time openly instal a fascist regime, letting the parliamentary mask fall. The legal and semi-legal possibilities are not yet exhausted, the class struggle in Germany has not yet taken on that form which compels the bourgeoisie to renounce the advantages of parliamentarism.

The traditional character of the present regime reflects the profound crisis in which bourgeois democracy finds itself in Germany. The crisis in all the bourgeois parties is the expression of the same phenomenon: but the crisis of bourgeois democracy itself is only the external expression of the crisis of the capitalist social order. The solution of this crisis will depend on the further development of the class struggle in Germany.

—K. L.

Discussion

Communism and the Negro Problem

The Militant welcomes membership discussion on all the basic problems of the Communist movement. We do not regard leading committees as the sole repositories of all the wisdom of Marxism and Leninism. What is called the Negro problem especially is one that will bear a good deal of thorough study and discussion. The easiest line of approach would be to repeat some glib formula.

Discussion articles on this or other questions of Communist theory and strategy should be as brief and to the point as possible in view of our limited space. —Editors

Philadelphia, Pa.

Editors, the Militant:

Some time ago I heard a member of the Communist Party, Ben Thomas, state in a lecture that the Negro should be given autonomy, and that in such districts where the Negro is in a majority, a Negro Soviet Republic should be set up. My reaction to this was strongly in Opposition. It seemed to me that this was a purely mechanical attempt to introduce European, African or Asiatic conditions into America. I am not afraid of being nailed as an "exceptionalist" when I state that the American Negro Problem is an American problem and must be solved on the basis of actual conditions in America. That it cannot be solved with any transplanted formula.

What is the situation here? Is the Negro a National Minority, in the European sense? Has he a culture, or a language that is different from the American people?

Most emphatically no! The American Negro is integrally a part of the American working class and any attempt to segregate him is absolutely wrong. The Communist movement should bend every effort to eradicate every tendency in that direction.

What the Negro needs is class consciousness, not race consciousness.

Bourgeois Negroes are themselves trying to build up race consciousness, shouting for race interests. They desire that the Negro should be segregated into separate schools, in order that Negro daughters should have opportunities to become schoolteachers. They want Negroes to patronize Negro doctors, dentists, merchants, bankers, etc... Why? For the particular advancement of the Negro professions, etc.

The Communist movement should avoid this pitfall. Every effort to segregate the Negro should be fought. Negro girls should not teach Negro children, they should, when qualified as teachers teach any school, no consideration of their race or color should be given. Negro children should go to schools in the districts in which they live, there should be no Negro schools.

There should be no Negro labor unions. Workers should unite! Marx was not wrong when he said, Workers of all lands.

Unite!

When the American Civil War occurred, Marx was strongly for the Northern cause and supported Abraham Lincoln. He saw that part of the American working class was still under chattel slavery. Their color was not a factor. Today the whole American working class is under wage slavery and color is not a factor.

The finest way in the world to play into the hands of the Southern bourgeoisie is to talk about Negro Soviets. They will immediately translate this into Negro domination, and with this slogan they can alienate the Southern whites of the working class.

Segregation even when apparently for the good of the Negro is wrong.

Our policy should be to knit closely together all workers, black and white, native and foreign.

There is no physiological or biological race hatred. Race prejudices are purely social and economic. I was raised in Washington, D. C. and Virginia. I know that as kids we white and black children associated freely and without prejudice. It was only later, when we realized that the Negro had a lower position, lower even than our own as "Poor White Trash", that we developed a superiority complex. White and blacks in the South would mingle freely if permitted. In fact they do in such lowly circles as bootleggers, prostitutes, etc. where they feel that there is nothing to lose. Only social advantages draw the color line. Communists are not snobs, our base is the workers, and on this base we can and must build up a united front of the earth's exploited.

In the South our soviets must be built up from the workers, black, white and mixed. If the official Party fosters such wrong ideas of Negro segregation we should fight it.

Summing up then let me state:

No national minorities exist in the United States. Any efforts to transplant a foreign culture, Negro, Jewish, Polish, European or what not, should be vigorously combatted. There is one American working class, and it works only to the interest of the Ruling Class when efforts are made to differentiate between the workers.

Particularly the Negro has no separate interests. He is not a foreigner. He is American for many generations. He has no national culture. Russians may be interested in Russia, Poles in Poland, Jews in Jerusalem, but the Negro is interested in America. He is American. Garvey is doing all he can to manufacture an artificial background for the Negro in Africa. Let us be careful to avoid such nonsense.

Fraternally,
—K. M. WHITTEN

* I mean bootleggers in the Southern sense, who sold drinks out of a bottle in a small way, not our modern capitalist "Al Canons" type

LOVESTONE'S
«AMERICANISM»

Nowadays nobody with eyes in his head can mistake the sorry role that Lovestone and his faction are playing in the Communist movement. Years ago his opportunistic ideas could always find shelter under the protecting arm of Stalin's Comintern; today he must shiver in the rain of criticism. To illustrate this I will point out several things which occurred at a youth meeting held by the Lovestone group in the Grand Opera House last week.

About fifteen people attended this meeting. The audience was mainly composed of Lovestoneites, a few League members and a stool pigeon of the Y. C. L. sent there to report the League members foolish enough to think they could attend any meeting but their own. The reporter of the evening was Will Herberg. He gave a fairly accurate representation of the situation in the Party. Any half-way educated Communist can see the countless mistakes and false policies of the leadership and the impasse into which they have led the C. I. But when he tried to analyze the causes at the bottom of this crisis and to estimate the work and value of the Left Opposition he got himself into an awful mess. His only attempt to discuss the questions the Opposition has raised was on the problem of Thermidor. Firstly he drew an utterly false picture of no unity of opinion among the forces of the Left Opposition on this question. Some, he said, believed that Thermidor was already accomplished, others that it was on its way and still others didn't believe in it at all.

The first view (that Thermidor is already accomplished in the Soviet Union) is held by Urbahns, he maintained. And then, like a typically bankrupt politician he attacked this view as the one of the Opposition. This he succeeded in doing, since it doesn't take much brains to expose as erroneous a theory like this one. But he didn't dare attack the official viewpoint of

(Continued on Page 8)

The Role of American Imperialism

Every estimate of the present situation must proceed from the fact that the world center of economic gravity has shifted to the United States. American imperialism now levies tribute from practically all the capitalist countries of the world. This development which has risen to its height in the period after the world war, has bound up the fate of American imperialism with the economy of the whole world in an inextricable form. No analysis of its future economic course, internally as well as externally, can be made without a consideration of its international position.

The effect of America's direct intervention in European affairs after the war was the temporary, partial stabilization of European capitalism. This stabilization occurred in direct connection with the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923 and resulted in the consolidation of social democracy for the time. In turn it enabled the United States to avoid the convulsions that would have affected it inevitably in the event of the development of the revolutionary wave in Europe.

The United States has expanded its productive capacity which has brought about a further contraction of markets for European capitalism and consequently a contraction of the European market itself. The post-war chaos of Europe has made it impossible for the debtors of that continent to present a sufficiently consolidated united front to which they are inclined. The very strength and expansion of American imperialism has laid the foundation for the most violent struggles in Europe and in the colonial countries. The European powers must fight among themselves for a larger ration in world economy, and against the United States for the same reason. The pacifist effect which American intervention had upon the European situation in the beginning is now being transformed by the process of development into a revolutionizing effect. American imperialism is now beginning to look for a solution of its own approaching internal convulsions at the expense of Europe, and primarily of Germany, and increased exploitation and imperialist raids on Latin America and China.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF
THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION
ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY
20, 1929.

An Open Letter to the Members of the C. P. S. U. (b)

(Concluded from the Last Issue)

A French proverb says that one must know how to fall back sometimes in order the better to leap. That is the condition in which the leadership of the Soviet state, as well as the leadership of the Communist International finds itself at present.

Both are driven by their own adventurism to the depths of an impasse. Placing its "prestige" above the interests of the world revolution, the Centrist bureaucracy draws ever more the noose around the neck of the Party. In matters of tactics, the first task is the following: to beat a retreat by abandoning the positions of adventurism. The retreat is inevitable in any case. It must therefore be carried out as soon as possible and in the best possible order.

Put an end to the "complete" collectivization replacing it with a careful selection based on a real freedom of self-determination.

Bring the Kolkhoz (the farm collectives) into harmony with real resources.

Put an end to the policy of merely administrative abolition of the kulaks. To bridge the exploiting tendencies of the kulak will remain a necessary policy yet for many years. The fundamental policy with regard to the kulak holdings must consist in a rigid contractual system of coercion (i. e., a contract with the government organizations obliging the kulak to furnish certain products at fixed prices).

Put an end to the shock brigade methods of collectivization. Re-evaluate the question of the tempo of industrialization in the light of experience taking into account the necessity of raising the standard of living of the masses.

Frankly raise the question of the quality of production, its importance being as great for the consumer as for the producer.

Put an end to inflation by establishing a rigid financial discipline by means of cutting down exaggerated plans.

Give up the "ideal" of a closed economy. Work out a new variant of the plans based on as extensive a collaboration as possible with regard to the world market.

Supported on the growing unemployment in a number of countries, develop an important international campaign having as its basis concrete economic proposals in the direction of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. Organize an offensive of the working masses under this slogan, particularly of the unemployed, against the social democratic government in Germany and against the "labor" government in England.

It is necessary to stop looking upon the Communist International as an auxiliary apparatus for the struggle against the dangers of intervention. It is a question no longer of occasional demonstrations against war but of a struggle against imperialism, for the world revolution. It is necessary to develop a real struggle in the capitalist countries to win the masses taking into account the real state of the economic and political processes in each country.

An end must be put to the falsification of facts consisting in the (verbal) transformation of specific economic conflicts or unimportant demonstrations into so-called revolutionary struggles.

Stop the fabrication of statistical data in the service of pre-established schemes. Drive out ignominiously all "tailendism" the lying and deception of the masses.

Give up the scholasticism of the "third period"!

Put an end to the adventurist policy of "red days"!

Condemn the theory of "social-fascism" which renders the greatest services to the social democracy!

Return to the Leninist policy of the united front!

The loss of influence over the youth is one of the most menacing symptoms of the abyss which is opening up before the Communist International and the masses. Never yet has bitter, dried-up, self-interested and conceited bureaucratism been able to find its way into the hearts of the younger generations. What is needed is not commandments of officialdom but sensitive and tactful leadership on the part of the Party.

One must leave to the proletarian

youth the possibility of developing its own initiative, of judging, of discussing, of committing mistakes and correcting them:—in the absence of such pre-requisites there is the danger of a fatal rupture between the successive revolutionary generations.

Above all, it is necessary to alter the policy of the Communist International in the East.

The organization of peasant guerilla warfare in China while the workers' movement in the proletarian centres continues to vegetate, is to throw dust in the eyes—it is the sure road to the destruction of the Communist Party.

It is necessary to stop playing with the fire of adventurism. The Chinese Communist Party must be armed with the slogans of revolutionary democracy to aid it in the mobilization of the great masses in city and country.

The weakness of the Hindu proletariat at a time when a profound revolutionary crisis is developing in the heart of an enormous colonial country is explained by the long reign of the reactionary theory

and practise of the "Workers and Peasants" Party (Stalin).

The cowardly, half-way abandonment of this theory is not enough. It must be pitilessly condemned as the worst example of political treachery which has compromised for a long time the proletarian forces of Japan, India, Indonesia, and other countries of the East.

With no less decision must there be a repudiation of the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" which is only a reactionary cover for a policy of the Kuomintang kind, that is to say, for the hegemony and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the national revolution.

The program of the Communist International adopted at the Sixth Congress is entirely eclectic. It gives an incorrect conception of the world situation. It is built up on a concoction of internationalism and of national-socialism. It gives a Menshevik characterization of the colonial revolutions and of the role that the liberal bourgeoisie plays in them. It is impotent

Barred from Union Activity for «Trotskyism»

Editor of the Militant:

Your issue of May 17 carried a brief article from comrade Plarinos, describing the May Day demonstration in this city. Brief though his article was, it was adequate to cause his rejection as a member of the Metal Workers Industrial League; the League which ironically claims to be interested in the organization of the unorganized.

Plarinos, who has many years standing in the revolutionary movement, did not participate in the May Day demonstration for the purpose of seeing its faults. He went into it with revolutionary enthusiasm; with the desire of doing his part to make it a success; and to challenge the Steel Barons. But despite his fidelity and enthusiasm he could not avoid seeing the conspicuous blunders of the leadership.

In his "May Day in Youngstown" article comrade Plarinos said, "Thousands of workers and business men gathered on the streets to see our parade." He might have added that the only workers on hand that day were the unemployed.

The "Mass Political Strike"

The party call for a "mass political strike" was a complete failure. How could it be otherwise? While the great majority of the workers were unemployed and were walking from place to place in search of anything they could find, they would be willing to work under almost any conditions, just for "coffee and—". The workers who had a job looked upon themselves as the favored recipients, as the chosen children of their particular deity. While it is quite true that the great majority of the mill workers, employed and unemployed, are sore at the bosses and hostile at the Company, yet few know anything of the international revolutionary movement and still less of the Third International.

In fact, I don't think the mill workers who have a job would respond to any strike call at the present time. But if they were called on to organize with the intention of ultimately striking for better conditions, higher wages and so forth, they might at least understand it. But the call for a "mass political strike" of unorganized workers during an industrial depression is of course beyond the comprehension of these non-class conscious workers. It is easy enough to see why the mill workers who had jobs paid no attention to the call for a mass political strike. The call reached deaf ears as any one with any sense might easily anticipate.

The slogan of a mass political strike at this time and place is like sowing seed on barren rocks. The seed not only will not grow but it will die. This serious slogan has been abused so much by the phrasemongers and half-baked intellectuals who look on themselves as the fountains of working class knowledge that it has become meaningless. No one, not even those who write it, any longer take it seriously. But of course this is the "Third Period" so we cannot be surprised at anything.

For quite some time this year the

Youngstown workers were honored by the presence of a combination organizer. He was here to build up everything. The Party, the T. U. U. L., the I. L. D., the M. W. I. L. and what not. He spoke at the Public Square and the thing he succeeded most in doing was in keeping the crowd moving. No one would stop to listen to him. Such organizers who cannot speak and do not know what they are trying to say do much more harm than good.

Barred from Union for Opposition Views

The Metal Workers Industrial League is supposed to be an organization of metal workers irrespective of their political views, their race, creed or color. They pretend to be extremely anxious to organize the unorganized, but it is obvious that they are out to organize no one but the bona fide followers of Stalin. The application of comrade Denis Plarinos has been rejected because he sent the Militant a truthful synopsis of the May Day demonstration in addition to the fact that he is a reader of the Militant. So it seems that readers of the Daily Worker exclusively are eligible to join the M. W. I. L. which pretends to be an organization of metal workers! Only the faithful disciples of Stalin will be organized, although these disciples do not number more than one percent of the workers. It is quite safe to say that nine out of every ten of the mill workers have never heard of Stalin.

The great majority of mill workers who read any newspaper at all read the capitalist sheets. They do not read them on account of their editorial policy or political views. They read them for the latest news of baseball, football, horse-racing, etc. But, yet they read the capitalist papers and not the Daily Worker. Are they to be ignored and pushed off the map by the heresy-hunting M. W. I. L.? Are they not to be organized to fight the steel barons unless they are born again or unless they wake up some morning and by some cablegram magic find themselves ardent admirers of Stalin and diligent students of the Third Period?

It is easy to foresee the end of this so-called Metal Workers Industrial League. Its sectarianism will choke it, lead it to decay and finally to the scrap heap of oblivion, unless it is taken over by the militant workers who will fight the steel barons by forming a united front of all steel workers irrespective of their political views or of what newspaper they read.

The mill workers can be organized on an industrial basis only. But they cannot be drawn into an organization which spends its time talking of the Russian situation, the Third Period, etc. These workers believe in organizing to fight the steel barons. Asking them to fight the battles of Stalin is sheer folly.

Organization will yet come but not through our present Communist leadership which insists on substituting wishes for facts and which believes the rank and file are to be merely drilled by the Party bureaucracy.

—CHARLIE BRYNE

and sterile in the sphere of transitional demands. It defends the erroneous slogan of "democratic dictatorship". It combines the scholasticism of Bucharin with the empiricism of Stalin and gives a theoretical elucidation of all the aberrations of Centristism.

It is necessary to construct a program worthy of the theory of Marx and the revolutionary school of Lenin.

* * *

One cannot find a way out of the present contradictions without crises and struggles. A favorable change in the relation of forces on a world scale, that is to say some striking success of the revolution would constitute an important and even decisive factor in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. But it is impossible to construct a policy on the expectation of some miraculous salvation "in the shortest possible interval". Certainly there will be no scarcity of economic and revolutionary crises in the coming period, especially in Europe and Asia. But this will not be enough to solve the problem. The defeats we suffered after the war taught us that without a party powerful and sure of itself, in full enjoyment of the confidence of the masses, victory is impossible. Well, on this very decisive point, the balance of the post-Lenin period shows a marked deficit.

That is why it is necessary to be able to foresee that the situation internally and internationally heralds a coming period full of prolonged and grave difficulties which will have their political repercussion. The suppressed questions, the hidden doubts, the heavy discontent of the masses will come to the surface. The whole question is to understand whether they will explode tumultuously, taking the Party by surprise or if the latter will be able to muster sufficient forces in itself at the supreme moment to become a new Party (or rather the old party again) in determining its role in regard to the laboring masses. The key to the future is to be found in this alternative.

To effect the retreat which has become necessary, to renew its strategic arsenal without too great damage and without losing its sense of perspective—this is only given to a party that clearly understands its goal and knows its strength.

This demands a collective criticism of the whole experience of the Party in the post-Lenin period. The fraud and lies of "self-criticism" must give place to internal democracy within the Party. A general examination of the general line—not in its application but in its direction—this is the way to commence.

Only the Left Opposition is in the present circumstances capable of condemning and explaining fearlessly all that is going on in the country and the Party to the extent that it is the result of the whole preceding course of developments. As long as this has not been understood it is of no avail to talk of some "general line"—whatever that is.

At the present moment the Left Opposition is more than ever a necessity for the Party. The crimes of the Stalinist apparatus must be put an end to and the Opposition returned to its rights within the Party. This we will once more say to the Sixteenth Congress.

The mission of the Opposition at the present time can be formulated as follows: to increase tenfold its efforts to aid the Party despite all obstacles to overcome the profound crisis which is manifesting itself internally, before there should develop in all its amplitude the crisis of the revolution.

Just as in the years of the imperialist slaughter little uncompromising groups and even isolated revolutionary individuals personified in themselves alone proletarian internationalism, so the Left Opposition, small in numbers and persecuted, is the guardian of the spirit of the revolutionary party. Neither the oppression of rulers nor the treachery of the feeble and exhausted, will shake us of our determination.

Against bureaucratism! Against opportunism! Against adventurism!

For the October Revolution!

For the regeneration of the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International on the basis of Leninism!

For the International Proletarian Revolution!

Prinkipo, March 23, 1930. —L.D. TROTSKY

«MY LIFE» - and Its Critics DeWitt, Browder and Gold on Trotsky's Autobiography

By James P. Cannon

To a revolutionary all activity is a form of struggle and every instrument is a weapon. Cooped up in Constantinople through the amicable cooperation of Stalin and Kemal Pasha—"patiently, waiting for what is to follow"—Trotsky writes his memoirs, and they become a bombshell whose explosion resounds throughout the world.

"My Life" is a literary sensation. The "critics" are amazed at the brilliance of its literary execution. The skillful arrangement of words, in their conception, is an art which belongs exclusively to those who have nothing to say. The legend that wisdom expresses itself through dullness has a wide popularity but that fact does not give it any real value. Why should those who devote themselves to the struggle for ideas not learn the art of presenting them effectively? Trotsky has done this to a superlative degree and has thereby added to his power and stature as a revolutionary politician. His book, besides being a literary masterpiece is a mighty weapon in the political struggle. This, in fact, is its essence.

Political Autobiography

"In these pages," says the author, "I continue the struggle to which my whole life is devoted. Describing, I also characterize and evaluate; narrating, I also defend myself, and more often attack." And again: "This is a book of polemics. It reflects the dynamics of that social life which is built entirely on contradictions." So, in the introduction, the author sets the keynote for his work. That he has succeeded in his design is attested by the flood of comment which the book has called forth—comment which shows that his political blows have hit their mark.

The positive political qualities of Trotsky's memoirs have already been evaluated in the *Militant*. Since then a number of hostile reviews have appeared in other columns. A review of these reviews should enable us to bring out more sharply and clearly the essential character of the autobiography, since a book, like a man, is also to be judged by the enemies it has made.

As far as the bourgeois writers are concerned it suffices to say that not one of them, to our knowledge, has failed to understand that Trotsky's standpoint is what it has always been. The millions of words that have been written to prove that he has become a renegade to the revolution and an ally of the bourgeoisie have all been wasted as far as these same bourgeois are concerned. For them, now, as before, Trotsky is the symbol and representative of the October revolution, and, insofar as they depart from the purely literary side of his book and express opinions on the Party struggle, their "sympathies" are invariably given to the "practical" Stalin as against the "visionary" Trotsky. This simple fact speaks volumes.

The Social Democrats

If we turn to the social democratic press we meet the same phenomenon. "Trotskyism" has more than once been labelled a "social democratic deviation" in solemn official documents of the Comintern. But with a strange perversity these people also fail to catch the point. The *New Leader's* review of "My Life" is no less hostile than those of the Stalin press, and what is especially noteworthy—its bitter criticisms reveal such an identity of content with the Stalinist reviews that one could hardly distinguish between them if they were printed side by side in the same journal, with the names of the authors omitted.

Let us first consider the review in the *New Leader* for May 10th by S. A. DeWitt. The reviewer is somewhat of a "literary" man himself and the conductor of "The Chatter Box". One might think that Trotsky has suffered enough of misfortune and tribulation. But no, another cruel disappointment awaits him: "comrade" DeWitt disapproves of Trotsky and his book, too. He says so straight out with all the heavy solemnity of a man who knows the weight and import of his words.

Trotsky's autobiography is a masterful exposition of the historic process in which individuals are playing their parts. His own activities are related and subordinated to it with an objectivity that is un-

ique in literature of this kind. But, even so, the book remains an autobiography, not a history. It does not merely describe the historic events but relates also the part the author played in them. And this is the first point of DeWitt's complaint.

"There is so much of Leon Trotsky in those six hundred pages of print and phrase that one receives only a hazy outline of the Russian episode." Again: "I'm terribly sorry to have allowed so much animus to creep into a review of a book. But Trotsky has left me so little of impersonal material to judge, and so much of himself, that no other procedure is possible." Well, that's too bad. But how could it be helped? As Trotsky himself remarked: "Nobody has yet succeeded in writing an autobiography without writing about himself."

A big section of the book is devoted to the Party struggle that began with Lenin's fatal illness. The account is a political analysis which shows that it was not as the philistines think, simply a struggle of persons for power. "The struggle of the epigones for power, as I shall try to prove, was not merely a struggle of personalities; it represented a new political chapter—the reaction against October, and the preparation of the Thermidor." On this thesis Trotsky bases his account of the Party struggle; but it is all lost on DeWitt.

He sees, or pretends to see, only the personal side of the struggle and takes Trotsky to task for failing to play the game like a good sport. The conductor of "The Chatter Box" chides the organizer of the Revolution and the Red Army: When it came to stepping down from your pet theories, and playing along with your political comrades on a 'give and take' basis you flopped miserably. Either they would do as you ordered, or they were betraying the revolution.

"This business of being as infallible as God is so stupid."

One might think that DeWitt would stop at this and call it a day. But the Trotsky-killer has tasted blood and presses on remorselessly. "I, for one wouldn't swap a regiment of strutting Trotskys for one Stalin." There's another vote to make it still more "unanimous". He must have thought he was writing a Party thesis. He continues: "Calling all of us names, and then spitting so viciously at Stalin convinces us beyond further argument that your present fall from grace is the direct result of the poetic judgement... wherein great pride cometh before a fall."

Trotsky might receive a grace if he would be a bit humble under his adversities, but his stubborn pride shuts out even that. And he doesn't understand the workers either! "There is an aristocracy about your carriage," says DeWitt, "throughout the adventure which belies your oft-quoted love for the proletariat. There is so little about the workers in your narrative. All you are taken up with is your theoretical paragraphing in this radical journal and that." And so on and so forth. We must leave DeWitt here while we try to catch up with his line of argument in other columns.

The Stalinists

The Stalinists had to take notice of the book in question in order to bury once again the doctrine that has died so many deaths at their hands. And they have done the job this time with characteristic brilliance choosing for the medium, the *New Masses*.

Why the *New Masses* of all places and all things? The explanation is simple. Up till now the *New Masses* confined itself in the war against "Trotskyism" to the modest role of keeping quiet, suppressing all material on the question and refusing paid advertisements for our publications. This course was predicated on the theory that it was a "political" matter; and the *New Masses* is a hot-house for the cultivation of that flower of the ages: the proletarian writer who has nothing to say about politics.

But "My Life", it seems, is a "literary" product, and that makes it duck soup for the *New Masses*, which, as everybody knows, is literary at all costs. Consequently we have in the June number not one review but two, and both of them from eminent literati—Earl Browder and Mike Gold.

Quotations from these reviews, after DeWitt's, would weigh this article down with an unavoidable burden of repetition. The soul of DeWitt is marching on in them. The words of "The Chatter Box" leap from the pages of the *New Masses* like armed men from ambush.

Browder, like DeWitt estimates the historic Party struggle as a contest for personal position and dismisses Trotsky's pretensions in the same cavalier fashion. "The theme of the book is how Trotsky happened to become subordinated to Lenin; how he planned to come into his own when Lenin died; and how the "degenerate" leadership of the Communist movement entered into a conspiracy to despoil Trotsky of his inheritance. Around this rather trite detective story scheme the book is built up." Needless to say the shrewd Browder is not fooled by this dodge about "political issues" at the bottom of the contest and like DeWitt refuses to be lured into a discussion of these extraneous questions. "I, Trotsky, had power," he says, "This was taken away from me by a conspiracy of the degenerate leadership of the Party headed by Stalin." And from this follows logically his pontifical admonition: "The dictatorship of the proletariat can have no more dangerous or insidious enemy than a leader inside its apparatus who thinks in terms of personal power."

Browder Joins the Freudians

For Browder, as for his confrere of the *New Leader*, there is too much Trotsky in Trotsky's book about his life, and the two reviewers meet again in protest against his "underestimation of the working class". "As a matter of fact"—we are quoting Browder now — "it is almost impossible to find any hint of the existence of the working class in this book. It exists only to provide a dark background which throws into higher relief the brilliant exploits of Trotsky."

What is left of Trotsky after these withering blasts? Putting an upstart in his place is what we call it. And it is to be hoped that he will stay there when he gets the following profound diagnosis of the whole trouble. Trotsky refers to Marx and tries to hinge his case on the Marxian method of social analysis. Browder declines to follow him into this field, being too smart, as they say in the West, to play another man's game. Browder appeals to Freud, and the result is fatal—for Marx as well as for Trotsky. Trotsky has a "complex" says the reviewer—Browder, not DeWitt. Lenin once gave him a pair of shoes which hurt his feet so badly that he recalls the incident in the book after many years. And what does that prove? It proves everything. Says Browder: "Let each amateur Freudian give his own analysis of this interesting paragraph. Our own analysis is that Trotsky's ruling idea, from the time he met Lenin, was connected in one way or another with occupying Lenin's shoes." What mud could be clearer?

Mike "Arrives"

After all this it might be well to let the matter rest. But the review of Mike Gold remains, and who can ignore him? Mike has "arrived", so to speak, and success has made him bold. He thinks he can get away with anything—even plagiarism. There has to be some honor, among writers as well as among thieves, and DeWitt has a just ground to complain at the way Gold has stolen his stuff on Trotsky and has passed it off as his own.

An example: "One point that struck me in Trotsky's autobiography. What Luciferian pride in every line!... Trotsky is too convinced that he is a great man... But there are no supermen. All men are fallible," etc. That's clever, but DeWitt said it first. Why not give him credit?

Another example: "Trotsky writes of the revolution as a chess player might, or a general." And—believe it or not—"He has no feeling for the pathos, the poetry and human beauty of the proletarian masses." This is more literary larceny against which DeWitt may rightly protest. These quotations are the core of Gold's review, and they are lifted bodily, almost literally, from "The Chatter Box". This thing can't go on. For the good of the profession, literary ethics must be observed and swiping the other fellow's stuff must be cut out. Even if such a ruling would debar the *New Masses* from further parti-

cipation in the Trotsky discussion there would be nothing really lost. The *New Leader* will say it for them—and say it first.

The S.P.-Stalinist United Front

The fundamental similarity of the three reviews mentioned has its own meaning for those who look for the political content in literary polemics. It is quite possible that many will fail to see any significance in this united front and ask: "Are people not allowed to have the same opinions once in a while?" And to this we can answer: It is not only allowed; it is unavoidable when they approach questions from the same essential standpoint.

The common ground on the matter at issue of the social democratic philistine and the Stalinist Hessians of the pen only demonstrates how far the official Communist Party has departed from the Marxist method of analysis—the method which seeks the underlying social explanation of historic event and which sees persons—even the greatest as representatives of social forces.

We Oppositionists who fight under the banner of Marxism in the International are often reproached with merely being adherents of Trotsky in a personal struggle. But it is precisely the Oppositionists who protest against such an interpretation of the cleavage in the Party. The struggle of the Opposition against the reaction in the Soviet Union is no more a mere fight of persons for power than was the struggle of the Bolsheviks against Kerensky. In each case the philistines and reactionaries saw only the persons fighting for place, while the Marxists sought to explain the causal social factors and their potent manifestations.

Trotsky applies this scientific method to his entire book about all stages of the Russian revolution up to the present moment. The failure of DeWitt, Browder and Gold to grasp this issue and meet it condemns their interpretations to absolute worthlessness. They miss the point entirely and throw no light on the real questions at issue.

The worker who seeks an understanding of these questions must turn from the critics of Trotsky's book to the book itself. They will find it there.

World Union Membership Declines

AMSTERDAM—(FP)—Official statistics show the trade union membership in 76 countries as of Dec. 31, 1927 and 1928, as respectively 46,187,060, and 44,180,525. This great loss in one year is due to the collapse of the huge figures reported from Asia at the height of the Chinese revolution. For 1927 Asia reported 3,697,000 trade unionists, while in 1928 it reported only 724,194. Chiang Kai-Shek had crushed in blood the Chinese trade union movement which sprang up at the triumph of the revolution in 1927.

Europe reports at the end of 1927 a total of 33,936,784 trade unionists, while a year later its total had risen to 35,392,081. America confessed that while its 1927 total was 7,416,491, its 1928 total was only 6,947,296. Australia rose from 99,652 to 1,018,290. Africa fell from 144,33 to 90,497.

Trade unionism in the United States showed an increase, but in Mexico and other Latin-American countries a loss was registered. European countries making gains in that year—1928—were Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Luxemburg, Memel, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. Notable losses occurred in Greece, Great Britain, Lithuania, Poland and Portugal and less losses, in Belgium, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, France and Rumania.

«MY LIFE»

All readers of the *Militant*, and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the *Militant*. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

THE YOUNG VANGUARD

The Misery of India's Youthful Toilers

It would be ridiculous to expect from the British (and their junior partners, the native) ruling classes that have made of India a huge welter of poverty, pestilence, superstition and ignorance anything but the most callous treatment of the young toilers in field and factory. But even we, none too pampered by Hooverian propriety were deeply shocked to read of the terrible conditions the young workers and peasants are forced to live and work under.

Speaking generally, an idea can be gained by noting the fact that infant mortality reaches the rate of 206 per thousand all over the peninsula as compared with 91 in the United Kingdom. In the textile city of Bombay this reaches the sickening total of 667 on the average and 828 in the workers centers. Behind these figures can be glimpsed the terrible poverty, poor housing and poor food that grips the nation, the five acres of land that compromise the average holding, causing the terrible holocausts that sweep the country in the shape of epidemics and pestilences.

The margin between bare existence and non-existence is so slight that the child, when barely able to balance itself must go into the field to work. School is out of the question even if such facilities were present. The British Empire, that carrier of enlightenment, does not deem it necessary to spend more than 11 pence per head in India for education (local, district, national and from the empire) as against the two pounds spent in the British Isles which has none too a high a standard.

When Prince Albert Victor (the royal gentleman on the tins of tobacco) who was the grandson of Queen Victoria visited Poona in 1882, the following doggerel greeted him:

"Tell grandma we are a happy nation,
But 19 crore* are without education."

A crore is 10,000,000.

Of the 269 millions in India today but 22 million know an alphabet. The huge profits, the great taxation, the usury is returned in no form whatever to the masses of India.

If the conditions of the ryots (peasants) are bad, they are infinitely above those of the factory workers. In 1926 there were 1,500,000 factory workers of whom 250 were women and 70,000 are children below 15 years of age. (These figures are a factory population of 2,650,000 with the percentage of women and children doubtless holding their own if not actually gaining.)

Textile is the chief industry in India. Nowhere has King Cotton been a benevolent monarch; his history is one of blood, particularly of women and children whether in England in 1844, in Gastonia or in India from 1919 on.

Read the section of Marx's Capital dealing with conditions in the spinning mills darken the picture and an idea is gleaned of the conditions of the mill cities of India today.

There is a total of 374,380 workers in the cotton industry of India of whom 70,000 are women and over 15 thousand are children.

Wages in the Cotton Industry by Days

	Adults		
	Rupee	Anna	Pies*
Ahmedabad	1	5	0
Bombay	1	5	6
Sholapur		15	11
Other Centers	1	1	8
Big Lads and Children			
Ahmedabad		11	4
Bombay		11	1
Sholapur		9	1
Other Centers		8	11

*A rupee is about 32.4 cents. An anna is one-sixteenth of a rupee or 2 cents and a pies is one-twelfth of an anna or about one-sixth of a cent.

These wages allow the workers a diet on par with that of a Bombay criminal prisoner, a chawl (tenement room) each chawl containing on the average 4 persons.

It is said that conditions in the mills owned by native capitalists are worse than in those owned by the Britishers. (Although this comes from reliable sources it

Communist Youth and the Left Opposition

Of the organizations in the Communist International, none have suffered and continue to suffer such mangling as the Young Communist International. With a splendid background—the struggle of the Youth against the war in unison and under the political guidance of the Bolsheviks, the Russian Revolution, and the splendid leadership of comrades Lenin and Trotsky during the early days of the organization of the Communist International—the Y. C. I. was destined to enjoy a healthy growth and activity.

Education and participation in mass activity—these were the watchwords of the Youth Leagues. Progress was inevitable. The Leagues everywhere enjoyed considerable growth. They embodied a revolutionary enthusiasm and energy that gave rise to splendid activity. The education in Communism and the participation in the class struggles prepared hundreds and thousands of young revolutionaries for future leadership in the ranks of the Party.

This ascent however, in the ranks of the Young Communist International was halted abruptly. In preparation of the struggle against the Russian Opposition under the leadership of comrades Trotsky, Rakovsky, etc., the Stalinist bureaucracy aimed heavy fire against the Youth International. The Youth International was made a mere appendage to the Right-Center bloc. Made to think that the youth alone were the leaders in the struggle for correct political lines in the ranks of the revolutionary movement, the theory of "vanguardism" once again made its way in the Youth International. From this theory grew a negative attitude toward the education of the Youth and their participation in mass activity. In place of a training for the future, the international leagues entered a stage of heated participation in "high politics" and into an unprecedented period of factionalism. There developed in the ranks of the youth cynicism for the elementary tasks of organization.

Beginning with the period of 1923-24 a state of passivity, opportunism and stagnation set in. Bureaucratic direction displaced the education of the Youth. Mass activity was shunted for an accelerated condition of factionalism. The scandalous maltreatment of the Young Communist International left horrible gaps in its ranks. The Russian League alone withstood the heavy decline of its organization.

In Germany the social democratic and Reformist youth gained heavily at the expense of the Young Communist League. In France the League lost 12,000 members and has today a membership of only 3,000. The opportunist policy of the Right-Centrist leadership was not without its effect on the British League. There with the splendid situation caused through the split in the Guild of Youth (Social Democratic) and the General Strike, the League numbers only a few hundred (even Bulky Bill Rust cannot count more). In Sweden the Right wing split carried more than half of the

seems hardly likely—the conditions in the British-owned mills challenge worsening.

In the jute mills of Calcutta and Bengal, where most of the jute in the world is produced the average wage for children is 9 pence per day. In 319,000 workers in 76 jute mills investigated 50,000 were women and 29,000 children.

And so it is in the entire country. On the plantations of Assam hundreds of thousands of farm laborers, entire families including babes toil for a few pence per day. Fabled spices of India!

Women and children even dig coal in India, bringing coal to the surface in baskets—human beings are cheaper than hoisting machinery. Of the 250,000 miners, 9 thousand are women and a similar number children.

As for social legislation for children and youth, the little that has been forced through is flagrantly disregarded. Twelve years is the minimum age at which children are permitted to work in factories employing more than 10 workers and using motive power. Between the age of 12 and 15 half time is allowed or 30 hours per week.

A far different side of the story is the profits of 200 and 300%. It was a bad year when only 125% was secured on capital investment. —C. CURTISS

Youth membership into its ranks. The young workers of Austria remain under social democratic influence while the Communist influence is almost nil. The American League continues to remain at a static membership of between 1,000 and 1,500 members. Here the fruits of the Lovestone leadership and the present incompetent, pretentious and impotent leadership of Steuben, Green and Harvey have made matters only worse. (Of the American League more will be said in other articles.) And so on ad infinitum.

The invention of the spurious "third period" theory and the rise of adventurism in political policy has only made matters worse. It has added greatly to the already achieved sectarianism and isolation. The present policies of the Y. C. I. and its Leagues only promise to perfect this condition.

This situation in the Youth movement is but a reflection of the situation in the Communist International. The past seven years history of the Comintern is mirrored in the Leagues, though at times even more grotesque and more accentuated. The solution of the present crisis in the International Youth movement can come about only through a solution of the problems facing the Communist International. The struggle of the Opposition against the present revisionism, adventurism and opportunism alone will solve this crisis. A resurgence and reeducation is necessary—on the basis of a correct political program. That program is the platform of the Opposition. Participation in the ranks of the Opposition and common struggle together with the Party comrades is an imperative task of the Youth. The bureaucratic Stalinist leadership cannot bring about a revitalizing of the International Youth movement. That task belongs to the Opposition. In the solution of the present crisis in the Communist movement the Youth will play no little role. —ALBERT GLOTZER

Lovestone's "Americanism"

Continued from Page 5

the Opposition held by all its adherents from Russia to America. That the danger of the Thermidor is being augmented in the persecution, exiling and shooting of Oppositionists, in the breaking of the alliance between the workers and peasants because of adventurist policies in industrialization and collectivization; in the growing of the power of the Kulak and the Nepmen due to Stalin's zigzag policies; in the ominous growth of the Thermidorian bureaucracy in the Party and the government—only a Herberg can deny while he shuts his eyes and shouts "don't talk to us about Socialism in one country, we want to hear about American questions."

Covering Lovestone's Misdeeds

The most interesting part of the meeting was Herberg's answer to the question of Lovestone's use of underworld tactics in the fight against the Left Opposition and the challenge to debate with us on fundamental questions. Complacently Herberg repudiated the violence perpetrated against the Opposition by the Lovestone group with the naive remark "at that time we were under Stalinist influence". Even if any weight could be attached to this remark, Lovestone will have to explain away their burglary of the Party office and his own tacit silence while Blumkin was shot and thousands of Oppositionists are criminally persecuted and exiled to Siberia. We are still waiting for Lovestone to raise a voice against the exiling of L. D. Trotsky.

Not less demagogic and cowardly was Herberg's reply to the challenge of a debate on fundamental issues. No! Herberg won't debate with us because, 1st, we are too small; secondly because the questions we want to debate about don't interest the American workers. The great Lovestone, the overwhelming "majority" of the American Party refuses to debate with us because we are too insignificant. Only yesterday Lovestone strained every muscle to prove to a recalcitrant minority that "Trotskyism" was the main danger in the American Party. Not quite so distant as that Lovestone shouted to the wide world that the ideas of "Trotskyism" has captured the C.I. We would suggest to Herberg to

BIGGER AND BETTER WARS

Thursday, May 24, a Rochester audience seated themselves in a vaudeville house to be treated to an unexpected view of the latest scientific marvel, television—the combination of radio and vision.

One mile away, in the laboratories of the General Electric Company, artists sang and spoke, a director led the orchestra which was in the theatre, all clearly visible on the screen.

The next morning every thinking person was deeply thrilled as he read the account. This feeling, however, turned into one of abhorrence when he or she read the statement of the developer of the television, Mr. W. E. Alexandersson.

Mr. Alexandersson spoke of the latest discovery as being "inspiring". Of the uses to which this new invention could be put, he said:

"Or what will this mean in the future when a staff officer can see the enemy through the television eyes of his scouting plane or when they can send a bombing plane without a man on board which can see the target and be steered by radio up to the moment it hits?"

You question, Mr. Alexandersson, what it means. Let us tell you:

It means that the next war (in the offing in spite of, or more truthfully, because of, your master class's "peace" and "disarmament" conferences) will make of the last war child's play; that where young workers and farmers were killed singly now they will be slaughtered by the droves for the bosses' greater profits. It means that all your vaunting of scientific progress is a terrible taunt; it means that capitalism is rapidly approaching its doom—either barbarism or Communism: either capitalism will scientifically poison, gas, drown, tear and otherwise efficiently kill the toilers and drag society back into the abyss of barbarism or the proletariat will seize power and society will advance into the next stage, Communism, where man's wisdom will not be used to discover more "rationalized" methods of killing each other, but to provide more leisure, more of the better things of life to the masses. That is what it means!

Capitalism is here shown in its stark, hideous reality. Its path of glory leads but to its grave. And that path is rapidly nearing its end. Every such new discovery but adds velocity to this journey.

Mr. Alexandersson is the guest of the U. S. Navy on the airplane carrier, Saratoga, bound for Panama, to experiment with the pilotless plane.

recall these trifles before he terms us insignificant to debate with.

Evading Questions of Principle

But just like the whole Lovestone crew, no sooner does Herberg say this than he starts to retract it. Well, the reason they didn't want to debate, according to Herberg is because the questions we raise (Socialism in One Country, Chinese Revolution, Anglo-Russian Committee, etc.) "hold no interest for the American workers". When Lovestone was in good graces with Stalin, when he ran the *Daily Worker*, when we had no press, before we could print any of the suppressed literature, then it was time to scatter scandal, lies and calumnies about us. Now, when we are in a position to reply to his lies and expose his opportunism, Lovestone hides himself in a dark corner and fearfully cries out, "The American workers are not interested in the Chinese Revolution". Whom does this remind us of? Haven't we heard somewhere before this same alibi about the American workers not being interested in fundamental problems but in more immediate and more pressing questions. Doesn't the S. P. carefully avoid the questions of internationalism, the Proletarian Dictatorship, etc. with just such platitudes?

But the Opposition is not afraid to debate with Lovestone on American questions; not afraid to show Lovestone, Herberg and Co. how the question of socialism in one country once helped Lovestone get control of the American party and reduce it to 7,000 and how this question has brought the Party to its disastrous state today and how it will help bring worse results even with Lovestone's kind in power in the future to the American Party.

—GEORGE CLARKE

NEW PARTY FORCES FOR LEFT OPPOSITION

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 24

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday June 21, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Unemployment and Communist Tactics

The fresh breaks on the stock market June 12 and 16, the most devastating since last November, burst another bubble in the medicine-man tactics of Hoover, the vaunted engineering genius whose election slogan was "Business Administration" Cotton has slumped. Steel production has declined. The index for automobile production dropped June 14, 36.8 per cent below that of last year.

But the obviously well-fed Secretary of Agriculture Hyde maintains his poise. The nation, he declares in a statement, "is back at work... We have suffered from little more than seasonal unemployment... there was relatively little distress..." If you are of a credulous nature you can take his word for it. On the other hand there are the very conservative figures of the official Bureau of Labor Statistics which reports a further decline of 1.6 per cent in employment and 2.4 per cent in payroll totals in the manufacturing industries in April of this year as compared with April 1929.

It may be added that there are indeed "unemployed" who have "suffered relatively little distress" These are the horde of dividend receivers whose nurtured fingers neither toil nor spin but can and do clip coupons. Recorded dividends and interest payments in May of this year were actually \$570,000,000 compared with \$490,000,000 a year ago.

The signs accumulate that the capitalist class will seek a way out of this crisis by a campaign for the "deflation" of the workers' wages. In close collaboration with the social democratic bureaucracy of the General Labor Federation the German industrialists have initiated a movement for a ten per cent wage cut to challenge coal and steel markets of Great Britain and the United States. The capitalists of the United States will not lag far behind. It will be a dastardly betrayal of the interests of the German workers by their "leadership" but nothing that the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor cannot emulate.

Government reports indicate that per capita earnings in manufacturing industries in April of this year had dropped 4.5 per cent from the levels of 1929. The textile capitalists, bituminous coal and steel industries, where unemployment is on the increase are beginning to talk openly of wage cuts. The open shop organizations are becoming increasingly active.

The situation requires a thorough overhauling of the present course of the Communist Party. The theology of the "third period" must give place to a Marxist appraisal. The workers of the United States are on the eve not of offensive revolutionary struggles but of defensive struggles to resist the capitalist onslaught. If the Party does not give leadership to the masses, if it fails to develop a concrete program of action, if it refuses to organize a broad united front of the masses, if it blindly adheres to its impotent and blind agitation against "social fascism", the social democrats and the labor bureaucrats will be the gainers; the masses and the Party will be the losers.

The Communist movement has suffered heavily from the present factional regime and its false theories. Thousands of workers have been alienated from its influence. But there is still time to retrace the steps of the Party to a line of revolutionary realism. The great tasks before the Party demand a concentration of Communist forces on the basis of Party democracy.

Defeat the Capitalist Offensive!

Organize United Front Against Unemployment and Wage Cuts!

Equipped with thousands of dollars for preliminary expenses, the Senate has launched its star-chamber "investigation" into Communist "plotting" in the United States. The Hoover government, the National Civic Federation, and the American Federation of Labor are a single united front. With the ghost of the infamous Palmer presiding, cabinet officials, labor fakers, stool-pigeons, hungry politicians and the remainder of the unsavory crew burdening society, will testify to the existence of a "Red Conspiracy".

The Crisis of American Capitalism

Outside, in every city of the United States, members of an army of six million unemployed form in bread line. In the shops, relentlessly driven by the speed-up, workers face the menace of wage-cuts. Master-incited Southern mobs burn and lynch poor Negroes. Militant labor organizers of the unorganized and the unemployed in Gastonia, Georgia, California and New York are imprisoned, sent to the chain gangs, or threatened with the electric chair. But parasitical coupon clippers garner the biggest dividends in years. Congress stamps approval on a Tariff to assure the corporations still vaster monopoly profits. Military expenditures for the next imperialist struggle reach the highest peak in history.

The tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition sat in judgement over bourgeois protestantism. The Czarist autocracy sat in judgement over Russian revolutionaries. The United States Senate "investigates Communism". The past is replete with judgements of the dying over the living, of the forces of reaction over those of revolution. But when have such investigations and judgements permanently halted the advance of history or the development of the class struggle? The spectre of Communism which Marx marked as haunting the European bourgeoisie of 1848 has materialized in the Soviet power of today. Nor could any Holy Alliance, Romanoff Ochraza, massacre of Communards or strategy of Bismarck prevent it.

The Open Conspiracy of Communism

It needs no investigation to establish that international Communism is a greater danger to world capitalism than ever before. Communism is an open conspiracy. "The Communists have always disdained to conceal their aims". We openly conspire to organize the workers for immediate improvements in their living conditions. We openly conspire to avail ourselves of every strike, every lockout, every demonstration to sharpen the edge of the class struggle, to lay bare the process of capitalist exploitation and government suppression.

We openly conspire to rouse the workers to resist the mobilization plans for the next war by a revolutionary struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. We openly conspire to separate the masses in the American Federation of Labor from their treacherous and bureaucratic misleadership of the William Greens and the Mathew Wolls. We openly conspire to organize the toilers of the United States for the proletarian revolution to overthrow the capitalist system and replace the business dictatorship by a revolutionary Workers' Government.

But as a matter of fact the capitalist class has no illusions about the nature of the Communist conspiracy. The investigation is a cover for something else. The ruling class aims to master the deepening economic crisis and improve its position for a sharper attack on the world market and by an offensive for wage reductions. The employers are fully aware that as a result of the mass unemployment and the wage-cutting offensive, tens of thousands of workers hitherto faithful to the traditions of capitalist politics and the craft prejudices of the A.F. of L. will be radicalized by their experience of misery. They are further conscious that the leaven in the working class is the Communist movement, that the Communists understand the laws of capitalist economy and the fraud of bourgeois democracy. To suppress the Communists, to terrorize these proletarian leaders who croon no pacifist and liberal lullabies, becomes the entering wedge of the capitalist offensive against the whole working class.

The Tasks of the Communist Party

In this situation very heavy responsibilities rest upon the leadership of the Communist Party. Sectarianism in these circumstances would be tantamount to political crime against the interests of the proletariat. The possibilities for the advance of the revolutionary movement are great. But to avail ourselves of this historic opportunity, the Party must give leadership to a UNITED FRONT movement against the capitalist offensive. The Party will not be able to do so until it breaks with its present course of blind factionalism and adventurism. The situation must be soberly analyzed for what it is. There is no immediate "acute revolutionary crisis". There are yet no "offensive revolutionary struggles" on the horizon. The masses have not yet deserted the labor bureaucrats and the social reformists. The capitalist class of this country has not yet lost its confidence and its power to rule. But the defensive struggles of the workers can with correct leadership become the starting point for revolutionary struggles in the future. The Party must weed out the verbiage of the "third period" or the Party will be wrecked for years.

For Communist Unity!

The Left Communists (Communist League of America) are profoundly opposed to the present Party regime and its revisionist theories on an international scale. But in the interests of the promotion of the workers' United Front, we are prepared to support every step that the Party undertakes for a concrete program of action against the capitalist offensive. Once started in this direction, we are confident that the momentum of the class struggle will vindicate to the Party membership the full justice not only of the strategy we advocate for the every-day struggle but the historical validity of the revolutionary Leninist principles which motivate our tactics.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

HUGO OEHLER JOINS OPPOSITION

Through the adhesion of Hugo Oehler to the platform of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Left Opposition recruits one of the best types of organizers that the American Communist movement has yet developed. Comrade Oehler was the representative of the National Textile Workers Union in its organizing campaign in the South during the Gastonia struggle and thereafter. He was everywhere hailed as a courageous and clearheaded fighter and leader.

Hugo Oehler has held numerous posts in the Communist Party. He was organizer of the Kansas District of the Communist Party, and during the Colorado coal miners strike directed the Party's work in the field. He is well known to all militants, class conscious workers and revolutionists in the West and South, as well as to the Party organization generally. Oehler has presented the statement in the current issue of the Militant to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and to the District Committee in Chicago where he is at present working.

The pre-convention discussion of the Communist Party, the Thesis to the convention and the Comintern organization letter list the greatest number of shortcomings the Party has ever had presented to any of its conventions. A review of these documents will convince one at once that they are not shortcomings in the nature of a progressing party that is at a higher level but at a lower level in comparison with the past, especially in relation to the increasingly favorable objective situation.

Bankruptcy of the Centrist Party Regime

The Central Committee is presenting to the 7th convention a unanimous thesis and resolutions that have been printed in booklet form (after Bedacht's trip) which means it is approved by our parent body in the International Office. This procedure, following the Comintern organization letter to the convention and the admitted mass of blunders, mistakes and shortcomings means (1.) That our present leadership is not capable of drawing up an analysis of the present situation. (2.) That our international leadership does not trust this task to our American leadership. (3.) That the delegates to the 7th Convention are not trusted with this task.

A leadership not capable of drawing up its own analysis is not capable of leading the revolutionary party. A convention that does not protest this action is a strait-jacket convention and not a unity convention. Leadership of the masses cannot be appointed from the International

office—it can only be obtained and held by actual leadership in theoretical and practical problems facing the working class. Leadership in the Marxian sense cannot sprout from the top like the Peppers, Love-stones and the present incompetents. The thesis presented dealing with the shortcomings does not and cannot deal with their fundamental causes.

The Menace of Revisionism

The Manifesto of the Communist Opposition to the rank and file and the 7th Convention is a document that clears the way for the membership to a correct understanding. The Manifesto points out the roots of the present Party crisis, not only facing us in this country but facing our comrades in the other parties of our International. The revision of Marxism by the Stalin-Bucharin leadership has derailed the movement in the swamp of the non-Marxist, eclectic, utopian, reactionary theory of the "Building of Socialism in one country", the colonial revolutionary policy and the tactics of the "third period". Activity and more activity will not replace correct Marxist theory and these problems first brought up by the Russian Opposition, seemingly remote and of no concern to the class struggle in America are the determining causes of the present chaotic condition in an otherwise objectively favorable situation.

The Communist Party is the instrument of the working class used as the leader and

Continued on Page 6

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff and American Imperialism

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Amid the gathering uproar of protest at home and threats of reprisals from abroad, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill has received legislative enactment and presidential sanction. It cannot be passed over as of no concern to the workers. Its implications for the development of the class struggle in the United States and the struggle of the imperialists for the world market are far too significant.

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff increases the direct taxes on imports to \$630,000,000 a year or about 20 per cent above the present rate. This is a direct gift by the imperialist government of the United States to the monopolies. The masses will bear the burden of these direct taxes on food, clothing, housing and other necessities of life.

Class Legislation

The tariff which is held up as a national policy was always one of the most obvious and flagrant instances of "class legislation". The manufacturers appealed for the support of the workers on the ground that protectionism would fill their dinner pails and the relatively higher wages were pointed to in substantiation. But the wage levels of the workers in this country were due not to the tariff protection but to a combination of circumstances, the great natural resources, the higher productivity of labor and its greater intensity due to superior technical equipment, the inflow of capital, etc. The powerful protection for the United States Steel Corporation has never benefited its industrial slaves. The very people who fiercely resisted trade unionism and proposals for social insurance on the ground that these were class legislation and an interference with "economic laws" of supply and demand, were the interests who continually used their political power to interfere with economic laws of the international division of labor and to secure ever-mounting subsidies from the government treasury. And this was as it should be. The "democratic" state is the political representation of the interests of private property and not of the working class. The fact alone that the British workers enjoyed a relatively higher standard of living than the rest of the European continent during the Victorian period of indolent free trade is enough to prove that the tariff was not responsible for the higher living standards in the United States.

The Economic Crisis

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff is the product of a deepening economic crisis, which coincided with the advent of the "engineering genius" and "Business Administration" of Herbert Hoover. Its sponsors advance the stock argument that it will assure the return of prosperity and keep discreetly silent on the reasons for the loss of prosperity in the first place. That this argument is fraudulent demagoguery should be patent to every worker.

Prosperity had come to be regarded as a special divine dispensation to the United States, an eternal institution. Publicists and professors wrote treatises to prove the "bankruptcy of Marxism" in the light of American experience of the wide diffusion of wealth making bloated stock owners of the workers. Pilgrims from the European social democracy journeyed over to marvel at the wonders of Fordism and the "economy of high wages".

The bubble burst. The stock market began its dizzy dance of calamity. The army of unemployed swelled to five millions. Grain prices fell. Cotton slumped. Commodity prices declined. Output decreased. Exports fell off. American capitalism reveals all the frailties of anarctic production for profit. To propose higher tariffs as the solution for this crisis is sheer demagoguery.

The essence of the economic crisis is the cleavage between the power of production and the capacity for consumption ("effective demand") on the basis, of course, of the relations of distribution that obtain in capitalist society. The masses cannot buy back the amount that is produced. The anarchy of capitalist production for profit manifests itself in the recurrent disproportionality between the various branches of production and the "ineffective demand"

the poverty and inability of the masses in society to buy back—is one of the most important elements in this crisis of disproportion. Goods accumulate in the factories but they cannot find the monetary form for their release. The industrial crisis of over production results. Its storm signals have been manifest in the economic situation of the United States for a considerable period. But it was restrained from full expression by the great credit structure built up on easy rates of interest and the brokers' loans, the bull market, that kept the manufacturing and construction industries and the installment plan going.

The Workers' Position

But more concretely, "technological unemployment"—the industrial reserve army—was increasing. The workers paid for the higher organic composition of capital—technical progress—with the penalty of rationalization and displacement by the machine. In 1929 production was 42 per cent greater than in 1919 but the number of workers actually decreased in that interval by 585,000. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated the minimum health and decency budget of a working class family of five to be an annual income of \$2,262. The average yearly earnings of a worker's family of this kind was \$1,280. Five millions of such families lived below this minimum standard, millions barely reached it. The masses were heavily exploited. Prosperity was only for the labor aristocracy.

This is the situation which the capitalist class of the United States faces today. The aim of capitalist production is the realization of profit. Capital accumulates but the rate of profit at home declines. The domestic market alone becomes too narrow a base for the productive powers of American capitalism. Plant facilities are already in huge excess of domestic requirements. Finished manufactured goods amount to one half of the entire foreign sales. Between 1919 and 1928 American exports totalled 53 billion furnishing a surplus over imports of 14 billion dollars.

American capitalism must gird for a grand offensive on the workers and the

world market. This is the significance of the tariff.

The number of mergers and consolidations increased until the United States was dominated by gigantic industrial corporations. The policy of these gigantic consolidations is to maintain a complete monopoly of the home market and to bid for the world dominion in the foreign market.

The crisis will accelerate the ruin of the small businessman and small manufacturer. The wages of the American workers will be deflated. The cost of living will increase.

Attack on the World Market

The European competitors of American capitalism profess to be deeply shocked by the cynicism of this tariff, a declaration of economic warfare if ever there was one, coming on the very heels of the London Naval Disarmament Conference. Undoubtedly the economic policy implicit in the tariff is the reality behind the illusions intended to be fostered by the Disarmament Conference. The war that resulted from the economic rivalries of Great Britain and Germany will be a mere sketch compared to the forces of death and destruction that will be released in consequence of the decision of American imperialism to put Europe on a decreasing ration and to throttle her. Protected by the monopolist tariff in the home market, United States mass production will resort to the policy of large-scale dumping campaigns in South America, Asia, and elsewhere.

That the other capitalist powers will counter-attack is plain. Up to the present American imperialism has been able to divide them by demanding the favored nation clause for itself. It has wielded its tremendous financial power to force concessions. Europe barred from access to the great American market will not passively accept its fate without a struggle. The German industrialists have announced a new drive on the world market to release the heavy stocks accumulating in the Ruhr and the drive will open with a ten per cent wage cut for hundreds of thousands of German workers. To meet this challenge the British and American capitalists must in turn bring the pressure of international

competition to bear on the workers in the form of wide-spread wage reductions. The general crisis of capitalism will be intensified.

The plans of American imperialism are titanic in their consequences and must finally crash on the rock of their inner contradictions.

Financial Yoke

While seeking to throttle Europe industrially in the world market, American imperialism simultaneously tightens the financial noose. The foreign loans of the United States now total some \$26,000,000,000. Capitalist Europe is one of her heaviest debtors. How will Europe liquidate her debts while her markets are conquered by American imperialism? How will she be able to expand while being drained both ways? American imperialism lands in the net of this quandary. Capitalist Europe must either sell goods or default. It is warfare in either case. The record of the United States for armed intervention to collect debts is a very active one.

The pressure on the workers of Europe must become unbearable and create new revolutionary crises. The American section of the German annuities plan, \$98,250,000 was recently floated quickly by eleven of the most powerful financial houses in the country headed by J.P. Morgan and Company. These bonds are an integral part of the Young Plan and an unconditional obligation of the German Government. The American experts congratulate themselves on having thus taken the reparations question "out of politics". But they reckon without their host—the German proletariat. Do the American capitalists believe that the German masses will recognize as their obligation the payment of the two billion marks annually for 58 years? As little as the October revolution recognized the French loans to the Czar for the suppression of the 1905 revolution!

The tariff is another step on the road that American imperialism has mapped out for itself to unqualified world power. First, through neutrality and then intervention in the World War, through abstention from the chaos of the Versailles Conference, through the "stabilizing" intervention of the Dawes Plan in 1924 and more recently, the Young Plan.

Towards Proletarian Revolution

La Liberté, a Parisian bourgeois paper asks: "Is the capitalistic world doomed to die through excess of production—simply because those who direct it are incapable of organizing it right?" The Communists' answer is directly in the affirmative.

The basic tendencies of world economy are for international unification. The economic crisis, the imperialist wars, the revolutionary struggles are fundamentally expressions of the fact that the productive forces cannot be contained within the frontiers of the national state nor the fetters of private property. Basically European economy cries out for the abolition of tariff barriers, the whole world for the international division of labor, and the free movement of goods. But the resolutions of the World Economic Conference, the Bankers Manifesto of a few years ago, the various proposals for a customs union can have but little effect. So far from the capitalists being prepared to unify world economy, and utilize its technical resources for international cooperation, the Hawley-Smoot tariff demonstrates yet again, that imperialist monopolies based on the exploitation of labor and motivated by the realization of capital, can only increase the antagonisms, the misery of the workers, and bring greater military conflicts.

Only the revolutionary action of the proletariat for the socialization of production can cut the Gordian knot and free the forces of production for a unified world economy and socialist freedom of trade.

The European bourgeoisie is helpless to stem the tide of the American imperialist advance; it can only prepare for war. Despite the talk of reprisals the American tariff will only provisionally here and there bring common action among the European states. In the end the struggle for markets will intensify their mutual hostilities.

The action of American imperialism will accelerate the development of the proletarian revolution.

Do Your Share!

The Communist League (Opposition) is beginning to take roots in the labor and trade union movement, and is making marked advances in the organization of its fractions to carry through its policies in the Left wing and working masses generally. Through the Weekly Militant we can better voice our views and present concrete programs of activity as a guide to the workers.

New Forces from Party and the Youth

In the official Communist Party and the Young Communist League of the United States there is a growing resentment and distrust in the ranks, even though largely suppressed by the bureaucracy, with the policy of the official Communist movement. A number of them have however openly voiced their protest and declared their adherence with the views of the Left Opposition. The Weekly Militant makes it possible to work more actively than ever to win the worker-Communists to the program of the Left Opposition.

The Militant and the Economic Crisis

The fate of the Militant as a WEEKLY still hangs in the balance. The League and supporters of the Communist League of America (Opposition) are beginning to rally around the Militant. Two issues of the Weekly Militant have appeared since our appeal. But a greater response is still needed if the Militant is to continue as a Weekly, and particularly to survive during the difficult summer period. This is the critical time. We are confident that if the supporters of the Left Opposition will contribute financially to pass through the "dog days", the future will bring ripe fruit to the Opposition.

The Militant as a Pivot for Communist Growth

The possibilities for the growth of Communism, of the Left Opposition in the United States are good. The Militant is the pivot around which the activities of our movement revolve. On the assumption of the continued existence of the Militant as a Weekly, the Communist League (Opposition) has laid plans for increased activity among the workers. At present, Max Shachtman of the National Committee is touring nationally for the Communist League. Other organizational and propaganda tours are planned for the fall period by other members of the Communist League.

We need \$2,000.00, over and above our regular income of subscriptions, bundle payments, etc. to insure our existence, as a Weekly publication for the next six months.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT ONCE TO THE MILITANT, 25 Third Ave, New York, N. Y.

Aftermath of Needle Trades Convention

1. Questions of a Left Wing Program

By James P. Cannon

The convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union met at a critical period in the Left wing labor movement. Great and complicated questions of the struggle for a class union, directly affecting the welfare of the sweated and oppressed workers in the industry and bearing on the course of Left wing unionism in general, pressed insistently upon this convention for an answer. They pressed in vain. A false answer was given there to the basic questions of external policy as well as to those relating to the internal life of the union.

Errors which have accumulated into a system and brought about a crisis in the organization, weakening it in the face of its great tasks and responsibilities and supplying a corresponding strength to its enemies, were formally ratified and laid down as a guiding line for the future. The Stalin faction of the Communist Party, which held the convention in the steel vise of mechanical control, gave another demonstration there of its bankruptcy on the trade union question. Repercussions from the convention decisions will be sure and swift; they will fall upon the union, and consequently upon the workers whose fate is bound up with it, like heavy blows over the head.

Party Factionalism Dominates

The convention was a field day for Party factionalism. It was consecrated primarily to a pogrom against the adherents of Lovestone—a disgusting exhibition of mob spirit, full of menace for the future of a union. Howls and boos and the caucous steam-roller—these were the answers to all criticisms and proposals, regardless of their merit, which did not emanate from the Party steering committee. Not even blows were spared in the "ideological" struggle. The Lovestoneites, who were the first to employ these methods in the Communist and Left wing movement, got a double dose of their own medicine at the Needle Trades Workers conventions. But it was not they who will be the losers by it. The Stalinists, who imagined that their mob and hooligan tactics were contributing to the struggle against Lovestoneism, were only demonstrating how well they have acquired some of its most abominable features. The Left wing movement and the Communist Party will pay a heavy price for every "victory" gained by these means.

Factional exclusion from the leading bodies of the union did not stop at the Lovestoneites, the "excluders" of yesterday. Members of the Party who have ventured to exercise a mild "self-criticism" against the ruling bureaucrats were also eliminated from all positions. Everything was cut and dried in advance to the last detail. The "democracy" was simply window-dressing for the gullible. Johnstone, the Party representative, bossed the convention like an arrogant drill sergeant, the veritable symbol of triumphant ignorance! The leadership of the union, which had already been whittled down to Party members, was still further narrowed to members of the Stalin faction of the Party. Thus the Stalinists strengthen their position in the apparatus by weakening the base of the union among the masses. On the side of internal policy the union is worse off than before.

False Attitude on Left Wing

In the most important and decisive questions of external policy the convention also gave the wrong answers. By declaring formally against the organization of a Left wing in the reactionary unions in the industry the convention chopped away the bridge to the workers in these unions, and they are the overwhelming majority of the organized workers in the industry. This decision, and the theory which motivates it—that the right wing unions are "company unions"—are both wrong and are bound to bring catastrophic results.

There may be some who go so far as to think that this decision has sealed the doom of the new union of the Left wing. But in our judgement such an opinion is not well founded. The danger that the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union will degenerate into an impotent sect no doubt exists, and this danger has been increased by the unwise decisions of the convention. But there is yet time to correct the course. It is to this

task that the militants of the Left Opposition, who are assembling in the union, must devote themselves. The first prerequisite for success in this struggle for the salvation of the union is clarity in their own ranks on the question of a program for the union. This is the decisive question. The present relation of forces means little; it will be shattered by the impact of events, and soon enough. The correct program is the basis on which the Opposition Communists, triumphant forces of tomorrow, will secure their victory—and the victory of the Left wing workers.

The Relation of Forces

Our policy must proceed from an analysis of the actual situation and the present relation of forces in the industry. Facts and not wishes are important here. The situation is approximately as follows:

In the industry as a whole there are over 500,000 workers.

The Right wing unions have between 150,000 and 200,000 members.

The Left wing union has at most 6,000 members—less in good standing.

Consider these figures for a moment. The Right wing unions contain about 40% of the workers in the entire industry; the Left wing union has about 1%. A further concretization shows that the membership of the Left wing union has the bulk of its organized strength in the dress making shops. Its hold on the cloak makers and

furriers is very weak organizationally at the present time. In the men's clothing field, the field dominated by the Amalgamated, the strongest union in the industry, it has nothing. In the millinery section it has little. These figures are very important as a point of departure, but they do not tell the whole story. There are other important factors more favorable to the Left union.

The figures cited above are not a true representation of the actual strength of the rival organizations. The membership of the Right wing unions, and particularly of the International Ladies Garment Workers, is based on shop control, agreements with the bosses and job compulsion. Thanks to the partnership of the union officials with the bosses, a partnership sealed by the capitalist state power, the workers are compelled to belong to the Right wing union in order to get work in the shops affected. Terrorism, hunger and the demoralization of the Left wing forces were the whips with which the workers were driven into the Right wing ranks.

Vitality of Lefts

Sympathy for the Left wing is very strong among large sections of these registered workers. All informed workers in the trade testify to this. "My heart is with you but I must make a living," is a common answer of the registered workers to the appeals of the Left wing. There is no doubt that the Left wing influence has declined in the past two years but it re-

mains a powerful force in the masses. And the leadership of the Communist Party in the Left wing movement is indisputable. There is no other important power.

These facts are a remarkable testimony to the vitality of the Left wing movement among the needle trades workers and to their deep-seated hatred for the Socialist betrayers. Not all the compulsion and terrorism of the bosses, the reactionary labor leaders and the police, and—what is equally noteworthy—not all the blunders of the Party and Left union leadership, have been able to change fundamentally the sentiments of the workers. The real strength of the Left wing union is much stronger in the sympathy of the masses than its organization, as that of the Right wing unions is weaker.

The five or six thousand members of the Left wing union are, for the most part, the battle-ried militants, the dynamic force in the industry. They constitute, and will constitute, the core of the future fighting movement which will smash the present alignment. A Communist policy for the next stages of the struggle must be based on them, as in the past. There is the reserve power which is not shown by the membership figures of the rival unions.

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is not an artificial creation. It was formed as the result of an unavoidable split forced by the traitorous leaders of the I.L.G.W.U. and the Furriers' Union. It had masses of workers behind it. The Left union has a real base in sections of the industry and, as such, has every claim to support. The first point in Communist policy must be: to organize the unorganized and build the new union.

But this is only part of the proper program, not the whole of it as the convention proclaimed. In next week's article we will undertake to explain the necessity of organizing a broad Left wing in the reactionary unions of the industry, the methods and slogans with which this task can be accomplished, and the falsity of the theory of "Company Unionism" which has been invented to justify a suicidal policy.

* * *

The Militant invites Left wing needle trades workers to write for its columns on the situation in the union and to give their view on the problems of their movement. Articles written in any language will be translated into English and printed. The Daily Worker is the closed organ of the cynical bureaucrats—the Militant aims to become the voice of the militant rank and file.

Trade Union Policy

A correct policy on the trade union question and its consistent execution by a sound Communist leadership are decisive for the expansion of the Party as the leaders of the struggling masses. Moreover, the tactics of the Left wing, led by the Party, a dynamic force of gigantic importance, will be one of the most vital determining factors in the future course and development of the trade union movement.

The narrowing base of the A. F. of L. and the increasingly reactionary conduct and policy of its leadership raise before the Party and the Left wing the problem of organizing the unorganized workers in the basic industries, primarily the unskilled and half-skilled, who are becoming radicalized and ready for struggle. It is the task of the Party and Left wing to lead in the work of organizing these masses into new industrial unions. The center of gravity in our trade union work belongs to this sphere. This has been indicated by the whole situation for some time and the long delay of the Party in shaping its course in this direction due to the resistance of the leadership, has already had extremely harmful consequences.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Delegations to U.S.S.R. and the Opposition

The International Committee of the Federation of Friends of the Soviet Union has launched an appeal to the workers and labor organizations of Germany, England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Canada concerning the invitations of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to send Workers Delegations in June and July.

In the course of its struggle with the official leadership of the Comintern and its centre, the Stalin faction, the International Left Opposition with the Russian Opposition at its head has despite all slander and distortion of its position continually manifested its solidarity with the Communist workers and their Party, its unreserved devotion to the Russian workers' state. In its struggle with the self-satisfied officialdom, the Left Opposition has never for a moment forgotten the magnitude of the revolutionary achievements, despite the innumerable mistakes of the leadership. On the contrary, to extend this gigantic labor and to fortify it was the sum and substance of the activity of the Opposition. Hence we warmly welcome the appeal of the Friends of the Soviet Union. The workers delegations to the Soviet Union have always occupied a foremost place in the defence of the Soviet Union against the wild campaigns of the capitalist press and particularly in the exposure of the contemptible slanders of the social democratic leadership. The workers' delegations issuing out of the oppressive atmosphere of the citadels of Imperialism breathe in a new atmosphere of proletarian freedom and learn to know with their own eyes the gigantic achievements of their class.

The call for the election of delegates comes at a time which is characterized by a retrogression of the Communist movement in sharpest contradiction to the favorable objective situation. The ebb of the masses from Communism has unfortunately also weakened their active interest in the Soviet Union. All the more energetically is it necessary that the masses participate in the campaign for the election and dispatch of workers' delegations. But the huge pressure exercised by the Party apparatus atus now as before hamstring the initiative and mobility of the working class element. Nothing could more effectively undermine the value and purpose of the delegations than the artificial undemocratic methods in their composition, bureaucratic tricks and machinations. The Opposition must fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers that the delegations be the result of an active and interested movement of the workers

But this doesn't exhaust the obligations of the Opposition. The delegations this year assume in connection with the prevailing situation a particular significance and can fulfil a particular mission. Can they not be of great service to the working class by bringing light on the general political significance of the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition, the import and meaning of which is systematically distorted by the official leadership? Can they throw some light on the "organizational" side of this struggle—and particularly the most recent phase of the campaign of repression against the Russian Opposition?

Since the shooting of the revolutionary Party member, Blumkin, a considerable space of time has passed. But up to the very present not a word by way of self-justification has passed the lips of those who were responsible for the murder. There is nothing strange in this. There would not have been found a single revolutionary worker in the world who would have approved the enormity of assassinating an Opposition Communist for his views. The assassins maintain silence. We must press for an explanation.

The shot which on Stalin's order killed Blumkin was the prelude to a hitherto unparalleled campaign of persecution of Oppositionists for their views in prisons, in solitary confinement, in the wastes of Siberia.

In these circumstances it behooves the workers elected by their class to investigate the life of our proletarian fatherland, to demand on the ground an explanation and an accounting for the suppression of the Opposition Communists. This demand was not refused the socialist leaders of Western Europe, the betrayers of the proletariat, when they asked to examine the conditions of the imprisoned Mensheviks and social revolutionaries at the time of the heaviest struggles of the Russian Workers State. So much the less can the request for an inquiry be legitimately refused to revolutionary workers who proved to be the staunchest fighters for the October Revolution.

The Left Opposition, robbed by the bureaucratic regime of the possibility to make its demands within the framework of the Party, will have representatives through these delegations. The delegates will be charged with energetically ascertaining the facts regarding the fate of Blumkin and the other comrades who have been shot, of investigating the situation of the imprisoned and exiled Communists. It is the duty of all revolutionary workers to see to it that the delegates elected are those with the necessary courage and vigor to take a stand for the persecuted Communist revolutionaries. **IAN FRANKEL.**

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS (A POPULAR EXPLANATION) OF RIGHTS AND LEFTS

By L. D. TROTSKY

In the March 30th Pravda there is an article by Yaroslavsky entitled "From Left to Right". The article is devoted to the "passage" of the Left Opposition...over into the camp of social democracy. How people, who for over two years have been jailed and exiled for "counter-revolutionary" activity, and even for "the preparation of an armed struggle against the Soviet government" (the official motivation for Trotsky's exile)—how these old time "counter-revolutionaries" can only now begin to "pass" into the camp of social democracy remains a puzzle. But what is clear is that Yaroslavsky still has to sweat at the task of finding a "scientific" explanation for Article 58 of the Criminal Code on the basis of which the Opposition has been persecuted. This search of an explanation takes on a particularly noisy character now, because there is a squeak in the apparatus, and it must be drowned.

It is no accident that it is Yaroslavsky who was let loose against the Opposition, even though there are more literate and wiser people in the Party. But at present, the more literate, the wiser, the more conscientious either do not want to be Yaroslavsky's yes-men, but still cannot, partly dare not speak their mind aloud, or else are simply confused. The Yaroslavskys are not confused, for there is nothing in them to be confused. This is why the defence of the Stalinist policy from the Opposition is taken on by Yaroslavsky, and he gives, let us note in passing, a remarkable example of the rot the Party is now fed on.

If in a way of exception we will this time stop at Yaroslavsky's article, it is because with all its insignificance it is symptomatic, and shows very well in what place, according to the German expression, Stalin's boot pinches.

The Tempo of Industrialization

Several months ago we wrote to the comrades in the U. S. S. R. that the signs indicating the too great speed of industrialization are multiplying. Quoting our Bulletin, Yaroslavsky writes that this evaluation "is absolutely in no way different from what the Mensheviks write". Absolutely in no way!

Yaroslavsky does not surmise that the question of correct or incorrect realistic or unrealistic tempos exists in itself independently of what the Mensheviks say about it and is decided in connection with material and organizational factors, and not newspaper quotations, all the more when these are falsified.

In the period when we Oppositionists fought for higher tempos of industrialization (1923-29), the bourgeois press of the whole world together with the social democratic, followed in the foot-steps of Stalin, repeating the accusation that the Oppositionists were "romanticists", "fanatics" and "super-industrialists".

In 1923-25 we proved that even after the exhaustion of all the pre-revolutionary means of production, Soviet industry will be able to have a 20% yearly growth. We supported this contention on economic considerations which we will not cite here (see "Whither Russia—Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism", pp. 45-46, Russian edition). A year after that a five year plan was worked out in the womb of the Gosplan (State Planning Commission). According to this plan the development of industry was to proceed at the diminishing rate of speed, from 9% to 4% a year. The Opposition condemned this plan mercilessly. It was accused of "demagoguery". Another year later the Politbureau approved a new five year project with a 9% yearly growth. The Fifteenth Party Congress approved the correctness of this rate and condemned the Opposition for "...non-belief" and "skepticism". This did not stop the Opposition from irreconcilably condemning the new five year plan. Another year and a half later the Gosplan finally worked out a third five year plan with a yearly increase of 29%. This growth coincided—much closer than it could be expected—with the hypothetical prognosis of the Opposition in 1925, and fully refuted all the preceding clamor about industrial romanticism and demagoguery. Such is the brief pre-history of the question.

The actual growth of industry in the first year of the five year plan (1928-29), exceeded the plan, however, by fully 10%. The leadership immediately decided, basing itself on this success, to complete the five year plan in four years. Against this the

Opposition raised a voice of warning, this time from the "Right". What were our considerations?

a) It is impossible that there are no disproportions in the project of the five year plan. With the fulfilment of the plan they will accumulate, and may manifest themselves sharply, if not in the first year then in the second or third year of the plan which would result in the arrest of growth. Before industry takes on additional speed, we must, speaking in military terms, carefully examine all abutments or junctions, where all branches of industry interlap each other.

b) The noticeable depreciation of the quality of the products, which is extremely low as it is, is a great danger not only for the consumer but for industry as well, because industry itself is the chief consumer of products. Low quality must inevitably result in a drastic decline in the quantity of production.

c) The question of the tempos of industrial development must not be separated from the question of the living standards of the working masses, because the proletariat is the main producing force, and only the sufficient rise of the material and cultural standards of the proletariat can guarantee the future high tempos of industrialization. We consider this question of supreme importance.

These are the three chief considerations which prompted the Opposition to raise its warning cry against the reckless pursuit of tempos which replaced the economic lag of the preceding period. If in 1923-28 the Political Bureau of the Party, not understanding the tremendous possibilities inherent in nationalized industry and planned methods of production were ready to make peace with the idea of four or nine per cent of growth—then now, not understanding the material limits of industrialization it makes a light-minded jump from twenty to thirty per cent, adventurously attempting to transform each partial and temporary achievement into an absolute rule, and completely overlooking the interdependency of different phases of the industrial process.

When we call for the abandonment of the formal pursuit of quantity and for an actual improvement of quality—does this mean that we call for retreat from actually achieved successes? When we demand the utilization of a part of the accumulation for the actual needs of the workers—does this mean that we endanger the industrialization? When we demand that before the 30 per cent annual growth is turned into an iron law, we should examine the interrelation between the different branches of industry and national economy as a whole from the point of view of the productivity of labor, the production costs—does this mean that we call for a retreat to the Stalin position of yesterday?

If the question is really decided so simply then why should we stop at thirty per cent? Fifty per cent is still more. Whoever does not wish to pull "back" must inscribe on his banner at least seventy-five per cent. Or perhaps thirty percent is destined to be the rule? Destined by whom? Destined how? The unfortunate leaders simply arrived at this rule by running into it blindly in the first stages of carrying out the twenty per cent plan, which they themselves fought against tooth and nail for several years. Now it appears that only thirty per cent is Leninism. Whoever says to the frightened opportunists: do not lose your heads, do not push industry into a severe crisis—is, don't you see, "absolutely in no way different from the social democracy" absolutely, in no way!

Aren't these people jesters?

Collectivization

Matters fare still worse if possible with the peasant policy. For a number of years the Politbureau built its agrarian policy on the idolization of the mighty middle peasant and the individual peasant economy generally. The Kulak they simply did not notice or declared insignificant until he concentrated in his hands forty per cent of the marketable bread and acquired the leadership over the middle peasant in addition. Having created his own economic connections and channels the Kulak refused bread to the government industry.

After this (to be exact, after February 15, 1928) the belated and frightened leadership struck the Kulak with a hail of administrative repressions which immediately clogged the circulation of peasant commodities, practically liquidated the NEP and chased the middle peasant up into a blind alley.

When we say that this blind alley was the starting point of the new chapter in the collectivization we do not discover or invent anything new. We simply repeat what the official Soviet press has admitted many times. If Yaroslavsky walls that "not one reactionary has come to think of such an abominable explanation" it merely shows that being absorbed by the perusal of Oppositionist correspondence, the poor man does not read the economic articles in the Soviet press. Yaroslavsky is particularly agitated when we say that the middle peasants have been wavering between collectivization and civil war. He calls this remark "complete renegacy". (The vocabulary of this eavesdropper is not very rich.) But the whole Soviet press is full of information that the peasants, i. e., the middle peasants rapaciously exterminate and dispose of their live stock inventories. All the leaders call this situation "threatening". The newspapers explain this matter, by the influence of the Kulak. They certainly do not mean "ideological" influence but economic ties between the Kulak and the middle peasant, a certain interdependence of the whole peasant economy, market as well as of commodities and finances. In the wholesale selling of cattle as a mass phenomenon we have nothing else but a quiet sabotaging form of civil war. On the other hand, the movement of the farm Collectives (Kolkhozes) has a mass character also. Isn't it clear that the double nature of the middle peasant who combines within himself a toiler and a merchant has reached in the present stage the most contradictory expression? The middle peasant wavers between collectivization and civil war and to a certain degree combines one with the other. This is where the acuteness of the situation and its danger lies. It will increase ten fold if we do not understand it in time.

The Opposition Platform

In the years when three quarters of the Politbureau and 90 per cent of the government apparatus had their orientation on the "mighty peasant"—that is on the Kulak—the Opposition demanded energetic measures for agricultural collectivization. Let us recall that in the Platform of the Opposition these demands found the following expression

"To the growing 'farmer' tendencies of the village we must oppose a faster pace of collectivization. It is necessary to make systematic, year-in-and-year-out allowances to aid the poor peasants organized in collectives."

—(Platform of the Russian Opposition, page 24).

And further:

"We must invest greater means in the Sovkhoz and Kolkhoz (Soviet and collective farms). We must afford the maximum privileges to newly organized Kolkhozes and other forms of collectivization. No person deprived of electoral rights can be a member of a Kolkhoz. All the work of cooperation must be penetrated with the task of transferring small production into large-scale collectivized production. It is necessary to carry through a strictly class line in the supply of machinery particularly through a struggle with fraudulent machine-owning groups."

—(Platform of Russian Opposition, page 26.)

We did not pre-determine the tempo of collectivization because it was for us (it still remains so) a derivative proposition in relation to the tempo of industrialization and a series of other economic and cultural factors.

The Politbureau plan two years later outlined the collectivization of one fifth of the peasants during the Five Year Plan. We suppose this figure did not simply come to Kryzhanovsky in a dream but was based on technical and economic considerations. Was it so or not? Nevertheless during the first year and a half three-fifths of the peasantry were collectivized. Even if we should

assume that this swing of collectivization is a complete triumph of socialism we must simultaneously state the fact of the complete bankruptcy of the leadership because planned economy pre-supposes that the leadership foresees to a certain extent the basic economic processes.

Nevertheless there is not even a suggestion of that. Bucharin the new, the reconstructed, completely collectivized and industrialized Bucharin admits in the Pravda that the new stage of collectivization grew out of administrative measures in the struggle for bread and that this stage was not foreseen by the leadership "in all its concreteness". This is put not too badly. The mistakes of tempo they made in the considerations of planning amount all in all to one thousand percent. And in what sphere? Not in the production of thimbles but in the question of the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture. It is clear that some of this "concreteness" Stalin and Yaroslavsky really did not foresee. Bucharin is right here.

As is well known we never suspected the present leadership of an over-abundance of penetrating ability. But it could never make this kind of mistake if collectivization would in reality have grown out of our conquering the conviction of the peasants by experience of the advantages of large scale collective economy over individual.

Collectivization and Adventurism

Of course we do not for a moment doubt the deeply progressive and creative significance of collectivization. We are ready conditionally to assume that in its scope it approximately corresponds to the sweep of the Five Year Plan. But where did the one thousand per cent additional success grow out of? That must be explained! Let us assume that the work of the Kolkhozes during the preceding twelve years was so successful that it could convince the whole peasantry, not only of the advantages but of the feasibility of general collectivization. It is clear that this kind of conviction could only be developed by means of Kolkhozes based on tractors and other machinery. It may be assumed that the overwhelming majority of the middle peasants actually recognizes today the advantages of working the land by the tractor. But from this, complete "tractorization" does not yet follow because we need not only the conviction of its advantages but the tractor itself. Did the authorities warn the peasants of the actual situation in the sphere of technical material possibilities generally? No! Instead of restraining a panicky collectivization, they extended it by their mad pressure. It is true that now in order to defend the mistake of the one thousand per cent tempo a new theory has been created making the question of technical resources one of tenth rate importance and claiming that socialist agriculture ("the manufacturing kind") can be created by catechism irrespective of the means of production. We are however, determined to reject this mystical theory. We do not believe in such a conception of socialism. Moreover we declare a merciless war against this mythology because the unavoidable disappointment of the peasants threatens to create severe reaction against socialism in general and this reaction may also embrace considerable circles of workers.

Stalin started his last retreat—the inevitability of which he foresaw on the eve of it just as little as he foresaw complete collectivization half a year earlier when he was busy with his trivial "theorizing" about the untimeliness of a socialist regime for the peasant poultry. The latest dispatches announce that Stalin has succeeded in marching a considerable distance—not forward (oh, wise Yaroslavsky!) but backward. From sixty percent collectivization to forty per cent. We do not in the least doubt that he will still have to retreat a considerable percentage more—always at the tail end of the actual process. Foreseeing this several months ago—that is in the very heat of the collectivization push—we warned against the consequences of bureaucratic adventurism. If the Party had read our warnings as they truly were and not in the belated distortions of Yaroslavsky many mistakes would have been, if not avoided, at least greatly modified.

(Continued on Page 6)

In Germany

Comintern Loses Fresh Opportunity

The Wedding convention of the Communist Party of Germany basing itself on the so-called "third period" invented by the Sixth World Congress proclaimed the presence of "an acute revolutionary situation" in the country. The permanent phrasemonger, Thaelmann, strove to demonstrate this incessantly in his rhetorical reports. The official Party press daily devoted to this discovery long winded articles. The talk was of "mass struggles", of "direct assaults" that would smash the capitalist state. Because we of the Left Opposition characterized this appraisal of the situation as unMarxian and mechanical we were designated as pessimists who had "lost their belief in the revolution". The principal slogan of the Party for this "period" invented by the Party officialdom was: "Proletarians fight for a Soviet Germany". On the basis of such an estimation it was no longer necessary to approach the working masses exploited by the bourgeoisie with the help of the social democracy, on the every day questions.

"The Acute Revolutionary Crisis"

It was clear to every Marxist that this noise of the "acute revolutionary situation" was a criminal piece of rhetoric that had nothing in common with the Marxist reality. The Comintern leadership which since 1924 has brought tremendous defeats to the Communist Parties and the proletariat through its false policies (1923 in Germany; 1925-27 in China; 1926 in England, Russia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Poland) and which since 1928 has carried out an ultra-Left zig-zag, would not take the real situation into consideration.

Let us return to the realities of the German situation. What do the figures say regarding the struggles and temper of the working class?

Facts and Figures

In 1928 the number of strike days in Germany was 10.4 millions and in 1929 this number sinks to 4.4 millions; in 1928, 780,000 workers went on strike whereas in 1929, 233,000 went on strike. Whoever will not take these figures into account cannot understand that strikes are a barometer of the militancy of the working class. These figures mean that the militancy of the workers had declined.

The results on the Provincial (Landtag) elections and the municipal (communal) elections both show everywhere a marked decline in the votes of the Communist Party of Germany. On the other hand the social democracy has either held its own or even made gains. The National Socialists (Fascists) have registered very considerable successes. In Red Thuringia the Communist fraction in the Provincial Legislature is composed of six comrades as against the seven representatives of the Fascists.

The Party itself has not only not increased its membership but has lost members. The Party membership can at most be estimated at 70,000.

Party Influence Sinks

In all proletarian organizations and particularly in the trade unions the influence of the Party has almost completely disappeared. The "tremendous" successes of the Party in the factory committee elections with the help of the "red shop committee slates" were in the first instance only the result of the dissatisfaction of the workers, a protest against capitalist repression and its henchmen the reformists. They did not at all represent any readiness immediately to smash the capitalist state. The best proof of the justice of this estimate are the results in the Leuna Works, in the Opel Automobile Works and the Hamburg Docks which record a huge decline in the votes of the Communist slate.

Percentage of Total Votes in

	Leuna Works		Berlin V.A.G.	
	1929	1930	1929	1930
Red List	51.3	34.7	52.4	28
"Free Trade Unions"	32.7	37	29	28
Christian Union	3.2	5.3	7.3	8.6
Patriotic Unions	9.6	16		
Nationalists			9	7.2
Fascist				6

The workers who gave their votes to the Communist Party in the preceding year turned their backs on the policies of the Party because they showed no way out against the capitalist offensive.

And what are the facts concerning the most recent proof of the "acute revolution-

ary situation" in Germany—i. e., the demonstrations! The calendar-like campaigns of the Party have been successively weaker. With three and a half million unemployed the Party succeeded in bringing out to the streets from 5 to 7 per cent only. The last demonstrations of February and March ended in a great fiasco.

Nevertheless the situation in Germany has been favorable for the separation of great sections of the working class from the social democratic party and the crystallization of a Communist mass party in Germany.

Social Democracy Betrays

The social democracy has entered into a new coalition with the finance capitalist bourgeoisie. In contrast to its former coalition policy, the situation of the S.D.P. was incomparably more difficult. Why? In former years of its coalition, the social democracy could still present the workers with some minimum reforms. The bourgeoisie could not so quickly forget the revolution. They still felt the temper of the October atmosphere of 1923. The bourgeoisie was, moreover, not strong enough economically nor politically to force across its will against the resistance of the workers. The economic and political organs of bourgeois authority had not yet been extensively enough developed. The bourgeoisie had still to make concessions to the workers.

But the coalition policy of Hilferding-Mueller in 1928 was that of the direct betrayal of the every day interests of the working class. The social democrats worked not only for the extension of the power of the capitalist state (cruisers, police, Defence of the Republic Act) not only supported the further offensive of the banks and trusts (concentration, rationalization, etc.) but betrayed everything the workers had conquered from the capitalists in the period of the revolutionary wave. Through their Minister of Labor Wissell, the social democrats agreed to the wage reduction. They voted for the reduction of the unemployed benefits. They began the reduction of the Sick Benefit pensions. With their support of the Concordat agreement, the social democrats helped to re-establish the clerical reaction. They helped to impose further indirect taxes on the masses. And all this in the period of the greatest unemployment in Germany. The social dem-

ocracy has not only not given the workers any new reforms but is actively aiding the bourgeoisie to deprive the workers of those concessions they had already secured by the road of struggle.

Looking at the situation from this viewpoint everything was favorable for an advance of Communism. Had the Communist Party linked its slogans and platform with the every day needs and problems of the workers, it could have broken the tie between the social democratic workers and their leaders and have assured the triumph of Communism.

But all our Communist Party leaders could do was to shower the social democracy with abuse.

The False Approach of the Stalinists

To this end the formula of "social fascism" was invented. The agitation against "social fascism" took on a hysterical scope. Not only was the Berlin Police President Zoerglebel characterized as a "social fascist" but every worker in the social democracy was likewise denounced as a "social fascist". The slogans became "Out with the social fascists from the factories". "Out with the social fascist children from the schools."

The tactics of Remmelle and Thaelmann gave the social democratic leaders their opportunity to cover up their betrayal of the interests of the workers and aided them to pass over from a defensive to an offensive position. The slogan of "social fascism" played into the hands of the social democratic demagogues: "To the extent that the Comintern identifies the democratic domestic of capitalism with its fascist bodyguard, it does the social democracy the very best service... In those countries where fascism represents a power, Italy first, then Austria and Germany, the social democrats have no difficulty proving to the masses not only the differences but even the hostility between themselves and fascism. To this extent the social democrats are relieved of the necessity of disproving that they are the democratic servants of capital. The whole political struggle is shifted to an artificial plane which is exceptionally favorable to the social democrats." (L. Trotsky—Open Letter)

The very favorable situation could have been utilized had a different policy been applied—not the "social fascism" slogan nor the Brandlerist conception of a united

In France

Opposition Defends Indo-Chinese Rebels

The International Left Communist Opposition has extended its struggle to one more sector. This is in connection with the revolutionary movement in Indo-China against the sanguinary acts of repression of French Imperialism.

The official Communist Party in France is non-existent so far as Indo-China is concerned where the proletariat is being ferociously exploited and where imperialism maintains its police dictatorship over the native proletarian population by fire and sword, torture and death. This atrocious misery has already evoked movements of spontaneous revolt that the young native bourgeoisie more or less independent of French capital, has sought to direct to its own ends. In consequence of the revolts of Yen Bay, of Vinh, etc., 39 Indo-Chinese revolutionaries have been sentenced to death and four of these have already been executed. The Criminal Commission of Phu Tho is about to condemn ten other revolutionaries to death, one to life long imprisonment, twenty-six to hard labor for the rest of their lives, thirty-eight to deportation, etc.

The Indo-Chinese workers in France and the French proletarians have under the leadership of the Communist League of France (Opposition) embarked on an energetic protest action to prevent these sentences from being carried out any further and this campaign must strike an echo in the hearts of the workers of all countries.

In front of the Elysee in Paris a strong demonstration took place on the call of the Communist League following which several comrades were imprisoned. Despite all the attention this demonstration stirred up in the bourgeois press, despite

the fury of the attack of the government against the Left Opposition, the leadership of the French Communist Party and the Humanite have MAINTAINED COMPLETE SILENCE because our Indo-Chinese comrades fought under the flag of the Communist League (Opposition). It was only after direct protests and by way of leaflets and public notices that the Humanite finally made up its mind to defend our Indo-Chinese comrades.

But the opportunist leadership of the Party and the Humanite even while defending our comrades, betrayed them. In the articles of the Humanite they were represented as being the adherents of the official policies of the Communist Party and the Stalinist policy in the colonies for "the right of self-determination for their complete independence" (Humanite, May 28th, 1930). Nothing could be more false.

The Indo-Chinese comrades have condemned the Stalinist colonial policy applied by the Comintern regime throughout the world and particularly in Asia. The Indo-Chinese comrades are an integral part of the International Opposition.

Together with the Left Opposition, the Indo-Chinese comrades are not satisfied to fight for "self-determination up to complete independence" after the fashion of Chiang Kai-Shek but call for the formation of an independent revolutionary party of the working class to wage the struggle for the social revolution against both French imperialism and native bourgeois exploitation equally and in closest contact with the French working class. "Proletarians of all countries, unite" must become more than a mere slogan. It must be carried into life.

—P. NAVILLE

front which is always the tail-end of the social democracy—but the Leninist tactics of the united front would have unmasked the Left as well as the Right wing leaders of the social democracy. Not "Red Factory slates" at any price, not the abandonment of work in the trade unions but tireless work in all the mass organizations was the need.

It was evident to us all that the social democracy would be thrown out of office as soon as the bourgeoisie could afford to dispense with its services. But the centrist leadership of the Communist Party missed the real point of the situation. The result has been the isolation of the Communist Party inside the working class and the consolidation of the social democracy despite its betrayals. The S.P.D. even parades now as an "Opposition" Party. The subjective factor in history—the Communist Party—has again failed.

—ROMAN WELL

In Mexico

Diego Rivera Retires from Political Life

The leadership of the official Communist Party in Mexico have been making incessant attacks on the expelled Mexican Communist artist, Diego Rivera, who for a period of time after his expulsion was a member of the Left Opposition group. The position and work of this talented artist is such that a good regime in the International drew him ever closer to Communism—a bad regime repulses him. As a "fellow traveller" his services to the Communist movement have been and can continue to be in the future very considerable. So long as the Stalin faction regarded him as a useful intellectual lackey—a la Enrbusse in France and Michael Gold in the United States—he was held in high esteem by them. When Rivera began to revolt against the poisonous atmosphere created in the Comintern by the bureaucracy—he was discovered to be a "counter-revolutionary"

Owing to his conflict with the authorities Rivera lost his painting assignment in the National Palace and was expelled together with all his followers, teachers and students from the "National Autonomous University" of Mexico for the radical course of studies he introduced into the School of Fine Arts. In his fight against the reactionaries the slogan of Rivera's group of students was "Against the bourgeois university, for a University of the Workers and Peasants." The more heroic sacrifices of the embattled Barbusses and Golds are unknown to us. We do know this: that the flaming proletarian litterateur and editor of the New Masses, Michael Gold, never recoiled in horror from the idea of having the "proletarian" banker, Otto H. Kahn finance his productions.

In his desire to take the wind out of the sails of Stalinist demagoguery, Rivera has sent us the following statement for publication:

"I declare that neither the Communist Party nor the bourgeoisie can hold the Communist Opposition responsible for my actions for which I assume full responsibility, not having had since the deportation of comrade Negrete any contact with the Opposition. The special character of my professional work—that of a mural painter—obliges me to maintain certain economic contacts with those who pay for this work—which has always been used in the interests of the revolution—as my paintings can prove. For this reason however I am continually utilized by the Stalinist party and by the bourgeoisie as an arm against my own comrades, in consequence of which, I declare that I cannot amputate from my personality that which is my life itself, that is to say, my art; and being unwilling to hinder the activities of the Opposition by my presence in its ranks, and considering it my duty, I retire definitely from all political activity."

Rivera further declares that his sympathy continues as formerly with the Opposition program as against the opportunism and adventurism of the official leadership.

If the number on your wrapper is

49

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Towards a Concrete Program of Action

Social Insurance

The problem of social insurance in a program of Unemployed Demands is treated by the present Party leaders as an illegitimate child. This despite the spasmodic proddings of the Comintern and the R. I.L.U. upon the Party on different occasions to evince a little greater activity and sincerity in this field.

The demands for Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Sickness Insurance and the like are treated by the Browder-Bedacht pontiffs as evidence of secret "social-fascist" cravings. They apparently envisage the demand for social insurance as purely parliamentary maneuvering and not a by-product of the class struggle like all other reforms and concessions "granted" to the workers by capitalist legislatures. Social insurance does not fit in with the rantings of the "third period."

Social Insurance as a By-Product of Struggle

But for the revolutionary party to surrender the representation of these demands of the socialist party, the Muste group or the other petty-bourgeois reformers would be a great blunder. If the Party does that it does not seriously have regard to the possibilities of a revolutionary utilization of parliamentary action. In fact the Communist Party is being misled by the adventurist leadership at its head into the frame of mind and tactics of the bourgeois "boycottists" in the history of the Russian social democracy. It will become so "pure" that it will end in sterility.

The presence of social insurance in Great Britain and Germany on the statute books for many decades has not prevented the development of the class struggle, and can not so long as the basic contradictions of capitalism dominate the social structure. The British workers have continued to organize great strikes and to move steadily to the Left. Bismarck's legislation to "steal the thunder" of the socialists has not prevented the rise of a Communist mass party and the development of revolutionary crises that under revolutionary leadership could have resulted in a German Soviet Power.

Capitalist Responsibility for Unemployment

Will anyone revolutionary seriously argue that the Salvation Army, private soup kitchens, the net-work of social-service and charitable institutions maintained by the business interests are preferable to State insurance in the sense that they make the workers more class conscious or "pauperize" them less? The bourgeoisie in Great Britain is constantly seeking ways and means for cutting down the "dole". W. I. King, the well known American statistician attacks the dole on the ground that it is the real reason preventing an industrial revival. He wants a free market in the commodity of labor power, governed by "supply and demand". He blames the trade unions and the "dole" for preventing the "deflation" of wages. And he warns the American capitalists that they are running the

same risks if they permit the enactment of unemployment insurance in the United States.

W. I. King and his associate bourgeois economists make a deep mystery of the recurrence of the "business-cycle". They find every explanation of it under the sun, but the real one of the anarchic character of capitalist production for profit. The capitalist system is responsible for the "business-cycles" and for the standing and recurrent mass unemployment. The Capitalist State must be compelled by the organization and struggle of the masses to shoulder the charges of unemployment.

Credits for the Soviet Union

Not the least of the derelictions of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party has been its failure to rally the unemployed around the demand for credits for the Soviet Union. Unremittingly and windily the *Daily Worker* "sloganizes" for the "Defence of the Soviet Union", but when the whole international economic crisis favors the crystallization of one of the widest mass movements yet for the real and substantial Defence of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist regime and its American agents, Browder-Bedacht-Foster do nothing but hamper the Party from measuring up to its great opportunity. The reason for this attitude of the Party leaders flows not from any malice but inevitably from their false theory of "national socialism"—Stalin's Russian "exceptionalism".

Economics and Military Defence

The Defence of the Soviet Union is not as the *Daily Worker* would like to impress its readers, a purely military question, a matter of preventing imperialist interven-

tion. In this age military strength itself depends on industrial power. In the case of the Soviet Union it depends not only on industrial power but on the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and socialism. But socialism cannot be built up in the Soviet Union entirely out of its own inner resources and separated from the world market by a Chinese wall. The difficulties that the great Five Year Plan and collectivization are experiencing today in the U.S.S.R. demonstrates this exactly.

To hold anything else is a flagrant rupture with Marxist analysis and proletarian internationalism.

International Solidarity

The demand for credits for the Soviet Union at once reveals the inner link between the interests of the American working class and the workers of the Soviet Union. Millions are idle in the United States. But the socialist plans of the Soviet Union cry out for machinery and other industrial equipment. Employment here and collaboration with the Five Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. would be the consequences of large scale credits. Thousands of American workers would receive practical lessons in the implications of internationalism in the fundamental struggle between capitalism and socialism and the meaning of Communism. Thousands could be mobilized for the U. S. S. R. and against the capitalist government of the United States.

The slogan of credits to the Soviet Union is one that the labor bureaucracy and the international social democratic leaders will resist. They would sense in it the possibilities of a united front that would draw the rank and file away from them and towards the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communists. They are right. "Credits for the Soviet Union", is one of the most forceful focal points for a united front movement. —M.S.P.

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS

(Continued from Page 4)

Our Slogan of Collaboration with the Soviet Union

The approaching crisis of Soviet economy coincides with the growing world capitalist crisis. This coincidence has in the final analysis common reasons. World capitalism has outlived itself but the undertaker is not yet ready for his work. The crisis of Soviet economy, if we leave aside the mistakes of the leadership, is the economic consequence of the isolated condition of the U. S. S. R. That is the very fact that the world proletariat has not yet swept away capitalism. The problem of the proletarian revolution is the problem of the organization of socialist economy on a world scale. For Europe whose capitalism is most overripe and sickly, the proletarian revolution means first of all the economic unification of the continent. The only way we can and must prepare the European workers for the seizure of power is by revealing to them the immeasurable advantages of a correctly planned all-European and later on a World organization of socialist economy. The slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe which is imperative now more than it ever was is inadequate however, in its abstract political form. This slogan must be filled with concrete economic content. The economic experience of the Soviet Union is fully sufficient to create an exemplary variant of the plan based on the collaboration of the U. S. S. R. with the industrial countries of Europe. In the final historical analysis this is the only way out for the U.S.S.R. from the growing internal contradictions. Neither has Europe any other way out of the crisis (unemployment, the growing oppression of America and the perspective of wars). The problem of collaboration in its full dimensions can be decided only through a proletarian revolution and through the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe which through the medium of the Soviet Union will also be tied up with liberated Asia.

The European workers must be led by this perspective. They must be presented with a clear and broad plan of economic collaboration based on the exceptionally high coefficients of growth accomplished even in backward isolated Russia. This is the immeasurable revolutionary significance of the slogan of economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. if it is advanced

correctly—that is in a revolutionary manner.

Under the present circumstances this slogan is above all one of the most valuable weapons for the mobilization of the unemployed and the workers in general in connection with unemployment. This is not merely a matter of the possible delivery of commodities to the Soviet Union as important as this question is in itself. It is a question of getting out of the historical impasse, of altogether new economic possibilities of a United European economy. With this kind of concrete "supra-national" plan based on experience in our hands, the worker-Communists can and must approach the social democratic worker. Under the conditions of the crisis this is the most important approach to the problem of the socialist reconstruction of Europe. With the correct application of the united front policy the slogan of collaboration with the U.S. S.R. and the economic transformation of Europe can be made the wedge that would break off large circles of social democratic workers from the present leaders.

But for that we must first of all liquidate, reject and condemn, the theory of socialism in one country. We must make clear to the world proletariat that the Russians are not constructing a separate socialist home for themselves, and that such a structure on a national scale is generally impossible. They are constructing a national wall for the European and later on also for the world socialist home. The further they get the harder it will be to raise this wall, because it may crash without the timely construction of the other walls. About building the roof over the national wall there cannot even be any talk. We must get started with the simultaneous work in other countries according to a common plan. This plan must be worked out by the government of the Soviet Union, at any rate, its basic features, as a plan of mighty material and spiritual growth of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

This is what the slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union means in its developed form, under the present historical circumstances. But such a policy presupposes a radical revision of the theory and practice of the Soviet leadership. The Yaroslavskys are very little fit for such a policy.

(To Be Continued)

Comrade Raymond Spector, an active member of the Communist Party and who has been Chairman of the Control Commission in Section Brownsville, New York spoke before his nucleus on June 17th on the policy of the Comintern in China and endorsed the line of the Left Opposition. His expulsion followed immediately. Such is the freedom of the pre-convention discussion.

A statement of the views of Comrade Raymond Spector, together with that of other Party and Young Communist League members will appear in the next issue of the *Militant*.

Hugo Oehler Joins Left Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

organizer of the revolution for the overthrow of capitalism. The first duty of every Communist is the success of the revolution and so long as the Party has a program based on Marxism there is an unbroken chain between the class, the Party and the success of the revolution. Just as soon as the leading individuals or groups in the Party revise Marxism and Leninism a danger of the elimination of the Party as the leader and organizer of the class is at hand unless we are capable of defeating the revisionists. But if the revisionists are able to dominate, it spells ruin unless the membership liquidates such a leadership.

The Struggle of the Left Opposition

This was the case with the Second International when the revisionists dominated and eliminated it as the leader and organizer of the revolution. We saw the transformation of the Second International from an instrument for liberation to an instrument of suppression of the workers and peasants. The same process is at work in our International. Fortunately, however, for the proletariat we are living in a different historical period; this process is only in the beginning stage in our International; and lastly we have an International Opposition led by L.D. Trotsky that exposes the revision, explains the determining causes of the crisis and mobilizes the forces to win the International for the Marxian-Leninist path again.

We members of the Communist Party ask for an answer to this manifesto and for the readmittance of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition into the Party. We do not ask for a religious campaign of "loyalty to the C.I." to take the place of objective consideration of these proposals. If the policies of the leadership is Marxian then there is no conflict between loyalty to the C.I. and loyalty to Marxism but when the present leadership revise Marxism and present theories that are non-Marxian-Leninist the membership must choose between loyalty to that leadership and loyalty to Marxism. We stand or fall by Marxism and Dialectic Materialism and by now life itself has proven the correctness of the Left Opposition group as Marxism fighting revisionism. The readmittance of the Opposition to the International, regardless of how painful it is to some "leaders" is a necessary step to prepare the Party as the leader and organizer of the big class struggles we can expect in the present period in order that pressure of world capitalist economy can be relieved from the U.S.S.R. and the extension of the dictatorship of the proletariat over greater sections of the earth can be accomplished.

Our demands are:

1. The readmittance of the Communist Opposition and the adoption of the Marxian program of the Opposition.
2. Replace the present isolation tactics with Leninist United Front tactics in trade union work and all other activity.
3. Eliminate mechanical control of auxiliary organizations and replace with control through Marxian policy.
4. Reject VERBAL transformation of defensive struggles and demonstrations into revolutionary upheavals.
5. Reject slogan of "Social Fascism" that renders aid to the reformists.
6. Reject "Third Period" chaotic zig-zag course and replace with dialectic analysis and tactics.
7. Correct 7th Convention thesis on above points and other minor points flowing from these root causes.

—HUGO OELER

THE PARTY AND THE UNORGANIZED MASSES

The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized, basic industries. The full horror of the capitalist rationalization falls directly upon them, and the attacks of the capitalists in the present depression and coming crises strike them first and hardest. The Party must turn its face to these unorganized masses, put itself at the head of their struggles and lead the work of organizing them into new industrial unions. This historic task must be accomplished in the fire of struggle against the capitalists and their state power as well as against their agents in the labor movement, the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and allied groups of social-reformist elements. In this protracted struggle on all fronts, extending over a period of years the decisive break of the workers with the ideology of capitalism will be effected and the genuine class movement of the workers be built.

—FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

In India

The C. I. and Two-Class Parties

The sharpening of the class struggle in India finds the proletariat of that country in the absence of a conscious vanguard, a Communist Party, unable to take the leadership in the rising movement against British Imperialism. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists are able to get control of the movement, lead it into "safe" channels and ultimately betray it. The attempts of sections of the nationalist movement, i. e., the All-Indian Youth League, the workers and peasants of Peshawar, the railroad workers, the textile workers of Bombay, etc., to break away from this leadership have met with only partial success.

Why is there no Communist Party in India today? This question which confronts every Communist and class-conscious worker must receive a definite answer.

"The Two-Class Party" Policy

The Comintern under the leadership of Stalin and Bucharin (1924-28) basing itself on an incorrect estimation of the degree of stabilization of world capitalism and the relation of class forces, separated the question of bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonial countries from that of the proletarian dictatorship and consequently based its activities in these countries on dual composition class parties. (In China, the bloc of the four classes in the Kuomintang and later the "Left" Kuomintang, in Japan, "the Workers and Peasants Party", in Mexico, "Workers and Peasants' Bloc"—in India, "Workers and Peasants Parties").

Every once in a while one reads a declaration of the "Communist Party of India" or representatives of such a "Party" would appear at Congresses, Plenums, etc. In reality there are only a handful of individual Communists, according to a leading member of the Anti-Imperialist League, about 75 scattered throughout the country, having no central organization and no collective activity. Most of them, under instructions from the E. C. C. I., worked in hand with petty bourgeois elements in building "Workers' and Peasants' parties".

But, a combination of events forced a "change". This was the joint pressure of the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky the change in the correlation of class forces in the Soviet Union, the crushing defeat of the Chinese proletariat due in great measure to the criminal subordination of the C.P. of China first to the Kuomintang and later the "Left" Kuomintang, etc. The occasion for this "change" was the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August-September, 1928).

At this time the Comintern leadership was compelled to admit that it was responsible for the "Workers' and Peasants' parties in India" and officially to repudiate such tactics. Sikandar Sur, the reporter on the Indian question, in his summary, stated:

"The Workers' and Peasants' Parties exist owing to the wrong tactics and instructions of the Comintern. The last report of the Annual conference of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' parties show that the party is falling into the hands of philanthropic petty bourgeoisie. Our comrades do not hold office there. Comrade Shubin (Soviet Union—J.C.) is absolutely wrong when he talks of the inadvisability of forming a Communist Party on account of objective difficulties. But should we surrender to obstacles or should we overcome them?" (Inprecorr—Vol. 8, No. 78 p. 1473). Even here, we have no real repudiation of dual composition class parties, but such parties in which "our comrades do not hold any offices."

The official colonial theses of the Congress had this to say in reference to the question at hand. "Special 'Workers' and Peasants' Parties' whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily at particular periods, be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties, and accordingly, Communists are not recommended to organize such parties." (Inprecorr, Vol. 8, No. 88 — P. 1670). Communists are not recommended, not advised to build workers' and peasants' parties! Since when does the Comintern hand out mere advice and recommendations to Communists? It is obvious that this "literary change" in policy is meant primarily for the record. It also leaves the door open for a repetition

of Stalin's sophistry on the Kuomintang. That is the argument that the Communists did not "organize" the party but came into it in order to get to the masses.

It should be also noted that the phrase "at particular periods (can) be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties" is an underhanded attempt to excuse the Comintern's policy of building such parties "at particular times".

After the Sixth Congress

Not only was a Communist Party not formed after the Sixth Congress, but the official Comintern press continued to speak of the "Workers' and Peasants' Parties" as a legal expression of the Communists in India. For example, the erstwhile Comintern specialist on India, M.N. Roy, writing on the municipal elections in Bombay stated: "Owing to the doubtful position of the Communist Party (!) and the general antagonism to Communism that characterizes the present bourgeois political atmosphere of the country, the election was contested (by the Communists—J.C.) in the name of the Workers' and Peasants' party"—and later adds "By contesting the election the Communists gave another sign of their political independence (sic!). Most resolute fighters for national freedom, they will defend the interest of the working class not only against foreign imperialism, but also native capitalism. By these tactics of the revolutionary class struggle the Communists will mobilize and lead the proletariat as the driving force of the national revolution". (Inprecorr—Vol. 9, No. 12—March 1st, 1929). What could be plainer? Roy and his political allies, Lovestone and Brandler, demagogically criticize the Stalinists today for not having built a Communist Party in India! These individuals who share the responsibility with the Stalinists and Kuusinsens for the past Kuomintang tactic now call for the building of a Communist Party side by side with a "national revolutionary party". But what will be the role of the Communist Party? The objective logic of their policy means the subordination of the C. P. to the "national revolutionary party", the duplicating of the events of 1925-26-27 in China.

Again, after the Sixth Congress, the hitherto scattered and unconnected Workers' and Peasants' parties, for the first time organized a national party, the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India". What was the attitude of the Comintern towards this conference?

The "Workers' and Peasants' Party"

Discussing the Conference of the Work-

Flaunt Royal Courts

Helston, Cornwall

Editors, the Militant:—

We know that ghastly destitution prevails in your country as in ours; and that in your city streets, and upon the high roads affluence and misery are often sharply contrasted when the motor car of the millionaire scatters dust or mud on the unemployed worker tramping hopelessly on the search of a job which does not exist. But these contrasts are the result of chance encounters; the rich man is out on his daily business or possibly he is bent on pleasure. In no case does he organize hundreds of his wealthy friends to display themselves in gorgeous attire at a given time, as a provocative and shameful contrast to the wretchedness of thousands of the surrounding population.

But this is the spectacle we can see in London whenever a Royal Court is held and we have had four of them this spring. The women have worn gowns of silk and lace with trains encrusted with jewels, and had ornaments of precious stones. Some have even worn shoes with jewelled heels. And all this perfectly unnecessary display has been made in a wealthy capital city which can show the most appalling depth of poverty among its hosts of slum dwellers.

While the company at the palace at a recent court were partaking of the customary refreshments, served on gold plate, a fleet of motor cars could speedily have conveyed the whole of the guests to houses where (after supping in a very different fashion) adults of both sexes and child-

ers' and Peasants' Party Roy wrote:

"Meeting in this atmosphere of revolutionary development from all sides, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, whose driving forces are the Communists, was objectively the most important event of the moment. The Workers' and Peasants' Party is not the Communist Party (sic!), although the Communists play in it the leading and dominating role. Several years ago it appeared on the scene as the first sign of radicalization of the nationalist masses. As such the Communists supported it and aided its growth. Practically all the great strikes of the last two years were led under the banner of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The object of the Communists was to make this new party the rallying ground for all the nationalist revolutionary elements, to develop it into a revolutionary mass party which is a crying need of the moment". (Inprecorr, Vol. 9—No. 6—February 1, 1929). The above is a precise summary of the tactics of the Comintern in India for the past few years.

Roy however criticized the Conference for not having made provisions for united front action with the "League for Indian Independence" (the organization of the petty bourgeois intellectuals which Roy wished the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the Communists to unite with to form his Indian "nationalist mass party").

Immediately Roy was rebuked. The Conference, a Comintern representative wrote, did make provision for united front action with the "League for Indian Independence." Roy is wrong, says the writer, Communists must not try and build "a mass nationalist party", but must build a Communist Party. But how about the Workers' and Peasants' Party? The writer states that confusion exists in the party; although it is showing signs of a "decided improvement"; its confusion is due to its character, in its "composition of two classes, which is bound to result in rendering vague the proletarian line itself." (!) The implications of the writer P. Sch. are clear. The line of the Workers' and Peasants' Party must be a class (!) policy; the Communists must organize themselves in a C.P. but at the same time struggle for a class line in the W. and P. party. (Inprecorr, Vol. 91, No. 16, March 29, 1929.) Nowhere in his article does P. Sch attempt to repudiate Roy's above quoted characterization of the role of the Communists in India. The Comintern, through P. Sch offers the conception of a "Left" Kuomintang as against a "whole" Kuomintang.

In April 1929, that is only a few months after the National Conference of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India", the British and Indian governments started a general offensive against strike leaders, revolutionary workers and Communists. Thirty one were arrested for carrying out

the orders of the Comintern in India and being in favor of the violent overthrow of the government. The Workers' and Peasants' Party broke down under the offensive. In a few months there was no Party. (Clemens Dutt, Labour Monthly—July 29, 1929) This again compelled the official Comintern press to speak about the necessity of a Communist Party in India.

Safarov's Apologetics for Stalin

In a recent issue of the Communist International (Vol. VII. No. 5, English Edition) G. Safarov, a former Oppositionist with an even more flexible spine than his fellow-capitalists, discusses the situation in India. After condemning Roy's position on India he writes: "Of the same worth are the accusations of another careerist (!), a Max Shachtman, in the Militant, who accuses the Communist International of resisting the formation of a Communist Party in India." (Militant, Feb. 8). Both the Right and the 'Left' renegades ignore the real facts, for the birth of the revolutionary working class in India in 1928-29 is an indisputable fact... That did not and could not take place until the development of the class struggle had aroused the masses, until the slogans of the Comintern had turned into class reality. They could only be embodied in the real life of India thanks to the self-development of the working class, in the process of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism." (P. 48). Safarov undertakes a task never before attempted in the Party press—to explain why no C.P. was built in India.

First, he does not deny the accusation of comrade Shachtman that the Comintern resisted the formation of a C.P. in India. Secondly, who denies the existence of a revolutionary working class in India in 1928-29? Certainly not the Left! Third, if one is to make sense of this quotation one must interpret Safarov as saying: There was no revolutionary working class in India until 1928-29, because the development of the class struggle had not aroused the masses; therefore a Communist Party could not be built. Let us dissolve the Communist Party of the United States because there is no revolutionary working class in this country!

It is the Communist Party which must help intensify the class struggle. Fourth, a C.P. could not be built in India "until the slogans of the Comintern had been turned into class reality" (Page 48). Who was to propagate the slogans of the Comintern? The Workers' and Peasants' Parties, individual Communists? What slogans had to be turned into class reality? The "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" or perhaps (and we are not very far from the truth) the realization of a "powerful mass Workers' and Peasants' party"?

The official press once again carries reports of leaflets issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party without comment of its own. The Stalinist press gives little information as to what the Comintern is actually doing in India today.

The Daily Worker from time to time speaks of the formation in the "near future" of an All-Indian Communist Party. In one of its issues, (Wednesday, May 21, 1930), it carries on its front page photostatic copies of two issues of the "Workers' Weekly". The story underneath it runs: "The first Marxist-Leninist paper published in India, is shown above in the headings of two issues. The 'Workers' Weekly' began publication in Bombay on January 26, and is acting as the ideological leader and organization center for the forces of the working class in the Indian Revolution".

The April 30 issue of Inprecorr available at least one month before the Daily Worker story, carries an article by V. Chattopadhyaya (one of the secretaries of the World Anti-Imperialist League and the latest of the Stalinist writers on India) with the following: "The Workers' Weekly, the new organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, points out in its last issue that the movement has gone far beyond Gandhi and the Congress, and calls for a general strike throughout India." (The Revolutionary Situation in India—V. Chattopadhyaya Vol. 10 No. 21).

How are we to explain this? Is the Comintern at present building a "Left" Kuomintang in India or doing nothing at all? What efforts are being made to build a Communist Party? What has happened to the All-Indian Communist Party that was to be formed in the near future? What is this "revolutionary Marxian Workers' Party"? These questions must be answered.

—JOSEPH CARTER

—M. SHOOTER

at British Workers

ren in numbers, were seeking such rest as can be found under conditions of overcrowding. In one case, (officially reported about the time of the holding of one of the recent courts) seven people—adults and children were found to be sleeping in one bed!

In no country except England can such senseless and provocative displays as these Royal Courts of ours be found at the present time. That they are still popular among the wealthy English bourgeoisie, (whose female offspring make their social debut at such ceremonies) is proof of the inherent snobbishness of the English character; and also of an incapacity to think seriously and in detail even on a most pressing subject. The present situation in England is this: the fertile soil, which would feed millions under intensive cultivation is held up in the hands of the big landlords. Industrial unemployment is increasing and no political party—Conservative, Liberal or Labor, can find a cure for worklessness, for not one of them is prepared to get rid of the landlords who hold all the basic materials—minerals as well as the surface soil in their grip. Misery is daily increasing among the poor, coupled with a bitter resentment, and before long we may see the wealthier members of society displaying their heels—jewelled or otherwise—in real earnest before the onrush of starving and furious mobs.

But where is the leadership which will give us revolution while preserving us from anarchy? Not in the discredited Communist Party under Stalinist leadership.

One Year of Labor Government

Ramsay MacDonald, the "big shot" of the Second International has been reviewing the accomplishments of one year of labor government in office. His review is significant for what he did not rather than what he did say.

Measured by the expectations it aroused in the minds of its rank and file followers the second "Labor Government" has turned out to be as great and calamitous a failure as ever the Labor Government of 1924 was. Conspicuously it has proven its utter bankruptcy in every basic problem it faced. The failure of the Labor Government is a striking demonstration of the bankruptcy of the policies of social democracy throughout the world.

Take domestic policy as a first instance. Since the MacDonald Government came into office on June 10, 1929 the number of unemployed has actually increased by 600,000, making a grand total of the unemployed army in Britain of 1,739,000 the biggest since 1921-22.

Not a finger has been raised by the MacDonald cabinet to repeal the reactionary anti-trade union bill passed by the Tory government after the general strike.

Take India as another touchstone of socialist practise. In 1924 the "Labor Government" decreed the Bengal Criminal Ordinance to provide for the arrest without trial of all opposing British authority. Hundreds of Indian revolutionaries have been rotting in jail for years under this ordinance. The second Labor Government came into office. Not a finger has been moved to release these prisoners.

MacDonald in India carries on in the best traditions of Bloody Balfour's suppression of Ireland. In Peshawar, in Sholapur, in Bombay, the Indian masses are prodded with British bayonets, shot down, imprisoned. The responsibility falls directly on Ramsay MacDonald and his Labor Government. The responsibility rests on the Second International which is an accomplice in all the crimes of the Labor Government as of the social democracy in Germany.

The New York Nation feels a little embarrassed for its statesman-like contributing editor MacDonald. It seeks for an explanation, and with the superficial aim of liberalism finds it in "the taming effect of office-holding on the radical". This explanation is false down to the ground. The taming effect of office-holding for whom? MacDonald acts as he does because he holds office for the capitalist class. The social democratic policy must breed the MacDonalds because it is class-collaborationist, nationalist, petty bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. A British reformist cannot support an Indian revolution. He can stifle the masses and try to arrange a compromise with the native bourgeoisie.

A comic touch to the tragedy is the truly entertaining argument of the friends of the Labor Government that MacDonald "has not had a chance". He had to take over all these knotty problems of India, Egypt, unemployment, etc. from the Tories. That wasn't fair. MacDonald would be well on the way to introducing socialism—if the capitalists had been gracious enough to introduce it for him. But all they care about is to trip him up and make things harder for him.

Meanwhile to this day Hillquit, the leader of the American socialist party has not breathed a syllable of protest against the misdeeds of his British confrere—and when a resolution was introduced at the convention of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania to demand the freedom of India from British Imperialism, it was violently attacked by the leaders and finally altered.

New York Open Air Meetings

The New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) is holding large and successful street meetings every Saturday night at the corner of 126th St. and 5th Avenue. The workers have been addressed on numerous issues of importance by comrades Maurice Spector, Martin Abern, Albert Giotzer, Max Rose, George Clarke, Charles Curtiss, Russell Blackwell and other members of the Branch. The Branch reports that the interest shown by the workers this year is greatly increased. A good amount of literature, Militants, etc. is regularly sold. The Branch intends to hold an additional meeting a week at another corner. Other members of the Branch assist in the work of organizing the meetings.

Our National Tour Shachtman's Tour Is Extended

The tour of Max Shachtman on behalf of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is meeting with marked success. In Hamilton, Ont., Canada, despite difficulties and few forces, a meeting was held, and a growth of the Opposition is looked for as a result of comrade Shachtman's lectures and report upon the program of the Left Opposition, his visit to L. D. Trotsky at Constantinople, and the preliminary International Conference of the Left Opposition at Berlin. At Detroit a formal meeting was not organized; scattered elements gathered to hear Shachtman.

Chicago, Minneapolis Hold Good Meetings
In Chicago comrade Shachtman spoke for the Communist League before a good crowd at the I.W.W. hall. Unemployment in Chicago is acute and a large number of workers were of course admitted free and listened with keen interest to the report and to the policy of the Left Opposition on a number of current issues. A Workers Guard was at hand to protect the meeting from any disturbance; none occurred. Literature sales were good. The Chicago comrades are pepped up now more than ever.

In Minneapolis, a stronghold of the Communist League (Opposition) a very fine meeting was held from every viewpoint. After the lecture, questions were put by members of the audience, including one member of the S.L.P. and were answered in full by the speaker. The Minneapolis and St.

Paul comrades prepared extensively for the lectures. As we go to press, we do not yet have reports on the meetings in St. Paul, Duluth and Superior.

The tour now takes comrade Shachtman into the West and Southwest—into Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo. and then to Springfield, Illinois, after which the turn is again toward the East, into Cleveland, Pittsburg and Youngstown. The comrades in all these cities are on the job to put over large meetings.

Return Engagements in Montreal and Toronto

The branches of the Communist League (Opposition) in Montreal and Toronto, Canada have asked the National Office to extend Shachtman's tour to include return engagements there. Their request has been complied with, and comrade Shachtman goes to Montreal once more on July 3rd and 4th and to Toronto on July 5th and 6th. Both cities pledge big turnouts.

In Toronto, where the leaders, so-called of the official Communist Party of Canada picketed Shachtman's lecture (evidently the rank and file could not stomach the yellow policy of the officialdom and would not try to prevent the meeting of the Left Opposition), both an excellent meeting and a banquet were held. In Toronto, Shachtman will lecture on another subject which will be announced in the next issue of the Militant.

The balance of the schedule follows:

Watch This Schedule for Your City

KANSAS CITY, Mo.

Friday, June 20. Mass Meeting at —HALL, 914 Grand Avenue, 2nd Floor.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Thursday & Saturday, June 19 and 21—Branch Meetings.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Sunday, June 22, 8 p.m. Mass Meeting at Odeon Theatre Bldg., Grand and Finney.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Monday, June 23. Branch Meeting

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday June 25. Mass Meeting at

PAINTERS HALL, 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Friday, June 27. (Place to be announced.)

PITTSBURG, PA.

Saturday, June 28, 8 p. m. Mass Meeting at Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St.

PITTSBURG, PA.

Sunday, June 29. Branch Meeting

MONTREAL, CANADA

July 3-4th (Place to be announced later.)

TORONTO, CANADA

July 5-6 (Place to be announced later.)

Capitalist »Disarmament«

Hail to the Kellogg Peace Pact! God bless Disarmament and those noblemen Hoover and MacDonald. The League of Nations has just issued its armament year book for 1929-30 and the upshot of its figures is that in 1928 when the Kellogg Peace Pact became effective there were 50 per cent more cruisers than in 1913 and that there were three times more in process of construction than in 1913.

Italy, which had no cruisers building in 1913, not only led the world in this respect in 1929, but, with 71,000 tons under construction, was building more than the total of 68,300 tons the whole world was building in 1913. Japan stood second in 1929, with 40,000 tons building; the United States third with 30,000 tons; Spain fourth, with 20,000 tons, and France fifth, with 10,000 tons.

Submarines formed 1 per cent of the world fleet tonnage in 1913; 3 per cent when the war ended, and 6 per cent when the Kellogg Treaty went into force.

The world's total naval tonnage, which in 1913 was 6,891,000 tons, stood at 5,312,000 tons in 1929, the difference being due to the sinking of the German fleet and the limitation of battleships in 1922. The figure for 1929, however marked an increase of 21,000 tons over 1928.

There will be disarmament until the workers are strong enough to disarm the capitalists. Military disarmament will follow on the economic expropriation of private property. Capitalism and universal disarmament are contradictions in terms.

WIN FIVE-DAY WEEK

NORWICH, Conn., June 14—Organized bricklayers secured the five-day week. Hod carriers and laborers are equally successful.

U.S. Imperialist Contradictions

Meanwhile, the internal contradictions of American imperialism, bound up with its world economic interdependence, are maturing a severe crisis which is foreshadowed by the current partial industrial depression. The present situation, which is only the harbinger of this coming crisis, has already brought to a high level the process of rationalization and attack upon the standards of the working class that is causing it to move progressively away from its previous inertia into a period of struggles. The realization of the crisis which will intensify the process of rationalization, unemployment, and lead to severer attacks on the living standards of the workers, will result in an even broader basis for the radicalization of the American workers and their entry into struggle. It is a process which must be analyzed not only in comparison with the Leftward movement of the European workers, but chiefly on comparison with the historical backwardness of the American working class. Upon this development is conditioned the coming period of struggles of the American workers and the necessity for the revolutionary Party to understand it and prepare itself properly for it.

—FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

MILITANT OUTING

Members of the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and sympathizers will have an outing Sunday, June 22, at Hunter Island. Hikers will meet at Pelham Bay Park Station at 10:30 a. m.

Bring lunch, bathing suits and sport equipment.

Red Army Men Urge Trotsky's Recall

With the deepest indignation we Russian Red Army men who under the leadership of Trotsky created the victorious Red Army and fought in its ranks on numerous fronts to triumph over the counter-revolution, now learn that Stalin threatens our work. For almost six years the Stalinist leadership, having usurped the helm of the Party, has been menacing the achievements of the revolution.

That which millions of proletarians conquered under Lenin and Trotsky and thousands of Red Army fighters secured by their blood, is now endangered by the vacillating policies of the Stalinists, now leaning to social democracy now to anarchism.

We will not permit our work to be destroyed.

We will not believe that Leon Trotsky organizer of the victory of the Russian and therewith the international working class has become untrue to our colors.

But we do see clearly that the Stalin regime which does not hesitate to shoot proletarian revolutionaries is by its policies preparing grave disasters for the U. S. S. R. and the international revolution.

The deportation of Leon Trotsky was a serious and shameful blow at the Soviet Union. The workers of the world will never understand nor approve this measure.

We call upon all who fought shoulder to shoulder with Trotsky in the Red Army to return to their posts of struggle. The former soldiers of the Red Army who are scattered throughout Europe must stand on guard.

Organize that the banner of the Red Army and the Soviet Union of the international revolution is once more raised on high as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

Comrades, rally to the ranks of the Left Opposition.

Demand the recall of Leon Trotsky to the Soviet Union, to the Party and the leadership of the Comintern.

Down with the disloyal Stalinists!

Long live the Left proletarian wing of Lenin!

Long live the world revolution!

—RED ARMY MEN OF SLOVAKIA

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 525 Tel. St. N. W.

PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St. N. S.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1633 W. Division St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britscoe's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We. 3rd St.

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St., near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

ROXBURY, MASS.: Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

REVERE, MASS.: Trachtman's Store 37 Sherley Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buchle's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. Cor.;

Warwick's News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. Cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. Cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. Cor.;

9th and Locust Sts., N. E. Cor.; 40th & Girard Ave., S. E. Cor.

NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St

CAMDEN, N. J.: 326 Market St.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 1095 Third Ave.

TACOMA, Wash.: Walsh, 1203 Pacific St.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 25

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, June 28, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Jobless Millions Must Organize! Demand Immediate Relief!

The National Unemployment Convention is to meet July 4th and 5th in Chicago. If it is animated by a sense of responsible and militant leadership and effective policies of class struggle—if it is not satisfied with noise but embarks on serious organization and action, this convention can become a protest centre for the mobilization of the millions of unemployed.

The danger is that under the present Party leadership with its erratic hand-to-mouth political practises the convention will develop into nothing more than just another formless mass meeting. It is common knowledge that not a stroke of real organization work has been done to crystallize the unemployed movement since the March 6th demonstrations.

No Signs of Ease-Up in Crisis

There are no signs of any alleviation in the economic crisis taking its toll of misery in every city, town and hamlet in the country. The bank discount rate has been sunk to two and a half per cent, the lowest since the war but the successive stock market crashes are assuming the character of a panic. Wheat is selling at a dollar. Automobile production has again registered a decline. Steel production is at 65 per cent capacity. The Commodity price level dropped 4.2 per cent in two weeks. The New York Census figures point to 400,000 unemployed in New York alone. The Annalist Index of Employment is the lowest since 1922.

The Industrial Reserve Army

The cyclical crisis has come to add its misery but it must be remembered that it only augments an already standing industrial reserve army—the victims of the technical advance of civilization under the rule of the anarchic capitalist mode of production. Every new machine, every business consolidation, every stop-watch economy for the speed-up, has resulted in fewer jobs. Between 1920 and 1927, the economist Mitchell estimates the number added to the ranks of the unemployment reserve army at no less than 650,000. This is the balance sheet of American "prosperity". The power that is the greatest creditor state in the world, of the most millionaires of the most abundant resources, the finest machinery, the most productive labor force is the tragic scene of soup-kitchens, flophouses, corporation charity, park benches and starvation for the working class. In an age when science begins to probe secrets of atomic energy, vast masses of producers must form up in bread-lines.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

What is the answer of the capitalist government to the unemployed? The Hoover brand of mental healing. A Hawley-Smoot Tariff to increase the cost of the necessities of life and assure the Trusts the monopoly of the market. Even the miserable Wagner Bill for the establishment of official instead of private employment bureaux is out of court. At the Senate investigation into Communist "plotting", even Wm. Green pleads with his capitalist masters "that he will not guarantee to be able to keep the A.F. of L. rank and file in submission unless some small reforms are forthcoming."

The workers must be clear that even were the exploiters willing to grant them without struggle no mere palliatives or reforms could lead out of the blind alley of the antagonisms and contradictions of capitalist imperialism. Partial demands can only serve the working class if they are the starting point for revolutionary class struggle. The only decisive solution of the general crisis of capitalism is in the interests of the millions of toilers lies in the international emulaton of the Russian workers. Only the revolutionary workers' state can release the forces of production from the exploiting

vises of capital, put an end to industrial enslavement, eliminate the root causes of war and unify world economy.

The Socialist Five Year Plan

The Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union demonstrates the tremendous possibilities of planned economy. Despite capitalist economic encirclement, and the threat of intervention, the achievements of the U.S.S.R. stand out in splendid contrast to the intolerable situation in the capitalist world. The undeniable difficulties in the U.S.S.R. and the Five Year Plan are those of isolation, the retardation of the international revolution. The Five Year Plan provides for a total capital investment of 93 billions for electrification and industrial development. It is in the most vital interests of the international unemployed and especially of the American to demand large scale credits for the Soviet Union. There are always millions of dollars available for war expenditures. There are millions for the Young Plan loans. Demand credits be given that would at once result in the employment of American workers, and their participation in the realization of the socialist Five Year Plan.

Organize for Action!

The Chicago Unemployment Convention must appeal to the unemployed army with demands that will strike immediate and effective response in the hearts of the workers mobilizing them for the class struggle against the capitalist state.

Demand recognition and credits to the Soviet Union.

Demand the enactment of social insurance unemployment insurance and old age pensions to compel the capitalists to bear the charges for the break-down of the system. Demand the six hour day and five day week.

Demand the freedom of class war prisoners, the release of Mooney and Billings, of the leaders of the New York unemployed demonstrations, the prisoners in Georgia, class war victims under sentence in Gastonia.

Organize a united front of the unemployed and employed.

The power of the imperial plutocracy of America is great. But there is a power greater than theirs and that is the power of proletarian numbers. Mobilize and Organize!

—MAURICE SPECTOR

N.Y. Party-Y.C.L. Group For Opposition

TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Dear Comrades

We, the undersigned Communists declare our solidarity with the Left Opposition. We announce our agreement with the views of the Left wing faction of the American Communist Party—the Communist League of America (Opposition). After a thorough examination of the Party and Young Communist League situation and the three viewpoints that exist in the Communist movement today, we have come to the conclusion that the only Marxian and Leninist view is the one maintained by the Left Opposition. This correct view of the national and international situation we are prepared to defend.

We declare our complete agreement with the Manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) addressed to the 7th National Convention of the Party, ("Back to Lenin"—The Militant, June 14, 1930). In our opinion the line laid down in this manifesto provides the only solution to the present Party crisis. This line must become the line of the Party. We further express our accord with the Platform adopted by the Left Opposition at its National Conference at Chicago, May 20, 1929, and which the course of events in the United States has fully confirmed.

To many of the comrades who know us and who have worked together with us in the Party and the Y.C.L. our stand will come as a sudden surprise. Of course there will be numerous bureaucrats and small-minded people who will now suddenly dis-

(Continued on Page 8)

Demonstrate for the Indian Revolution!

The New York District of the Communist Party has issued a call to all workers' organization to join in a demonstration of solidarity with the Indian Revolution for Saturday, June 28 at 2:30 p.m. in front of the British consulate in Whitehall Street.

The New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) will itself participate in this demonstration and urges all class conscious workers to do likewise. Demonstrate for the complete independence of India from British Imperialism! For the alliance of the workers and peasants of India under the leadership of the industrial proletariat against the treacherous policies of Gandhi and the Indian bourgeoisie! Demonstrate against the Imperialist MacDonald Labor Government and the Second International! For the emancipation of the Philippines from American Imperialism!

Bureaucrats Rule C.P. Convention

The seventh annual convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is now in session. The opening was at Madison Square Garden, Friday June 20.

The calibre of the discussion at the convention has so far been on the same mediocre level as the so-called "pre-convention discussion" in the *Daily Worker*. No one dares, nor is competent to raise fundamental questions of principles and policy. The apparatus-bureaucrats watch each other closely for every "deviation". Every slip of a fellow-bureaucrat means an opening to "work oneself up" one notch higher in a career.

We have already indicated in our manifesto to the Party membership the terrific gap that exists between the possibilities for the revolutionary movement in America and the paralytic ineffectiveness of the C.P. under the "third period" leadership of the Centrists. There is much that can be added by way of concrete illustration, and we propose to estimate the complete results of the convention on its conclusion.

Meanwhile rumblings are heard of the latest late turn of Stalin in the discussions on the economic crisis and the "third period". Bedacht has at last begun to talk of the present economic crisis as a "cyclical crisis in the period of the general decline of capitalism" and not as the immediate acute revolutionary crisis of Stalin-Molotov's imagination. A certain "Merker" tendency has consequently been virtuously repelled by the Browder-Bedacht "Old Guard". Such a "leader" as Sam Don accused them of entertaining "exceptionalism" because they did not emphasize the acute revolutionary crisis sufficiently. Don was ridiculed out of court and told to go back to the Party school.

The Canadian Party representative—a little adventurer named S. Smith who received the letters patent to the leadership of the Canadian Party with his sheepskin diploma from the "Lenin School", also accused Browder and Company of opportunism—for their too conservative estimate of the "third period"—and was duly castigated.

But this slight advance towards political sanity by Bedacht and Company is still a mere drop in the bucket of their swollen theorizings about "social fascism" etc.—those "tenth plenum" analyses that so thoroughly stupefied the political influence of the Communist Parties.

What in brief is the balance sheet of stalinism at the present convention? In the leadership of the Party—a bureaucracy clinging to office by the most desperate acts of servility to the higher-ups in the Comintern hierarchy—at the bottom an apathetic and terrorized membership—an

(Continued on Page 5)

A LECTURE on the

ROAD OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

An exposition of the driving forces of the Indian Revolution, the struggle against British Imperialism, the role of Gandhi, the treachery of the MacDonald Labor Government, the Comintern policy (Chinese experiences and India) and the position of the Left Communists.

at the

Stuyvesant Casino

9th St. and Second Ave., Room 22

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2nd at 8 p.m.

BY

MAURICE SPECTOR

of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) Comrade Maurice Spector was one of the witnesses—refused admission by the British Government—who were nominated to testify on their behalf by the trade unionist and revolutionary worker defendants in the great Meerut Sedition Trial now proceeding in India.

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission 25 Cents

In Canada

Stalinist Officials Sabotage Communist Unity

TORONTO—

The Canadian Federal election conference organized by the Communist Party should be a striking proof to the members of the Party and Y.C.L. and Left wing workers in what a dangerous impasse the Stalinist bureaucrats have brought the revolutionary movement. I have attended what I thought were raw conferences but nothing like the one pulled off by the Party leadership recently.

Officialdom Bars Opposition Communists

At the conference were present many C.P. members but very few from other organizations. Outside of the Industrial Union representing a handful of workers, no other unions were represented. The conference was typified by the Stalinist brand of the united front from below, the steam roller edict from the chair of no discussion and criticism, correction or question, long-winded speeches from the Party functionaries, and no discussion from the floor except that initiated by the Communist League of America (Opposition) members.

The narrow bureaucratic spirit that ruled the meeting was strikingly expressed in the manner in which the C.L. of A. representatives were barred from the conference. "The credential committee decides not to accept the representatives of the organization calling itself the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the grounds that they disagree with the principles and policies of the C.P." The chairman, "You have all heard the decision of the credential committee, I want no discussion—all those in favor." But there was discussion. Comrade Quarter, representative of his Industrial Union local stood up and fought the ruling till he was shut up. The Party officialdom did have to discuss and try hard and unsuccessfully to explain.

In his statement, comrade Quarter protested against the steamroller tactics for the suppression of discussion. He pointed out that in the conference call nothing had been said about the necessity of one hundred per cent agreement with the Party program in order to be allowed to send delegates. Moreover "Socialist" parties and other organizations that the Communists fight tooth and nail were admitted while the Communist League were barred. The Communist League agreed with the Party election program and would support it actively and financially. Our comrades would speak at the election meetings, etc. The members of the Communist League (Opposition) were nearly all workers from the shop and factory. They had been the most active members in the Party and Y.C.L. before their expulsion for fighting bureaucracy and opportunism.

The Opposition (Left) is fighting for its re-instatement in the Party and Youth League on the basis of the right to maintain their Communist principles. These airtight bureaucratically manipulated conferences doomed them to impotence in advance.

But the Poale Zionists are Seated

The conference had hardly settled down to its lifeless when a crisis loomed up again with the arrival of delegates of the Jewish National Workers Left Poale Zion Organization, who had been invited by the Party. The situation was the result of their own bureaucratic blindness. A hurried caucus and the credential committee had again to go out to try and figure out some explanation. They came back with the recommendation that the Poale Zion were renegades, but they could remain in the Conference if they accepted the Party Program. This brought the Zionist delegates to their feet, "they had been invited to support the Communist Party candidates not the C.P. program. Didn't the C.P. know they were a political organization as well as they, and what was more they didn't agree with the C.P. program or tactics." The superdramatic Annie Buller, now stood up to implore the Zionist delegates that it was in the best interests of the labor movement for them to remain renegades. They were allowed to remain in spite of their categorical refusal to accept the Party program, 6th World Congress, etc.

Opposition Slogan For Soviet Credits... Rejected

The delegates who now, that they had accepted the third period and the Sixth World Congress, were asked to raise their

hands for the election program, that the Party functionary had just finished reading. The chairman remarking to a question of our representatives that all discussion and criticism was out of order and if there were any present that didn't agree, they knew what to do. Our representative as before took the floor anyway and asked the conference to discuss the following to be embodied in the election program. "That long term credits be given to the Soviet Union to help temporarily to relieve the growing unemployment and at the same time, assist the Russian workers in the socialist construction". At first the chairman tried to remain deaf and dumb to the proposal but when Harry Clairman, insisted on asking

ing the chair if they were against the proposal the storm again broke loose.

To sum up. The conference should be a powerful lesson to the Party, Y.C.L. and Left wing workers as to why the Party is so badly disorganized and continues to lose ground from day to day. The bureaucratic regime will continue to destroy the Party ideologically and organizationally as long as the members are satisfied to remain a Party not of militant Communists but of hand raisers.

For the Communist League of America (Opposition) it marks another step forward in the fight for the regeneration of the Party and against the bureaucracy. Our member brought down a half dozen copies of the Militant. They were grabbed up in less than one minute. Our representative was also elected on the executive of 20 together with some 19 other Party members.

—M.Q.

Our National Tour

MEETINGS MARK LEFT ADVANCE

Since the last reports on the National Tour of comrade Max Shachtman for the Communist League of America (Opposition), successful meetings have been held in St. Paul and Duluth, Minnesota, Superior, Wisconsin, Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo. Despite the terrific mid-summer heat, there has been an excellent attendance and the keenest interest displayed in comrade Shachtman's survey of the world situation and the role of the Left Opposition, the important visit of Shachtman, representing the Communist League, to L.D. Trotsky at Constantinople, the unification conference of the German Left Opposition at Berlin, and the preliminary Conference of the International Left Opposition in Paris.

Good Results in Duluth

At Duluth, Minn. seventy persons assembled among whom were a number of Finnish Party members, who heckled Shachtman feebly at the beginning, but who were soon silenced by the barrage of facts about the true situation in the Comintern. Discussion ensued, in which one Sankari, a Finnish youth with aspirations to be a Stalinist commissar for the Finnish section, spoke for half an hour. His own supporters finally stopped him after which the speaker, Shachtman, answered questions and made his concluding remarks. This is the first time an Opposition mass meeting has been held in Duluth and the meeting was a moral success.

Superior, Wisconsin

At Superior, Wisconsin, 50 workers turned up at the meeting. Many questions were put to the speaker, including questions on the position of the Left Opposition on the situation in the Cooperatives, to which Shachtman replied in full. Our position in this respect has been outlined in the columns of the Militant. The youthful elements, young comrades in the Y.C.L. have the soundest attitude on the basic issues before the Communist movement, and there are prospects for Opposition growth among them. A number of the audience voiced pleasure at the report of comrade Shachtman.

Leading Party members present at Shachtman's lecture in St. Paul, Minn. were literally begged to state their views after Shachtman's speech. After much goading, one of them announced an unemployment meeting and another mumbled some remarks about the 500 (!) members of the National Miners Union in the Minnesota district. Thirty attended the meeting.

The attendance at the Chicago and Minneapolis meetings, commented on briefly in the last issue of the Militant were 125 and 100 respectively. There was much satisfaction in all respects with the results.

Kansas City and St. Louis

Despite equatorial heat (the temperature had climbed to 100 degrees) there were turnouts of 50 and 40 at the meetings in Kansas City and St. Louis. There were a number of free admissions, as elsewhere, due to unemployment. The meetings of the C.P. are not as well attended, since the advent of the Third Period.

A supporter of the Communist Party in Kansas City, one Sol Morris, developed the logic of the Third Period. He declared in the discussion period apropos of Norway's refusal of a visa to comrade Trotsky that "against the Trotskyites, the Communists (!) should unite with the Monarchists!" Morris was properly "plastered" by the speaker after these remarks and the audience applauded Shachtman vigorously.

At Kansas City a banquet was also held.

In St. Louis, Jenkins of the Steamfitters Union also spoke on behalf of the Molders' Mooney Committee, and the meeting adopted a resolution for the release of Mooney Billings, the framed New York Communists, Foster, Minor, Amter, Raymond and the Georgia defendants now on trial for their lives.

At all of the meetings, a good deal of literature has been sold, new contacts and members secured and the enthusiasm engendered in the Communist League, gives high hope for increased activity in all fields by the Left Opposition. Comrade Shachtman also is reporting to the Branches of the League and taking up special and concrete matters with them.

Forthcoming Meetings

As we go to press meetings are scheduled for Springfield, Ill., where comrade Joe Angelo is making preparations for a big turnout; at Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio and at Pittsburgh, Pa. The local comrades, Jos. Keller, L. Bryar, Denis Plarinos, James Sifakis and others are working hard for successful meets which will be reported on in the next issue of the Militant. It was decided after consultation between the local comrades and the national office to postpone return engagements of comrade Shachtman to Toronto and Montreal, Canada, till cooler weather. The remainder of the schedule follows

Watch This Schedule for Your City

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday June 25, Mass Meeting at PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Friday, June 27.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Saturday, June 28, 8. p. m. Mass Meeting at Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Sunday, June 29, Branch Meeting

MONTREAL, CANADA

July 3-4th (Place to be announced later.)

TORONTO, CANADA

July 5-6 (Place to be announced later.)

In India

Simon Report Declares War on Revolution

The second volume of the Simon Report is now available for analysis and it bears out the most cynical expectation of the supporters of the Indian revolution. It is nothing more or less than a direct declaration of war to the bitter end for the throttling of the Indian revolution. It does not even contain the recommendation of "Home Rule". Divide and Rule! India is to be still further cut up by the separation of Burma so that the British can have a base of operations against the Indian revolutionary movement.

The other eight provinces will have "self-governing" institutions and will "send" representatives to a "Federal Assembly". Even to the capitalist press (the New York Times, June 24) anxious to sugar coat it the purport of the Report "is to give Britain a stronger hold on India than ever... The British Governors in the provinces will be virtual autocrats with sweeping powers to override the Indian Ministers... the governors can call the British troops in any emergency... and the British army will continue for many years under the control... of the Imperial Government."

The Simon Commission is composed of labor, liberal and conservative representatives of the groups in the British House. The Simon Commission functioned under the direct responsibility of Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Government. Whatever a few more radical rank and filers in the American socialist party may think, the report of the Simon Commission is the type of "self-determination" granted to the oppressed nationalities by the Governments and parties of the Second International.

What will the Simon Commission's report actually solve? What does it change? The driving forces of the Indian revolution have not been wiped out by its flood of words. The Commission says "as you were." British Imperialism and its bayonets, its exploitation of the Indian workers will remain. We will not release India by any constitutional surrender, says the Commission. All your "nationalist movement" your "civil disobedience", "your salt tax violations" mean little to us. We understand one language—that is the language of power—the language of war and revolution.

The Indian revolution enters on a stage that is clearly defined. The vacillations, the mysticism, the pacifism with which Gandhi has weakened and betrayed the revolutionary ferment in the past can no longer so successfully confuse the issues. The issue is more sharply defined. It is surrender to British Imperialism—which acceptance of the Commission's report means—or revolutionary mass action of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the industrial proletariat.

The opportunities for a Communist Party and a revolutionary policy in India today are inspiring. Will, can the present Comintern regime utilize the situation for the international revolution?

In the next issue of the Militant there will appear a thorough analysis of the whole situation in which the Indian revolution now finds itself.

—M.S.

ATTENTION, CHICAGO! P I C N I C

Sun. June 29, 1930 at the Forest Preserve Meet at the end of Milwaukee Ave. Car line between 10 and 11 a. m. For those delayed signs will direct the way. Bring lunch baskets. Cold drinks will be there. Auspices Communist League of America (Opposition) Chicago Branch

Φ

Who says that Business hasn't a heart? The National Bureau of Economic Research triumphantly reports that Corporation charity has increased six times since 1920 and the "number of business concerns that have made appropriations for public health and happiness has increased thirteen times." (New York Evening Post, June 23). These kindly capitalist will do anything in the wide world for the workers—but get off their backs.

Operators Prey Upon Passivity of the Coal Miners

By ARNE SWABECK

Reverberations from the soft coal miners' revolt against the ruinous rule of the John L. Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers have come back as a resounding echo from the anthracite. So far, however, it has been only as disorganized expression of universal rank and file discontent; given voice at the recent tri-disaster gains from being made and facilitated position of "progressive" elements, but resulting in some serious defeats for Lewis. The practically complete absence of an organized conscious Left wing prevented further pains from being made and facilitated the obscuring of some of the most burning issues.

With deep-seated general discontent in the anthracite the sentiment at the convention testifies eloquently to the pressure of the membership for a clean-cut fighting policy. No doubt, there is a rich field and a great need for Left wing direction has been frittered away through a series of senseless mistakes everywhere in the mine fields. This is a condition for which the official Communist Party leadership is mainly responsible and has resulted in the almost complete isolation of the Left wing.

Lewis suffered defeat first in his endeavors to avoid holding the convention and when it took place despite his desires as a result of insistent demands of the local unions. Lewis suffered a defeat 5 to 1 on his main proposition to authorize his handpicked scale committee to negotiate the "best possible contract". But the disorganized opposition, led by "progressives", did not succeed, or did not care, to get favorable action on the needs of wage increases, shorter workday, unemployment relief and a determined fight against the contracting system.

New Union Grows Under "Friendly" Auspices of Operators

Meanwhile the move started by Illinois local miners unions to reinstate members previously expelled for opposition to the corrupt bureaucracy—both the John L. Lewis and the Howatt-Fishwick union are endeavoring to turn to their account. Both sides can well afford to use this method of catering to the Left wing in its present disorganized state with no intention displayed as yet to seriously contest with them for influence over the rank and file membership. The Howatt-Fishwick union, thanks to its objective position of an insurgent movement without as yet having had to face a test of struggle with the operators, is able to claim considerable gains. For example, during the first two months of its existence, the new union claims 21 new locals organized in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas, three locals in Indiana, one in Iowa and ten in Ohio. The total membership, dues paying and exempt, for the period, it claims to be 51,618.

From its inception the new union has "enjoyed" the most friendly attitude from the Illinois operators headed by the large Peabody Co. It was decidedly evidenced in the Springfield court decision barring Lewis from interfering in Illinois fields. The Black Diamond, organ of the Illinois operators, gave favorable publicity to the Springfield convention, commenting on the selection of John H. Walker for secretary that: "During the years he has been associated with the labor movement of Illinois, Walker has gained the confidence of leaders in all branches of business and industry". This friendly attitude is already being translated into "harmonious collaboration" on the job in carrying out the notorious Fishwick contract to the advantage of the operators. The friendly attitude is surely to be appreciated by Fishwick, possibly also by Howatt, the coal miners, however, should have no difficulty in remembering that only the contracts had any value, which were gained by militant struggle and maintained by organized power in face of the hostility of the bosses.

Undoubtedly the Howatt-Fishwick union has prospects of growth, at least for a time. The fact that it came about as a result of a revolt against the Lewis machine, a revolt which for the moment stirred many miners into action and now compels it to move on for organization; the fact that due to Howatt's past militant reputation it can generate some hopes by its apparently progressive front, coupled with the important fact that conditions in the unorganized fields in particular have forced the miners practically below the subsistence level, eager for organization, these will all count in its favor. But it will be the kind of temporary gains caused

by workers grasping for a last straw in a desperate situation. It cannot count on lasting rank and file support or become a factor contributing to the organization of a real union embracing all the miners, without policies of militant struggle and without a leadership free from past corruptions and ready to stand solid as a rock for these policies. This, however, cannot be expected under the benevolent tutelage of the coal operators.

Will the Two Unions Unite?

What are the points of division between the two unions, both claiming the title of United Mine Workers? First and foremost one must judge by the rank and file membership. And there can be no denying the fact that the Howatt-Fishwick union is here as a result of the long standing deep-seated revolt against the Lewis rule of corruption, betrayal and destruction. Had the Left wing, under direction of the official Communist Party, not completely forfeited its mass leadership by a series of fatal blunders, this revolt, now temporarily retarded, could have been continued in its once adopted direction—definitely toward the Left. It could thus have become decisive for the course in the anthracite as well.

As far as the two union leaderships are concerned it has quite clearly been a contest for spoils coming with official positions from which their conflict grew and swung in one section, the Fishwick group, over to the side of endeavoring to take advantage of the mass revolt. Is there any point of division of policies in its decisive aspect, that is, in attitude towards the operators? The records of both the Lewis and Fishwick groups are already well known. They have been identically treasonable to the rank and file and there have been no statements or proclamations showing any departure from or any difference on this score. There have, however, been statements for unity of the two unions. A unity which could be accomplished only on the basis of division of spoils of position by both cliques and to the further loss of the rank and file. For the coal miners it can at least be certain that there would be no future union progress that way.

Where is Howatt Going?

It should always be borne in mind that the bulk of leadership of the new union is furnished by the Fishwick group which throughout its history has been part and parcel of all the crimes of the sell-out breaking down of working standards and union destruction carried on by the Lewis machine. The background of Howatt, and a few with him, is quite a different one. But judging by the present position there could be but scant hopes for the future to show a revival of their past. Their present route of travel is decisive and when concerning a union leader it becomes one for the rank and file to take serious note of.

The fight made by Howatt against the Kansas Industrial Court law is one of the few bright pages of American labor history. His fight during a number of years, up until his expulsion from the old union, against the Lewis corruption and betrayals added favorable weight to his record. His struggle for reinstatement into the union was a correct tactical position; but with that reinstatement the turn to the right began. He failed to renew his fight and to give any support whatever to the revolt which became particularly widespread during the period of defeat of the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike and found its expression in the "Save the Union Movement". He failed to support its further development in the organization of the National Miners Union. Regardless of the mistakes in development and weaknesses inherent in the N.M.U. from its inception, true progressives could not fail to support it. Howatt instead later chose to join with the corrupt Fishwick group.

At the convention forming the new union at Springfield Illinois, Howatt failed to fight against the seating of Farrington who so completely personified the agent of the coal operators in the union ranks. Honest delegates from the ranks had come there determined to fight and root out all vestiges of the Lewis wrecking machine, embodied as fully in the Fishwick group. They found in their former ally Howatt, now an opponent. Referring to them Howatt made the outrageous charge that, "a few delegates to the convention have been

bought out by Lewis". The adoption of constitutional clauses barring Communists from membership and classifying them with the reactionary Civic Federation and Ku Klux Klan met no opposition from Howatt, instead he joined in red-bating. Yet the most decisive is the attitude towards the increased exploitation by the operators. And here the friendly "co-operation" can lead to no other career than the one so "successfully" pursued by Lewis.

Preying Upon Miners' Momentary Passivity

The squabble on the appeal against the injunction, now begun in the operator controlled court at Springfield, is expected to last until late in the fall. This has become one means of holding the general membership resentment against both the cliques in abeyance and retarding its development. But enormous bills, no matter whom the operators favor in this tilt, will be due for payment by this membership and perhaps help blow the lid off again.

Throughout the fields the coal miners are suffering under the crushing weight of unemployment constantly increasing by the advancing machine loading and mechanical mining. The major soft coal fields in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky and other places are entirely without a union and with all gains of the past wiped out. Many bitter disappointments have been experienced. A certain degree of exhaustion in addition to the general more important effects of the economic crisis has engendered in the miners a state of momentary passivity though isolated spontaneous strikes have taken place.

Fatal Blunders of the Left Wing Result in Isolation

Yet the problem in the mine field remains the building of a union which will embrace all coal miners and adopt the policy of militant struggle. What does the official Communist Party policy contribute to a solution of this problem? A big insurgent movement has just taken place growing out of discontent with the reactionary policies of the old officialdom. It was the first insurgency in the A. F. of L. for a long time taking place in a basic industry and important union with a generally favorable basis for the Left. Yet it did not lend strength to the Left wing at all. On the contrary, the main benefits went to social reformism. The N.M.U. is practically extinct. Its convention first scheduled for April first, then postponed to June 1, has now again seemingly been postponed to June 28th—or will there be none? What becomes of responsibility to the working class and to the miners in particular who did follow the Left wing?

The meaningless hurling of extravagant phrases of fascism and "social fascism", coming from the top, can be no substitute for correct policies and only confuses the situation, to put it mildly. Down among the ranks the small scattered Left wing groups, still existing, become footballs for either of the two old cliques. A continuation of this inevitably brings further isolation by members of these groups becoming compelled, in order to get a job, to rejoin either of the two unions having control without any policy of carrying on Left wing and progressive activities within.

Two main reasons for this isolation are easily discernible. Progressive elements who in the past became allies of the Left wing movement and should have been properly utilized as bridges to the masses were instead, during the period of right opportunist policies of the Party elevated to leadership. Hence they are now still able to maintain a commanding position while travelling definitely toward the Right. Secondly, the failure of the N.M.U., not caused by unfavorable objective conditions but by repeated mistakes of policy during the Communist Party's present course of opportunist adventurism.

From the Daily Worker (6-13-1930), in an article commenting upon the anthracite convention we notice somewhat of a turn at least toward a half recognition of the necessity of the Left wing working within the existing unions. This, partial though it is, is to be welcomed. But how can such turns become effective and clear to the workers without an explanation of the mistakes of the opposite direction, as for example, calling upon the progressive miners to stay away from the Springfield convention of revolt against Lewis. Precisely at that place was where all Left wing and progressives should have been to continue

the fight against the reactionaries of all shades.

Left Wing Must Return to Fundamental Task

The problem of building a new union, we repeat still remains. And while a certain amount of passivity amongst the miners is prevalent, while they have been put on the defensive, opportunities are available. Perhaps nowhere better than in the unorganized fields for extension of organization and Left wing ideology, for building a union with militant policies. The additional fact that masses were set into motion through the recent revolt, as well as the course this motion has followed, must be properly evaluated. If it proves anything, above all it proves the necessity of the Left wing again adopting its fundamental task, that is, as the means of building one union, take up the indispensable work of organizing and extending its influence for a fighting program within the existing unions. In such fields as Illinois, Kansas and the anthracite there should be no doubt that the proper course is to organize the Left wing within the two unions having control to build the united front from below for the demands of the Left which correspond to the needs of the miners and thus to compel a united struggle with the N.M.U. where it functions.

To this end reinstatement of formerly expelled union opposition members must be taken up as a definite policy. A policy which guarantees the continuation and organization of the fight.

The field is ripe for such tactics. The rank and file will soon learn through experience to correctly estimate the position of the "progressives" now progressing toward the Right and one of the big tasks of the Left wing is to build and broaden the union with the masses, take advantage of the conflicts between the reactionary and opportunist leaders in a manner more effectively to expose them and win the influence of the masses for its program.

«Revolutionary Age» Barred from Mails

The denial of the mails by the Federal Government to the Revolutionary Age, organ of the Right wing (Lovestone-Gitlow) group in the Communist movement on the ground of "seditious" and "indecent" contents is an act which the entire working class movement must protest. At the same time they must emphatically demand the restoration of second class mailing privileges for the Revolutionary Age.

This high-handed act of the Post Office Department is a revival of the ugly Burleson-Wilson war days, and, if allowed to stand, is a lever to smash the press and organizations of the workers at the incitation of the government. Not for years has such an attempt been made. The U.S. Government has devised a pretext for the suppression of this organ. It can find like excuses for action against the Militant Daily Worker and other of the working class and revolutionary press.

The workers under capitalism have every reason and need to fight to maintain and extend so-called civil rights—free press, free speech and assemblage—the right for the workers to organize, etc. These are fundamental needs of agitation, propaganda and organization and can only be maintained through constant vigilance and struggle by the workers against the employers and capitalist government. A blow against one is a blow against all. It is in this light that the government's attack on the Revolutionary Age must be understood.

The Communist movement in the United States is unfortunately at the present time engaged in such a deep-going internal struggle that the Government conceives it can attack it with greater impunity. The three currents in the Communist Party are each represented by a separate organ. Up to now the Daily Worker, the organ of the Centrist Stalin faction which speaks officially for the Party, has maintained the silence of the deep on the victimization of the Revolutionary Age. To adopt an attitude of such unscrupulous factionalism (incidentally characteristic of the Daily Worker for a considerable time) is anything but revolutionary. It is unprincipled. Every worker must protest against the attack on the press of the workers, whatever faction in the Party they belong to.

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS (A POPULAR EXPLANATION) OF RIGHTS AND LEFTS

By L. D. TROTSKY

(This is the concluding instalment of comrade Trotsky's popular exposition of the differences between Lefts and Rights in the questions of Soviet economy and the associated international problems. The Right wing "theoretician" of the Revolutionary Age surpassing himself in profundity lately attempted to prove that "Trotskyism" has made a "right" turn in denial of its past! It is nothing new for the Right revisionists to set up a straw man and proceed to knock him down—amid their own applause.)

The dishonesty of the Right wing group in matters of Marxist theory is in complete accord with the unscrupulous falsification of Trotsky's position on the "rationing" of Europe which Lovestone peddled in the Comintern some years ago and from which he never disassociated himself even after he had been convicted by Trotsky of a literary forgery.—Editors.)

* * *

From the Left or From the Right

As was not difficult to foresee, Yaroslavsky now "testifies" that the Left Opposition has gone to the Right. When we came out against the 4 per cent rate of industrial development and for 20 per cent—we were "ultra-Lefts". When we gave warning not to leap over to 30 per cent deteriorating the quality of production and overstraining the working force, we are "rights".

When as against the Thermidorian policy of reliance on the mighty middle peasant we demanded the policy of collectivization—that was denounced as "ultra-Leftism." When in the form of anti-religious propaganda, we came out against the myth of the faultless beginning of socialism, we are... "rights".

Ever since Molotov's feet became the measure of all things questions are decided with great simplicity.

All the Mensheviks, cackles Yaroslavsky, came out against the present tempos of industrialization and collectivization. It is therefore clear that the Opposition shares the Menshevik point of view. Yaroslavsky is out to scare somebody. Is it us? No, he is aiming to intimidate his own people—because he hears a squeak in the apparatus.

Menshevism is for the return of the U.S.S.R. to capitalism which must for Menshevik satisfaction be crowned by a bourgeois democracy. By the way, the Mensheviks supported the Stalinist industrialization program of yesterday against the Opposition platform, seeing in the former the elements of economic "realism" and denouncing the latter "romantic". This is the historic fact. It is self-evident that the Mensheviks are now too, for a lowering of the tempos of industrialization. Does this mean that from the Marxian viewpoint the tempos of industrialization have no limits in general?

It is remarkable that in the same article, Yaroslavsky refers with great satisfaction to the old socialist revolutionary, Minor, who spoke sympathetically of the collectivization in the U.S.S.R. at a certain Paris meeting. From the personal standpoint Minor's declaration undoubtedly does him honor, because it shows that he has a socialist conscience, that he is trying to understand what is actually happening, without the malicious pre-conceptions of an offended petty bourgeois. But from political viewpoint, it must not be forgotten for a moment that Minor is one of the oldest Populists (Narodniki) who by his whole past is the most insulated against Marxian ideas. How many spears did the Marxists not break in their struggle against the populist utopians in regard to the construction of a socialism based on the peasant's primitive plow and commune? Agrarian socialism bore an adventurist stamp with the Left wing "social revolutionaries" and a bureaucratic character with their Right. In the Stalinist policy the elements of adventurism and bureaucracy unite. It is no wonder that Minor found in the new Stalinism some of the elements of his own old past.

One of the possible definitions of Bolshevism is that it gave in practice the most remarkable synthesis of reform and revolution. At first the social democracy was for reform against the revolution; now it is even against reform out of fear of revolution. Social democracy is always against revolution. Does this mean that every denial of a revolutionary situation in a given moment is Menshevism?

The Mensheviks were opposed to the October revolution, together with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Millyutino and others. The Mensheviks were opposed to the revolutionary offensive in Germany in 1923 (together with Stalin). The Mensheviks were opposed to a break with the Kuomintang and the building of Soviets in China in 1925-27 openly supporting Stalin against our views. Our demand to declare war on the General Council of the Trade Unions in the British coal struggle of 1926, the Mensheviks together with Stalin considered an "adventure".

On the other hand the Mensheviks were against the insurrection in Estonia in 1924, against the terrorist adventure in Bulgaria, against the Canton uprising in 1927. Does this mean that we must support adventurist uprisings or organize them?

In our work on the "Third Period" we demonstrated by means of facts and figures the criminal light-mindedness of Molotov and company in declaring France to be on the threshold of revolution. The reformists and capitalists may attempt to grasp at our figures for consolation. Does this mean that we should ignore facts and figures? That we should blow out the lantern? Roam about in the dark?

From this brief and incomplete review we see that at all critical moments for the past thirteen years, the Mensheviks together with the epigones denied the revolutionary situation whenever it was at hand. In all these instances they were opposed to us. On the other hand their judgement episodically and purely formally, happened to "coincide" with ours, when the Mensheviks condemned an insurrection as such, while we denied the presence of conditions for a successful insurrection. The same is now happening in the question of the tempo of industrialization and collectivization.

Tail-Endism (Chvostism) or Adventurism

Some comrades are disturbed by our accusation of the present Stalinist course as ultra-Left adventurism. One of our friends proves that the "complete collectivization" has on the part of the leadership not an adventurist but a purely "tail-endist" character. There is no contradiction here. "Tail-endism" always and unavoidably results in ultra-Left adventurism, either as its supplement, or else directly. The regeneration of Bolshevism means the unavoidable chemical disassociation of the elements of opportunism and bare "revolutionism".

It must not be forgotten that adventurism can be of two sorts. One expresses the revolutionary impatience of the vanguard and results in running ahead too precipitously, the second expresses the political desperation of the lagging rear-guard. In the April and July demonstrations of 1917, some of the Bolsheviks undoubtedly brought in the element of adventurism. The same kind of tendencies, but expressing itself more sharply and having far worse consequences can be perceived in the insurrection of the Spartacists in 1919, when they attempted to jump over the Constituent Assembly. On the other hand, the tactic of the German leadership in the March days of 1921 was an attempt to stage an insurrection on a declining wave. The tactic of the ultra-Left leadership in Germany in 1924 was an adventurist supplement of the tail-endism of 1923. The Canton uprising of 1927 was an adventurist transformation of the opportunism of 1925-27 and together with that a classic example of the desperation of the rear-guard.

The movement of the peasants into the collectives, called forth by a combination of economic and administrative reasons acquired a mass character. The policy of the bureaucracy was at bottom an example of tail-endism. But the bureaucracy not only proclaimed this policy as its greatest victory—to speed is to speed! exclaimed the parrot, when the cat pulled it by the tail—but also developed a mad pressure on the peasantry under the flag of the liquidation of classes. Tail-endism was transformed directly into adventurism.

Can this adventurism be called ultra-Leftism and can it be said that we, the Opposition, attack it from the Right? Strategically, this would, of course, be sense-

less because the tactical zig-zag of Stalin undermines the revolutionary class strategy. But tactically nevertheless, we have this time on the part of the Stalinists not a Right but an ultra-Left zig-zag—it cannot be called otherwise.

At the Third Congress of the Comintern while working out the tactics and strategy, we rejected the ultra-Left adventurism of Zinoviev, Bela Kun, Maslow and others. Lenin did not at all fear to say that he criticizes them this time from the Right. Some of our friends were confused by this. The fetishism of words is an unpleasant illness.

The Right course as a strategical line is the reliance on the capitalist farmer in the village—capitalism in instalments. In the first years Stalin travelled far on this road. At present Stalin is moving in directly the opposite direction. The program of the administrative liquidation of the Kulak is an ultra-Left caricature of a revolutionary course. Tactically we stand at the moment to the Right of the zig-zag course. Strategically, we continue to stand on the basic revolutionary line.

On July 14, 1929, when the official turn to the Left began to make itself felt, I wrote to Ch. Rakovsky and to other exiles as follows: "After the tail-enders missed the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923, a very deep ultra-Left zig-zag followed in 1924-25. This ultra-Left zig-zag developed into Right channels; the struggle with the industrialists, the coquettings with LaFollete and Raditch, the Peasant International, Kuomintang, etc. When ultra-Leftism smashed its head on the Right path, a Right course developed. It is therefore not inconceivable that we have here an extended reproduction of the same thing in a new stage, that is, ultra-Leftism supporting itself on opportunistic premises. The accompanying economic forces may however, break down this ultra-Leftism at the very beginning and immediately give the whole course a decisive turn to the Right."

As the principal activity of Yaroslavsky is the stealing of Oppositionist correspondence he can easily check up on this quotation. Neither Stalinist ultra-Leftism nor the newest turn to the Right was unexpected by us. As Marxists we should orientate ourselves not on the bureaucrats psychology but on the "accompanying economic forces".

Our Prognosis

Shall we call for a "retreat"? The above mentioned comrade, expresses the idea that the slogan of "Back" does not suit us. Just the same, he says, Stalin will now continue to retreat. Is it worth our while to add our voices to the outcries of these drag-in-the-rear politicians? If this were a case of a bourgeois state such a criticism would be correct. We are not at all obliged to give advice even to the most democratic and social democratic bourgeoisies as to how to get out of their difficulties. On the contrary we must mercilessly exploit all its difficulties in order to rouse the working class against the capitalist state. The position of Urbahns in relation to the U.S.S.R. is a caricature of Marxist policy in relation to a bourgeois state. But in spite of the one thousand and one lies of Yaroslavsky we considered and still consider the Soviet State a proletarian state. Even though Yaroslavsky "brings" words he ascribed to us from the Bulletin about the "unavoidable death of the October Revolution", this honorable eavesdropper lies. We never said that, we never wrote that, and never thought that, even though we do not in the least hide from ourselves nor from the Party the tremendous danger that the October Revolution is approaching as a result of the monstrous mistakes of the last period. The Opposition does not identify the Soviet State either with Yaroslavsky or with Stalin. It considers the Soviet State its own State and will defend it not only from its open class enemies but also from the internal damagers among whom Yaroslavsky occupies not the last place.

In the same article "About the Evolution of the Trotskyites" Yaroslavsky once more repeats that "L.D. Trotsky was convinced a year ago that our Party would be compelled to call him back for aid." In that sense Trotsky was supposed to have warned those who "accompanied him"

(agents of the G.P.U. that in all probability he'd be called to save the situation within a few months." Yaroslavsky lies! This is not what I said. This is not how I spoke. Together with the whole Opposition I said, that the country is entering on a period of new difficulties on a higher historical basis; that the leadership does not see anything and does not foresee that these difficulties may bring about a sharp crisis after two years, after a year or even after several months. Then, I said, it will be revealed that the government apparatus as well as the Party is over-run with bureaucrats, careerists, political betrayers, etc. But the Opposition will devotedly fight together with the revolutionary core of the Party. You will be ashamed, I said, to those "accompanying" if you will have to call back for aid in that difficult moment the Oppositionists directly from the prisons and exile. This prognosis remains in force even today. What is truer, is that now it takes on a more real and acute character.

Flattering the Peasantry

The crude and senseless economic plucking of the peasantry is supplemented by Yaroslavsky with indecent politicalattery. In regards to my words that the peasantry, finding itself before the closed gates of the market "flings" itself in the direction of collectivization, Yaroslavsky writes, "Trotsky, still retaining his past views on the peasantry as an enemy force, cannot imagine the peasantry as any different than cattle which 'fling' themselves into the open gates in the direction of collectivization." I did not compare the peasantry with cattle. For such comparisons the lackey psychology of Yaroslavsky is needed. At no time did I consider the peasantry an enemy force, neither did I consider it a conscious socialist force. The peasantry is contradictory. Within it the dependence on the elementary forces of nature are still terribly strong even today, with its terribly split-up and helplessly economy. Marx and Engels wrote in their time about the "idiocy of rural life". The Populists uttered not a few sorry words on this theme, and deduced from the Communist Manifesto the supposed enmity of the Marxists towards the peasantry. In what way does Yaroslavsky differ from them? In as much as the peasant is a realist towards the questions surrounding him, just in so far does he become a victim of blind instinct on bigger questions. The whole history of the peasantry is such that after decades and centuries of heavy immobility, it plunges either in one or another direction. The peasant-soldiers crushed the Revolution of 1905. The peasantry elected in 1917 Social Revolutionaries to the Constituent Assembly but helped the Bolsheviks to throw off the "Social Revolutionaries". How many times did it fling itself from one direction to another during the civil war before it firmly bound its fate to that of the Soviet power. To liberate the peasant from the elementary forces pressing down on his consciousness, he must be "de-peasantized". This is the task of socialism. But this is decided not by a formalist collectivization, but by a revolution in agricultural technique. The advanced peasant will sooner or later understand that the Oppositionist is far more farsighted in the question of peasant economy than the ruling bureaucrats.

Evidently, fate wanted to enjoy a particularly hearty laugh at the expense of Yaroslavsky. In the same number of the Pravda (March 30th) where this malicious and wretched article is printed there is a report of Bullat's speech at the Plenum of the Moscow district conference. Bullat says, that in one of the sections "the Right moods within the Party organization were very strong. The district committee removed several leading functionaries. And then the whole organization flung itself to the 'Left' to the extent of a complete turn." This is what was literally said. This speech is not about a peasant mass but about a party organization which is supposed to personify the consciousness of the working class. And the official leader tells us how after removing several "Rights" the organization was "flung" towards ultra-Leftism. This is far more becoming of "cattle", to make use of the lackey vocabulary of Yaroslavsky.

Nevertheless, the picture drawn by Bullat symbolizes the whole fate of the Party for the past two years. After the

(Continued on Page 7)

Bureaucrats Rule C.P. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

instinctively loyal but bewildered rank and file, who the continual shifting of leaderships and chaotic "new turns" has plunged into apathy.

The dues paying membership has sunk to a "new low"—6,617 in January 1930. The Party influence in the old unions has been annihilated. The new unions under this suicidal leadership and zig-zag course have been reduced to mere shadows of their former selves. The National Textile Workers Union has been reduced to a membership of 2,000. The Amalgamated Food Workers has been split with a small minority of 500 workers pulled out by the Stalinists to form a dual union. The National Miners Union has shrunk to a few hundred members while the Daily Worker carries screaming columns of bluff about its "strikes against Unemployment." The Needle Trades Industrial Union is down to a few thousand members. A call has been issued by the Stalinists which will split off the few badly organized Left wingers from the main body of the workers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

While the capitalist class is intensifying its drive on the Communists as the spearhead of the militant working class, the present Browder-Ellacht sub-agency of the Stalin regime has utterly failed to organize a mass movement against the Gastonia sentences, against the victimization of the leaders of the New York Unemployed demonstration and elsewhere.

The demonstration on March 6th showed the potential opportunity for developing a great unemployed movement around concrete demands—but the incompetent Centrist leadership could not have ruined these opportunities more successfully if they had deliberately set out to do so. After the March 6th demonstration—April, May, June have passed without any organization, without any planned attempt to give form to the movement, without any popularization of a concrete program. The truth can hardly be covered up that there is no organization of the workers, no linking up with the employed—no councils except those being hastily improvised for the Chicago Convention. And the Chicago Convention looms up as another glorified mass meeting to give the Daily Worker its material for columns of yellow sensationalism.

But the American Party situation is no exception to the situation in the rest of the Comintern. As we have demonstrated repeatedly the roots of the Party crisis are international. We will continue energetically to prepare fresh cadres in the Party who will take up the struggle of the Left Opposition for the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin

THE NEW UNIONS AND THE UNITED FRONT

In the work of forming new unions of the unorganized workers, no less than its work in the A. F. of L., the Party must revive and apply the united front tactic. Maintaining always its independence and freedom of criticism, the Party must-form alliance with groups and organizations willing to co-operate with us on a minimum class struggle program and win the non-Party militants over to the course of joint struggle. An approach to revolutionary syndicalist workers in the spirit of Lenin is especially necessary.

The Party must strive to establish its decisive influence and leadership in these united front struggles by its initiative, superior tactics and conscientious persevering work. These methods must replace the growing tendency towards exclusiveness and mechanical, monopolistic Party control which only result in the narrowing down of the base of the new movements and organizations, in their degeneration into impotent cliques, in their isolation and defeat. Under the present conditions and relation of forces, the Party cannot put forth the demand for arbitrary and mechanical control without endangering the developing movements and blocking its own approach to the awakening non-Party masses. The leadership of the Communists, which is alone able to steer the new movements on a correct course, must be won in struggle.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20 1929

In Germany

Fascist Gains in Saxony

The results of the Saxony elections make ominous reading to the German and international working class.

It is generally known that the results of the Thuringian elections some time ago gave the Fascists ("national socialists") the direct and legal control of the police power. They became the governing party and have launched on the open suppression of the workers' press and organizations. The tabulation of the returns from the election to the Saxon diet (it used to be the Saxony!) now shows that the Fascists ("National Socialists") have tripled their strength and advanced from the position of seventh among thirteen parties to the second strongest party in the state. They polled 376,724 votes and acquired 14 seats as against five in the old legislature. The social democrats, it is reported, held their own, and the Communists won two seats. The socialists now have thirty-two, the fascists fourteen and the Communists thirteen seats.

These terrible results for the working class in a province that once had the strongest proletarian movement in Germany are the consequences of social democratic betrayal, developing deep disappointment among the masses. But instead of the revolutionary Communists being the gainers, it is chiefly the fascists. The Communist Party is hamstrung by its adventurist leadership, its false centrist theories, its third period policies. The Stalin regime, with its Molotovs and Manuilskys is, continually pounding the tom-tom of radical-

ization. The German situation really is the most fertile soil for the radicalization of the workers. The German capitalists have publicly announced their intentions for a universal wage cut, the Young Plan has been set into operation, the economic crisis will be sharpened by the situation in the United States.

But the disastrous course of the Stalinists must be held jointly accountable with social democratic betrayal for this failure to give leadership to the revolution and to bring the processes of mass radicalization to the surface in the form of political and industrial action.

Φ

On Friday June 20th some 400 workers employed by the Long Island Railroad were discharged. These fresh recruits to the army of the unemployed were mainly engaged in the maintenance of way department and the passenger and freight services. In addition 100 temporary employees taken on three months ago were dismissed. The corporation did not of course consult the workers before firing them out on the slave market.

The learned professor Carver of Harvard should try consoling these workers by proving that now they will live off the stocks, shares and dividends they own as capitalists. Suppose they start a business for themselves?

Switchmen's Union Convention

The Switchmen's Union of America concluded on June 18th a ten day convention at Buffalo, N. Y. Two hundred and forty-one delegates attended. During this long period the convention failed to deal adequately with the major and immediate needs confronting the Union. The greater part of the delegates was made up of those having seniority rights. Thus they failed to comprehend directly the acute issue of unemployment taking its toll among the railroad workers in the United States and Canada by the tens of thousands through layoffs, speed-up and rationalization.

The convention as a whole carried through a reactionary program, only relieved here and there by an occasionally progressive act of resistance to the reactionary proposals of the organization officialdom.

After Secretary of Labor Davis of the Hoover Administration had recited his piece of cant, the officers reports began. These reports were hopelessly inadequate and did not deal in any sense with the Switchmen's and railroaders' needs generally. They consisted of details on this and that point, but contained no proper review of the organization's gains and losses, its perspective for the union, the question of the unorganized, the unemployed, etc. The officers' reports had, as one rank and file delegate expressed it, no more information than a time-table. Of course, the officers showed why they needed an increase in salaries.

Nevertheless, a rank and file delegate took the floor and wanted to know where the union was heading? What were the aims of the organization? How were they going to meet the attacks of the railroad barons, the smashing of the unions, etc. A three hour discussion followed, in which sharp criticism was made of the poor and flabby reports of the officials. But nothing happened as a result and the convention returned to its routine work.

Red-Baiter Resolution Defeated

Later the Resolutions Committee brought in a resolution calling for the expulsion from the Union of all Communists, Amalgamationists, revolutionists, Reds, etc. in line with the ideas and practices of the Greens, Wolls and Cashens. This resolution aiming to eliminate all opposition and all remaining militants from the Union, was attacked by a delegate from the floor. He pointed out that the passage of this resolution meant playing the game of the bosses and of the bureaucratic officials, and was the way to break, not build, the union. He described the role of the "Reds", etc. as that type of union militancy which made

fighting organizations of the workers against the employers. His speech aroused the delegates and the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

To everyone's surprise the reactionary officials tried to introduce the same resolution again in different clothing. But other delegates arose and denounced the resolution and it was once more defeated.

The program adopted was a lifeless, hopeless one, so far as the needs of the rank and file is concerned, with the bare exceptions indicated.

The Convention adopted a resolution addressed to the railroad workers of all crafts and industries to cooperate in a movement to establish the six hour day and five day week.

Resolution for Railroad Councils

The most important action of the Convention, if properly understood and measures are taken to carry it through, was a resolution for the establishment of Railroad Councils of all railroad workers in all railway centres. This is similar in plan and scope to the Railroad Council initiated in April by a delegated body of railroad men in Minneapolis and St. Paul. This Twin City Council, among other things, also called for a national campaign among railroad workers for the six hour day and five day week. The Railway Councils have potentialities for rank and file control by the railroad workers and for the rebuilding of the railroad organizations on a militant basis.

Railroad workers everywhere should strive for the establishment of Railway Councils similar to that begun by the Twin City Railroad men.

Another resolution adopted by the Switchmen's Convention provided for the attempt to set up machinery to consolidate the insurance features of the various Railroad Unions into one; and also to investigate ways and means to wipe out jurisdictional disputes. What the officialdom has in mind are those jurisdictional disputes which hinder their bureaucratic hold in their field. The rank and file have to agitate for actually removing causes for jurisdictional disputes through the amalgamation of the railroad unions, as a first step toward the reorganization of the railroad workers on an industrial union basis.

The officials not satisfied with their present huge salaries, even while unemployment is heavy, sought a further increase in salaries. To the bitter disappointment of the officers the Convention voted this down.

—RANK AND FILE DELEGATE

GENERAL STRIKE IN SPAIN

Ever since the fall of the Spanish dictator Rivera, the atmosphere in Spain has been charged. The general strike declared in Seville against police brutality towards strikers in a wage dispute in an olive factory, indicates how great the tension is. Police and guards brutally fired, killing and wounding men, women and children indiscriminately. One hundred and fifty people were injured as the police attacked with sabres and rifles.

Fourteen strike and trade union leaders and fifty "agitators" are under arrest. Workers are assembling in throngs in various parts of Seville. The city is virtually under martial law.

Alfonso's henchman General Berenguer issued the usual official "Order, has been restored in Warsaw" statement. "It appears that the trouble is past" he declared after a cabinet meeting.

The General is mistaken. The Seville strike is symptomatic of the development of a mass movement that will compel Alfonso and his corrupt regime to think seriously of suitable European refuges for aristocratic emigres.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 303 Tenth St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1633 W. Division St.; Walden Bookstore 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britske's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 N. Webster St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington; Andelman's 234 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
REVERE, MASS., Trachtman's Store 87 Sherley Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buchler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.; 40th & Girard Ave., S. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St.
CAMDEN, N. J.: 326 Market St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Walsh, 1,203 Pacific St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West
In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

Φ

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 14th—There are 23,499 unemployed men and women in this city according to a preliminary report by the Federal Census Bureau.

This does not include those who are ill, suffering from injuries or temporarily unemployed, but only those "usually working at gainful occupations"

If the number on your wrapper is

50

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Aftermath of Needle Trades Convention

2. Character of the Right Wing Unions

By James P. Cannon

One of the chief errors of the convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union—an error, like all the others, forced upon it by the Party leadership—was to regard the split in the furriers and ladies garment workers unions, and the formation of the new industrial union, as the final settlement of accounts with the reactionary leaders within the old organizations throughout the industry, including those unions which were not affected by the split. This estimation of the situation is profoundly false. The issue is not yet settled even with the unions in which the split occurred and will not be settled as long as these Right wing organizations control the majority of the organized workers in these trades. And in the field of the other unions, where there has been no split and where the new union has created no base in the shops, such an assumption is a sheer absurdity. A policy founded on this false assumption collides with facts which cannot be wished away.

The split and the formation of the new union in a section of the industry must rather be regarded as a stage in a long-drawn-out and complicated struggle. The first necessary stage was the formation of the Left wing in the old unions and its consolidation in battle. Without that the present existence of the new union would have been impossible. The Left wing is still confronted with this preliminary task in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and in the Cap and Millinery Workers Union. It has yet to complete it in the I.L.G.W.U. and the Furriers Union. It also has the problem of uniting this activity in a comprehensive strategy with the task of strengthening the new Left union and organizing the unorganized. The goal of the Left wing is to unite the masses of needle trades workers into a single organization of the class struggle.

The goal is still some distance away, as the membership figures demonstrate with merciless logic. Under what conditions can the Left wing move in the direction of this goal. Only by demonstrating in practice that it is able to improve the material conditions of the workers in the shops. The most revolutionary program will not be accepted as a substitute for this. The workers want results in terms of bread and butter. If the Left wing union fails in this it fails in everything. The new union has the will to do this, but it is blocked by the Right unions which have the help of the bosses and the police—and, besides, have the great bulk of the organized workers in their ranks. The existence of these Right wing unions under the control of the reactionaries and traitors is not only a barrier to the new union in the organized shops; it is also a powerful force for sabotage and disruption of any serious organizing campaign of the new union among the unorganized. The Left wing must cope with this problem. That is the key to its future development.

Attitude to Right Wing Unions

The question of the attitude of the revolutionaries toward the Right wing unions needs clarification. The convention of the new union under the guidance of the Party leadership, put the question on the simple basis of "either—or"; that is, FOR the new Left wing union and AGAINST the old Right wing unions throughout the entire industry. The convention program states: "The I.L.G.W.U., the A.C.W., the I.F.W.U., and the other so-called Right wing organizations are company unions in the real sense of the word...The company unions cannot be reformed, they must be destroyed." It follows with the decision: "To abandon the maintenance of the T.U.U. L. groups within the company unions." And to "call upon every needle trade worker, regardless of craft or occupation, to join the new union."

This is a false approach to the problem as well as a false estimation of the old unions. What is needed is a two-sided policy of strengthening the new union and simultaneously working within the old unions, with a single objective: to unite the workers on a broader basis under the Left wing banner. Simple solutions "either—or"—will not work out. To liquidate the new unions would mean to deprive the workers of the concentrated gains of their long struggle and paralyze their fighting power for a long time. To call at the same time to build a strong

Left wing in the old unions would rob the new union of any possibilities of broad expansion and condemn it to sectarian impotence.

The Stalinist master-minds who can see only along a straight line, and that only as far as the end of their noses, will have none of this "complicated" strategy. And lacking reasons to justify their narrow and sectarian policy, they invent them. One of these inventions is the theory that the Right wing unions are company unions. Even if this were so it would not free the revolutionaries from the necessity of working within them as long as they embrace masses of workers. Foster explained this some years ago in his writings on company unions, and as Lenin explained before him in his account of the work of the bolsheviks in the Czarist police-controlled unions in "Left Wing Communism". But, alas, we live in the "third period", and the onetime wisdom of Foster, to say nothing of the wisdom of Lenin is a forgotten song of long ago. Stalinist education requires that we forget today everything we learned yesterday.

The Company Union Argument

The "company union" argument is a theoretical fraud invented to motivate a false policy. There is no doubt, however that many of the Left wing workers are deluded by this schematic explanation of the matter; and this delusion stands in the way of a clear comprehension of the problems and tasks of the Left wing. This circumstance justifies and necessitates a discussion of the formula which is designed to save thought and avoid a complicated struggle.

The history of the American and International labor movement shows two types of trade unions; those based on the idea of the partnership of labor and capital—"Class collaboration" unions—and those based on the class struggle. Even between these two main types the line of demarcation is not always clear. They frequently overlap each other. More than one "revolutionary" union has proved to be conservative, even reactionary, in practice and many a militant strike has been conducted by unions officially committed to a policy of class collaboration. These contradictions between practice and program arise from the fact that the trade unions are not static bodies. They have their existence in the class struggle and are constantly under its pressure and influence.

The trade unions, which are the basic and elementary organizations of the workers, reflect in a general way the stage of class development of the workers in their ranks.

The corrupt and reactionary bureaucracy exerts a certain influence, of course, in holding back the development of the union on the path of the class struggle; just as the Communists, at the other pole, are a force for its acceleration. Between these two factors of conscious pressure for opposing ends the general level of class consciousness in the masses asserts itself and determines the character of the unions in practice regardless of their predetermined program. A revolutionization of the labor movement presupposes a revolutionization of the masses and has no serious meaning without it. On the other hand, with a real development of working class radicalization, all the machinations of the bureaucrats cannot prevent the trade unions from reflecting and expressing it.

The fact that this organization expression may, and most frequently will, be realized through deep splits in the old unions and the formation of new ones—a process that has begun in the needle trades—does not alter the fundamental proposition. The very existence of the new needle trades industrial union which was first crystallized as a Left wing in the old unions, is positive proof that these unions are susceptible to the pressure of the class struggle and the agitation of the revolutionaries. It is proof that, despite the despicable fakers at their head, they are actual organizations of the workers, the natural and legitimate field for revolutionary activity.

Company unionism is a different question altogether. Company unions are organizations formed directly by the bosses and directly controlled by them. Their

officers are the bosses' employees, foremen, stool-pigeons etc. They have no independent life and no independent power to enforce decisions. They have no functions except those conferred on them by the bosses. History has never yet recorded a struggle of the workers conducted under the banner of a company union; although there have been a few instances where they served as the starting point for movements of revolt against the company unions, smashing through them and forming independent unions of the workers. No worker even the most ignorant ever mistook a company union for a real union.

Class-Collaboration Unions

Can the Right wing unions in the needle trades with all the corruption and treachery of their leaders properly be classified as company unions? Certainly not, if definitions mean anything. These are quite different organizations and this fundamental difference is not abolished by the recent trend of the Right wing officials toward closer and more open partnership with the bosses. The Right wing organizations are class-collaboration unions in all the accepted meaning and implication of that term. It is quite true that the Right wing officials have introduced a new efficiency and a higher technique into the business of betraying the workers under the old theory of a partnership between labor and capital. But at bottom there is nothing new in principle. The Right wing unions in practice are more or less typical examples of the doctrine of class collaboration.

What is there about the practice of the Right wing unions that distinguishes them from the standard type of reactionary American trade unions. Is it the agreement with the bosses to compel the workers in the shop to register in the Right union. Almost every American trade union for years and even for decades has attempted to make such an agreement with the employers. Many of them are based on such contracts. The printing trades, building trades, and many other unions have such agreements. The most conspicuous illustration is the United Mine Workers. For more than twenty years this organization maintained control of the organized coal fields, and froze out such rivals as the I.W.W. and the One Big Union, through the check-off system—an arrangement whereby the mine operators collected the union dues by deducting them from the miners' wages. The program of the Left wing convention cites the check-off as one of the "characteristics of company unions". This is really laughable when it is recalled that the check-off was one of the Left wing demands in the miners union up till a short while ago; the surrender of the check-off by Lewis in the anthracite strike in 1926 was bitterly attacked by the Communist Party.

Is it co-operation of their officials with the bosses and the police to fight the militant workers which makes the Right wing unions company unions? This again is the established and traditional practice of reactionaries in the labor movement; it is such practices, among others, that stamp them as reactionaries and agents of the bosses. Lenin speaks of this in "Left Wing Communism". The traitor leaders of the German trade unions were the saviors of capitalism and the butchers of the revolutionary workers. After that Lenin wrote his pamphlet advising the German Communists to go into these unions in order to wrest the workers out of the control of these betrayers.

Is it, perhaps, the enforcement of "production standards" on the workers and the selling of the unions as agencies of efficiency that "transforms" them into company unions? This again is nothing new. Such a policy is inherent in the very idea of class collaboration unionism. The slogan of traditional trade unionism, "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work", which Marx polemicized against, is the germ of all such policies. The latter-day agents of the capitalists in the labor movement have only extended and modernized the basic ideas and practices of the conservative unionism of the past.

While in all essential and fundamental features the Right wing unions in the needle trades conform to the standard type of reactionary labor organization represented by the A. F. of L., there is no

ground for confusing them with company unions. The basic difference consists in this: The company union is a lifeless organization created by the bosses, in which no outside force is consulted and no agreement is required. The reactionary labor union, on the other hand is based on an agreement of the bosses with an outside force, namely, the unions represented by the Right wing officialdom. This relationship imparts to the union certain features never seen in a company union. These are: a formal independent life of the union organization and an independent apparatus not employed in the shop; a constitution and formal democratic procedure—business meetings, conventions, etc., without direct interference of the bosses; an independent treasury for the self-maintenance of the union; the settlement of disputes by agreement with an implied reserve weapon of compulsion on the part of the union. These are the essential features of a labor organization, a potential instrument of the class struggle and a natural field for revolutionary work.

It is quite obvious that company unions and reactionary trade unions are entirely different kinds of organizations. And this difference is not disposed of by the assertion that the Right wing unions, through their corrupt officials, also serve the bosses. This is true enough, and it must never be forgotten, but they serve the bosses in a different way than do the officials of the company unions who are directly employed by the bosses and represent no independent power. This is what we have to understand before we can draw the correct inferences regarding revolutionary tactics. To characterize the old unions in the needle trades as company unions means to play with catch-words. Those who want to think straight—and revolutionaries above all others must do this—must beware of catch-words. What we need is precise definitions of our problems and tasks. Intelligent thought requires that words have a definite meaning, although this elementary truth has not yet occurred to the phrase-mongering leaders who try to answer complicated problems with careless epithets.

If we compare the old unions in the needle trades with the standard A.F. of L. unions and such conservative independent bodies as the railroad brotherhoods we see that they all have the same characteristic features. The differences and variations between them are incidental and peculiar to the particular situation surrounding them. The important thing to see—because it is an inescapable fact—is that they are of the same basic type. Consequently, a policy of withdrawal from the reactionary unions in the needle trades, of refusing to organize a Left wing within them—on the ground that they are company unions—is, in reality, a decision to give up the fight in all the reactionary unions. Make no mistake about it. That is what the newly-baked theory of "company unionism" means.

Such proposals have been made before. In 1920 and 1921 we fought the issue out in bitter conflicts in the Party. The rise of the Left wing in the needle trades and all its great historic accomplishments would have been impossible if we had not defeated the abstentionist policy at that time and steered the Communist militants into the mass organizations controlled by the reactionaries—the same Schlesingers and Hillmans. In the early days of the Comintern a historic struggle on this question took place, the results of which were summed up at the Second World Congress of the Comintern and the First World Congress of the R.I.L.U. Thanks to the decisive leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the program of deserting the old mass unions, proposed by the German ultra-Left Opposition and sections of the British and American delegations, was rejected and the Comintern directed its course toward the masses in the reactionary unions. Without this decision the expansion of the Communist Parties of Europe as great organizations of the masses could not have taken place.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant, and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

N.Y. Party-Y.C.L. Group for Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

cover that we were always inclined towards heretical deviations, and that we never were much good anyway. There will be much slander and dirt as there has always been towards those comrades who have embraced the Marxian opinions of the Left Opposition. For the phrasemongers, shallow-minded bureaucrats, and despicable opportunists we have only contempt. We address ourselves to those sincere rank and file comrades who are devotedly sacrificing for Communism, but have been misled by the Browders, Fosters and Lovestones. Let there be no surprise for our and other comrades "sudden" conversion to the support of the Platform of the Left Opposition.

Bureaucratism Supreme

In a Party which no longer permits disagreements with the official line bureaucratically proclaimed—from above, in a Party in which there no longer exists the last vestige of centralized democracy, in a Party which demands only slavish obedience and mechanical execution of tasks, in a Party in which self-criticism means "Do not dare to criticize the leadership"—in such a Party where all honest opinion is driven underground, many unforeseen surprises are to be expected. When we read in the *Daily Worker* (June 3) such remarks as written by Herbert Benjamin, D.O. of the N. Y. District, as "No one in the Party now dares to deny the correctness of the basic analysis of the Comintern and Central Committee," when we hear such remarks during a pre-convention discussion period then indeed do we declare that Party democracy is an absolutely dead institution.

"The whole course in the Party and the Y.C.L. has shocked and aroused us. The present ultra-Left adventurist line, which is discrediting Communism in the eyes of the workers, and which is destroying whatever Communist influence there has been in the past, led us to a complete re-examination of the course pursued by the Party and the Comintern for the last seven years. We studied such basic and fundamental questions as socialism in one country, the Chinese Revolution, and the course of Soviet economy. We found that in the past we had been deceived about these questions. We found that Lovestone and Foster had lied about the Left Opposition and about the leader of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the U.S.S.R. and the International, comrade Trotsky. They suppressed the real opinions of the Opposition and ascribed to them false and untrue viewpoints. When for the first time we read the truth about the Menshevik and disastrous Chiang Kai-Shek course pursued by Bucharin-Stalin in the Chinese Revolution, we were stunned and appalled. Then we saw who are the real opportunists, and who carries forward the traditions of Lenin.

Fundamental Questions

From the beginning we avoided being provoked by the stupid blunders of the Party and falling precipitately into the opportunist arms of Lovestone. We avoided studying the problem superficially, that is, merely examine this or that tactical error, but went into the fundamental questions which we have mentioned. From Herberg of the Lovestone group we have heard such remarks as, "Who cares about socialism in one country? I don't care one way or the other. The American working class is not concerned about socialism in one country." We have known how to estimate such a crass opportunist and unprincipled approach to the international problems of the working class. Give the Lovestone faction a united front a la Kuomintang or pro-Purcell and they are happy. But for us the question cuts much deeper than that. For us the question is either the reactionary, utopian, anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one country—Lovestone's "exceptionalism" in a Russian dress—or a program of the international revolution.

The Decline of Party Influence

Failure after failure stares the Party in the face. The most outstanding characteristic in the life of the Party today is its absolute inability to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions which confront it—the incessant lagging behind. In the old unions there is not to be found a trace of Party influence. Work there has been completely forsaken. The new unions have steadily dwindled, and whatever mass character they once had has disappeared. The membership drive has been a miserable

failure. In the New York District out of the total recruitment, 40% never appeared and 18% dropped out immediately. The unemployment campaign has collapsed like a house of cards. What has happened to the million and a quarter workers who were supposed to be ready to follow the call of the Party? Why is no mass campaign started to free Foster and the others? Why is nothing done about the workers facing the electric chair in Atlanta, Georgia? Why is not a broad united front movement launched in accordance with the big possibilities and necessities of this case? Why is there such paralysis in the Party? What explains that there were only 300,000 workers demonstrating on May 1 while there were a million and a quarter on March 6? Scolding and trying to place the blame on the membership for not doing enough work cannot explain it. The reason is to be sought in the anti-Leninist theory of the "third period" and the ultra-Left adventurist policies that follow from it. The empty shouting, the bombast, and sensationalism must be abandoned, the Party must return to the policies of Lenin, upheld by the Left Opposition.

Ruinous Policies

In the Young Communist League we have indeed seen a most deplorable state of affairs. The Y.C.L. does not seem to be able to hold the members who come into its ranks. The membership turnover has assumed an alarmingly rapid pace. Young workers come and go. Members who have been a short while in the League become passive and discouraged. They drop out or are expelled. This is the reaction to the bureaucratic regime, to the elimination of

democracy, to the fact that they can find no opportunity for revolutionary expression inside the League, to the opportunism and adventurism of the present leadership. The Young Communists can only find a solution by finding their way to the platform of the Left Opposition.

Hence we demand:

1. The liquidation of the regime of bureaucratic suppression in the Comintern and the opening of an untrammelled discussion of the balance sheet of the Stalin regime and the Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition these past six years.

2. The re-establishment of Party democracy and the re-instatement in the Party, International and the Soviet Union of the exiled and persecuted members of the Left Opposition.

3. The re-examination of the Program adopted at the Sixth World Congress and the elimination of all the revisionist theories of "socialism in one country", and the rejection of the Menshevik colonial and national policies pursued by the bureaucratic leadership in China and India.

Long live the Leninist Unity of the Communist International!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

HARRY MILTON—Y.C.L.—Long Island Unit

M.MORRIS—Y.C.L.—Bronx Unit, No. 4

MORRIS SPECTOR—Y.C.L.—East New York Unit.

RAYMOND SPECTOR (George Ray)—Section 8, Unit 4

MAX STOVER—Section 1, Unit 3F

DAVE WEEER—Section 1, Unit 8F

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS

(Continued from Page 4)

ultra-Right course the theoretician of which was Bucharin—deafened by the Stalinist apparatus, "flung" in the direction of complete collectivization. If for the peasantry the "flinging" is a historic misfortune, then for the Party as a conscious selection such a condition is not only a misfortune but a disgrace. It is the Stalinist regime, in which Yaroslavsky occupies a shameful but not the last place that brought the Party to this disgrace.

However, about which of my past views of the peasantry as an enemy force does Yaroslavsky write? Aren't they those views that I expressed, let us say, thirty years ago, during my first exile, and about which Yaroslavsky gave an immeasurably enthusiastic account in the Spring of 1923? "Around himself," Yaroslavsky tells us, "Trotsky saw only the village. He was pained by its needs. He was depressed by its isolation and lack of rights", etc. Yaroslavsky considered it necessary not only to glorify my exceptional attention to the peasantry and acquaintance with the entire peasant life, but he also demanded that my youthful articles on the peasantry should be compiled into a textbook for the study of the young generation. Literally!

I mentioned this grossly flattering response in my Autobiography throwing into the face of Yaroslavsky and may others of my critics their own words of yesterday. In connection with this Yaroslavsky speaks now about "Trotsky's self-praises" in his auto-biography. He only forgets to add that these "self-praises" consist of quotations taken from those under whose leadership the campaign of poison and slander—the dimensions of which were unparalleled—went on for the past seven years. To stir all this refuse does not give us any pleasure. In this I will be believed, not only by a revolutionist, but by any thinking man, who is not poisoned by the degrading spirit of a Chinovnik (bureaucrat) careerist. I merely carried out what I considered my revolutionary duty. Stalin and his Yaroslavskies carry on against me precisely because I represent a system of views which they despise.

For the sake of this struggle they considered it necessary to stir up the whole history of the Party and Revolution, not leaving a single, living point untouched. To defeat then their whole slanderous front it was not so much a matter of personal self-defence, as a matter of political necessity. I fulfilled this in several works. In the book "The Revolution Disfigured", "The Autobiography" and finally in the book

on the "Permanent Revolution". In all these works, I expose on the basis of exact historic data, documents and quotations, the fraudulent web of the Stalinist school in which Yaroslavsky occupies a shameful but not the last place.

In regards to these books which have already been published in many languages and continue to be translated and republished, the Stalinists have adopted complete silence. Let them try and refute my exposition. Let them defend themselves against those slanderous contradictions, falsifications and slanders of which I accuse them on the basis of undeniable documents and more often on the basis of their own previous declarations. Let them deny at least one of the quotations or at least one iota of the evidence used by me. They cannot do it—they stand convicted by their own deeds. They are in the clasp of their own contradictions, they are compromised by their own denials, they are revealed ideologically impotent by the inconsistency of their own lies. Life is not stagnant. Life goes its way bearing out the criticism and prognosis of the Opposition.

Why the New Polemic?

Why after all the preceeding liquidations, crushings and funerals of the Opposition is Yaroslavsky compelled or more correctly why was Yaroslavsky commissioned to enter into such a highly principled polemic with the Opposition? Even though with the grossest distortions, the eavesdropper was nevertheless compelled to quote the Paris Bulletin of the Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) and to inform partly because of need, partly because of thoughtlessness something very inconvenient for the Stalinist faction.

If we look closer at Yaroslavsky's article we cannot but come to the conclusion that he wrote primarily in order to frighten the lower ranks of the Stalin apparatus. Bringing quotations from the Bulletin, clearly inconvenient for Stalin, Yaroslavsky speaks to some one: You hear what the Opposition says? Take care not to repeat these words! Under the pressure from the bottom the alarm in the apparatus is growing, the doubts in the leadership are growing and the voices condemning the latest zig-zag are growing. Precisely in view of this Yaroslavsky so unexpectedly speaks of Trotsky's hopes to be called upon to "save" the Revolution. Yaroslavsky was slightly over-conscious—ran too far ahead and revealed an over-abundant alarm. A squeak in the apparatus is heard, and Yaroslavsky "frightens"—whom? His own people: sit straight,

be silent, whether you believe or do not believe in the genius of the leadership; be silent, do not arouse any doubts, i. not the apparatus is threatened by an "intervention" of Trotskyism! This is the sense of Yaroslavsky's article, this is what its political music consists of.

But this music can no longer drown the squeak in the apparatus. As a result of the most recent tests, which showed that the leadership plays around brainlessly, the differentiation inside the Party will greatly increase. The Rights will undoubtedly experience a new growth, will bring forth new leaders, perhaps with lesser names but more fundamental and more persistent. This danger must be foreseen. But also in the proletarian core of the Party a deep awakening will take place, undoubtedly is taking place already.

From day to day the urge to understand the latest Left jump in connection with the whole "general" line which alas, does not exist in nature, will grow. It is quite possible that the pre-Congress discussion will not be as quiet as the Bonapartist elements would like. The news that Stalin attempted once more to postpone the Congress until the Autumn, that is to complete another alternative "overturn", that one hundred and first by this time, and that his own Central Committee resisted is highly credible and at the same time very symptomatic. This signifies the beginning of the Party's awakening.

A new chapter opens before the Opposition—a very responsible one. Outside of the Opposition nobody will give the Party a clear picture of what is happening at present in unbreakable connection with the policy of the whole period after the death of Lenin. No one except the Opposition is able to secure for the Party a correct principled orientation.

The eavesdropper cites new declarations of repentance and skeptical voices of single Oppositionists. By the combined forces of the starvation diet, of G. P. U. measures, Yaroslavsky's admonitions, and the theoretical belaborings of the red-yellow professors, a new group of capitulators is being prepared for the Sixteenth Congress. But Yaroslavsky passes in silence the new hundreds of arrested Oppositionists in Moscow alone, the revival of the activities of the Opposition in the Party ranks and the growth and consolidation of the International Opposition.

Singly and by groups, Oppositionists who went dizzy over the complete collectivization are compelled by the logic of inertia to present their repentance to the Sixteenth Congress, at a moment when the difficult process of sobering up is beginning. Well, another group of crushed revolutionary reputations will be added. In their stead many hundreds more have already come out according to the statistics of the G.P.U. tomorrow thousands and tens of thousands will follow. It is not the Yaroslavskys who can break the Opposition away from the Party, no, now less than at any time before.

Prinkipo, April 13, 1930.

BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Published in the Russian Language

— CONTENTS —

A Big Step Forward; L. Trotsky—Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism. Some more on comrade Blumkin. L. Trotsky — A Squeak in the Apparatus; Y. Gref —The Collectivization of the Villages; I. E.—Collectivization in Central Asia; N.—Apparatus Falsity and Reality; Kote Czinczadze —A Letter to M. Okudzhava; Letters From the Soviet Union. THE PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION L. Trotsky—An open Letter to the Italian Communists of the Prometeo Group; G. Manuryn and the Comintern; From a Group of Former Red Army Slovaks to all the Former Fighters of the Red Army; T.—Mayakovsky's Suicide; Zaslavsky—The Prop of Stalinism; A Voice from the Apparatus Ranks; N. M.—The forgetful Miasnikov; and other important items.

25 cents each

18c in bundles

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue

New York, N. Y.

- THE YOUNG VANGUARD -

Y.P.S.L. Appeals to Young Babbitry

The Young People's Socialist League represents the interests of the petty-bourgeois youth. These interests are hostile and dangerous to those of the young workers. They run counter to each other, and clash irreconcilably. The petty-bourgeois youth aspires to establish himself comfortably and securely in some well-paying profession. In the Yipsels he can pursue his personal ambitions of well-being congenially and at the same time retain his "ideals". His interest is to preserve the capitalist relations which permit within its confines the fulfillment of his small-minded desires. Revolution and revolutionary working class activity is abhorrent to him. But capitalism with its innate contradictions refuses to run smoothly, and often disturbances occur which menace the attainments of the puny aims of the petty-bourgeois youth. Then he talks fiercely against capitalism, and indeed becomes terribly radical.

We have before us an appeal of the Y.P.S.L. entitled "Young Man, Young Woman—What are You Going to Do With Your Life?" which is eloquently expressive of the nature of this organization. It begins by saying that every young man and woman has two big things to think about. "The first is important...It is how you are going to make a living. But the answer to the second is even more important, for upon it depends the way you are going to live your life." Truly this could be said only to people to whom the question of earning a living is a matter of slight concern, something about which it is not necessary to worry, not a life and death question. And indeed, are we not all to be dentists, doctors or lawyers. Join the Yipsels not because it will help you to fight for better working conditions in your shop or factory, but in order to learn how to spend your money "culturally" and your leisure time "ideally".

Socialist "Doctors and Dentists"

Then America's future doctors and dentists go on to say, "Every young man and woman who is at school or college every youth who knows that school days will soon be over and that the struggles for a living are looming just ahead (this probably refers to the less successful dentists—G.R.) has to make a decision very soon as to how his life is to be led". Yes, indeed, we forgot all about our college education. There are apparently millions of college graduates working in factories for 14 dollars per week. But the poor fools have only themselves to blame. Who asked them to become B.A.'s. They should have become M.D.'s and D.D.S.'s.

The Yipsels perhaps do not know that one out of every four children who enter school never reach the sixth grade, that almost one half never reach the eighth grade, and that less than one third of the school age population enter high school, and that but one in eight graduates. It is not worth speaking of the number who graduate college. How can such facts concern petty bourgeois Yipsels?

And now listen to this most illuminating outlook on life—revealing the true soul of the American Yipsels: "Now after you are earning a living (such an unimportant and simple matter, you know—G.R.) or pursuing a course that will lead to such an honest and decent living (it's either the one or the other, of course—G.R.)—what next? What are you going to do with yourself and your life?"

"Are you going to establish a home, sit back, enjoy life to the extent of your means, and call it a day? Are you going to blind your eyes to the world around you?"

"Most men and women realize that merely earning a living and then going to the movies and motoring does not constitute a complete and wholesome life."

()

Ten individual holding each ranging from 250,000 shares upwards control the General Motors Corporation through the ownership of 20,000,000 shares.

The DuPont powder interests combined with the management interest controls 75 per cent of the 15 million shares. Under these circumstances what substance can the point have that there has been an increase of "165 percent in the number of small shareholders? (from 83, 415 on Feb. 16, 1929 to 218,413, Jan. 24, 1930)

"There must be something else."

The Conditions of the Working Youth

There are over ten million toiling youth in the United States, of whom more than five million are exploited in industry. There are over two and a half million child laborers. The average wage of the young worker is about \$14, and his working day is about 10 hours under very bad conditions. Since the war there has been an intensive rationalization process which has drawn millions of young workers into industry and increased his importance in industry. There are some industries which employ exclusively or very large proportions of young workers. And amidst all this the Yipsels shout "There must be something else." As if in mockery of the bitterly and miserably exploited working youth who of course establish homes, sit back and enjoy life, go motoring and other such delightful pastimes, the middle class philistines advise "So while we do not suggest even for a moment that you give up any of your good times, that you cease enjoying yourself, we ask you to turn your thoughts to those questions that face your elders, and will face you."

Trotsky on the Grown-Up Yipsel

Permit me to quote comrade Trotsky's excellent and fitting description of this type of people. "In the United States there is a large group of successful and semi-successful doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers and the like who divide their precious hours of rest between concerts by European celebrities and the American Socialist party. Their attitude towards life is composed of shreds and fragments of the wisdom they absorbed in their student days. Since they all have automobiles, they are invariably elected to the important committees, commissions and delegations of the party. And properly speaking they are simply variants of 'Babbitt', who supplements his commercial activity with dull Sunday meditations on the future of humanity. These

people live in small national clans, in which the solidarity of ideas usually serves as a screen for business connections. Each clan has its own leader, usually the most prosperous of the Babbitts. They tolerate all ideas provided they do not undermine their traditional authority and do not threaten—God forbid!—their personal comfort!"

It would be an unjust slander to say that the post war generation of Yipsel Babbitts are in any way inferior to their Babbitt elders in the Socialist party.

—GEORGE RAY

Self-Criticism

The "self-criticism" of the ruling faction consists in making tardy admissions of the least significant of the errors they committed, without indicating any connection between them, or the basis upon which they arose. The important and more dangerous mistakes committed by them are "admitted" only under the most severe pressure and even then, in most cases they are falsely ascribed to the opponents of the very errors. The nature of the errors, the reasons and responsibility for them, are never repeated in the same form, or else they are repeated in an inverted form caused by irresponsible swings to the opposite extreme.

A genuine Leninist self-criticism is a primary requisite for the establishment of clarity, the raising of the ideological level of the Party and the elimination of the distrust and cynicism caused by its absence. Instead of self-criticism, the Party leadership has instituted a regime of diplomacy, concealment, distortion, and self-praise. Its own "achievements" are paraded and exaggerated in the most revolting shopkeeper's manner. A blank check of immunity from any error or crime is an automatic premium to any of its faction supporters.

—FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

OPPOSITION RECRUITS YOUTH

In this issue of the Militant there appears a statement signed by a group of Party and Young Communist League members. This group represent the advance guard in the slow but steady march toward the Left Opposition which is bound to occur in the coming period among the Communist Youth now under the influence of the Stalinist regime or the Right Wing. Shallow-minded people may under-estimate the importance of this development because they do not see large numbers rushing forward to the support of the Left Opposition. But revolutionists, unlike opportunists who can base themselves only upon what happens under their nose have perspective and can project the meaning of immediate events into the future beyond the limits of tangible occurrences.

This declaration is not a detached and accidental event separated from the processes at work within the ranks of the Y.C.L. It is indicative of certain trends. These three comrades who have now proclaimed their adherence to the Left Opposition are by no means the only ones in the Y.C.L. today who are definitely for our platform. But for each one of those who are for us, there are many who are thinking and studying our viewpoint, and in due time will be with us.

Right Wingers Distortions

In the Y.C.L. there is a growing resentment and dissatisfaction, still weak and submerged, toward the prevailing course. The Lovestone opportunists are trying to divert this sentiment in their direction. But all young Communists are not to be deceived so easily. There are many who are not superficial or lightminded and will insist upon examining the platform of the Left Opposition. It is very significant that among those who are definitely for us today there are a number who were formerly supporters of the Lovestone group during the period when it constituted the leadership of the American Party. In the last issue of Revolutionary Youth under the query of "What is Trotskyism?" there is a whole page devoted to the distortion and misrepresentation of our viewpoint. There it is stated that "Trotskyism" is of very

the only reason they speak of it is for educational purposes. But for anyone in the least acquainted with the Lovestone methods, this is just so much duplicity. The truth is that the Right wing in their efforts to win the more advanced comrades in the Y.C.L. have detected a current which flows in our direction.

The Future to the Youth

Despite these favorable developments, we harbor no illusions about our future growth. We realize that our inevitable victory is not a matter of weeks or months but years. Today we are assembling our forces, slowly, in small numbers. We are creating the cadres which will play a big and decisive role in the future of the revolutionary movement. A large proportion of this vanguard will be formed from the youth elements of today. The regime of bureaucracy and political corruption which has dominated the Comintern to an increasing degree in the last seven years, has incapacitated forever for revolutionary leadership the greater part of the present Party cadres. These will have to be replaced from amongst the youth. Here lies one of the most important tasks of the Left Opposition: to educate the youth in the real spirit of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism.

The platform of the Left Opposition will surely attract the Communist youth. It is permeated through and through with the spirit of revolution. It clashes with and repels everything that is narrow, provincial, and nationalistic. It is the antithesis of opportunism. It forms a harmonious whole in which all questions are linked to the main question of world revolution. That is why it is entirely in accord with the bold and revolutionary spirit of militant youth. It is necessary to reach them with it. We must shatter the barriers of prejudice and deception built for years by the Lovestones and the Fosters.

We are marching forward. The bureaucratic walls are showing signs of decay. To continue our work more effectively among the youth we are now faced with the question of the formation of an organization of the Opposition youth as a faction of the Y.C.L. Its outlines can already be discerned. In due time it will become a reality on a national scale.

License for Shriners Clubs for Workers

An object lesson in the uses of capitalist laws can be gained by the working class in examining an event that has just taken place in Toronto.

An organization known as the Ancient Arabic Order of Noble Mystic Shriners annually holds a convention, each yearly convocation being celebrated in a different city. This year Toronto was chosen as the place of meeting, the main attraction no doubt being the alluring glimmer of sparkling beer and whiskey. The Shriners, as this organization is usually known, is a branch of the Masonic Order; to become a Mason one must have affluence, influence and money; to graduate from a Mason into a full-fledged shriner further affluence, influence and money are the pre-requisite.

The first day of the Convention finds Shriners bedecked in outrageous medieval costumes thronging the streets, bands roam around, and headed by mounted policemen processions march through the main thoroughfares disrupting traffic and dislocating the routine of the day. Throughout the three day convention these antics continue sporadically, and according to capitalist laws they violated practically every municipal traffic regulation. Were they arrested? No, nothing is mentioned, they are unheld and condoned by their paid servant, the chief of police. Disgraceful scenes are perpetrated in the open street, vagrancy and loitering laws are plentifully broken. Were they charged with committing breaches of the law? Certainly not, the Shriners are just frisky and besides "this is our convention and we have the freedom of the city," they say. The police put the telescope to the blind eye when breaches are committed. Bacchus reigns and prostitutes reap a golden harvest. Practically every law was broken (and how!). Was punishment meted out to these Shriners? Why, says Chief of Police Draper, the budding dictator, we all had the time of our lives, no laws were broken and everybody enjoyed himself.

A fitting climax to the convention was a "peace" parade in which hundreds of Legionnaires in full uniform, steel helmet and guns with fixed bayonets marched. The 1930 version of peace.

License for "Shriners", Clubbings for Workers

Now let us look at the other side of the picture. The Communist Party calls a meeting in a park where incidentally, even capitalist laws are hard to break. The mounted police are present here also, and the workers feel the clubs as proof of their presence. No speeches are allowed and workers are refused the right to assemble. What have they done? Why, says Draper, these Bolsheviks have committed sedition, are vagrants, scoundrels, etc., etc., and immediately places these charges against the workers.

An unemployed delegation is met at the City Hall by the same police who met the Shriners. But what a difference in manner of greeting! Welcome for the parasites; clubbings and arrests for the workers by whose means these parasites are enabled to live in luxury. But when a worker at an election meeting says "Long live the Indian Revolution" he is arrested and a sedition charge placed against him. And now an edict has been issued against the holding of workers' picnics.

These are common occurrences wherever capitalism prevails. The bourgeoisie rules; they can do anything they please, they are the masters. Laws are made to impose upon the workers in case they become infected with "dangerous thoughts" resulting from a dangerous social system. Bosses make the laws, for use upon the workers.

In the face of the police terror in Toronto the Communist Party is unable to mobilize forces to combat it. With its "third period" tactics it is isolated, impotent. All healthy elements are strangled; the real Party slogan today is Stalinism, not Communism. The future lies in the hands of the Opposition and the correctness of its programme will be proven in the coming struggles.

—S. C.

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 26,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, July 12, 1936

PRICE 5 CENTS

Mooney-Billings Stay Jailed

Appellate Court Turns Down Foster, Minor, Amter and Raymond

APPEAL TO OUR READERS

Last week the Militant was compelled to omit publishing its regular number. Lack of funds made it impossible. The income of the Militant has been sharply affected by the intense unemployment and by the summer period which usually cuts down activities. The decrease in our income—never very high—has been a serious blow to the activities of the organization and to the Militant in particular.

The difficulties with the Militant are all the more harmful now, at a time when the Marxist truths it has been hammering home, against the greatest obstacles, have taken deep roots in the Communist and class conscious movement in this country. The living evidence of this is contained in the numerous statements of adherence to the Opposition made by rank and file and leading comrades of the Communist Party, which cannot forever be kept in a state of injurious ignorance by the prevailing regime of organized falsification.

The Opposition is growing, and the Militant must keep pace with it. Up to now, the financial support for the paper has been received largely from the members of the Communist League (Opposition) and their most direct sympathizers. The maintenance of the Weekly Militant by this small group has entailed some pretty heavy burdens in many cases.

It is imperative to maintain the Weekly! It is necessary to distribute this "burden"—one which we gladly assume as our elementary right and duty in the workers' movement—to broader sections of our readers. The existence and maintenance of a revolutionary labor journal is a precarious affair under the best of circumstances. At present, under multiplied difficulties, only the greatest sacrifices and solidarity can accomplish the task.

The National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) decided to make an intensive drive for a \$2,000.00 fund to maintain the Militant as a Weekly. A certain response has already been given. But it is far from sufficient. Much more money, forwarded at greater speed, is needed IMMEDIATELY!

The urgency of this appeal cannot be exaggerated. Money is needed NOW for the next issue, and the one thereafter. Upon the rapidity and generosity in the response to this appeal, depend the forthcoming numbers of the Militant.

Answer with your contribution right away. Every reader can and must help. Send all moneys to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Ave. Rm. 4, New York N.Y.

The Supreme Court of California last week refused to recommend the release of Warren K. Billings, working class fighter who is serving a life sentence in the most notorious anti-labor frame-up that American history redolent with these crimes of capitalism has known for decades. Because Billings has been in prison before for his labor activities, the "governor cannot act on a pardon" until the Supreme Court makes a "favorable" recommendation.

A few days later, the Advisory Pardon Board of California handed in a recommendation to Governor Young against the pardon of Tom Mooney, the comrade of Billings, who was convicted together with the latter, allegedly for having thrown the bomb at the San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade in 1917, but in actuality, because his activities among the workers were a thorn in the side of the open shop magnates who have made "Sunny California" a hell for the workers.

In New York, at about the same time, the highest state Court of Appeals refused to act against the outrageous decision of the lower court in convicting and sentencing the leaders of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, I. Amter and H. Raymond who are serving terms for leading the unemployment demonstration in Union Square on March 6th.

The frame-up against Mooney and Billings is one of the most dastardly monstrosities of American capitalist class justice. In the 13 years of their imprisonment, exhaustive investigation has proved to the hilt that they were tried in the

most prejudiced atmosphere and convicted on the basis of corrupted, perjured evidence, bought and paid for by the manufacturing and industrial interests of the State. One by one, the witnesses against the two militants were exposed as prostitutes, pimps, gamblers, drug addicts, forgers and similar types. The frame-up was so manifest that a commission appointed at one time by President Wilson revealed it publicly in all its criminal detail. Ev-

ery development since then has only served to confirm Mooney's and Billings' innocence of every crime but that of having antagonized the California boss class.

Class conscious workers have pointed out for years that Mooney and Billings will be released only after a vigorous campaign of the workers to compel the jailors to open the prison doors. Liberal and socialist "friends" of the prisoners have, instead, sought to obtain their release by cringing before their jailors, by back-door dickering, by appeals to capitalist politicians. The false hopes raised in this manner have been shattered a dozen times, and once more today by the recent decisions.

Justice in capitalist courts is not meant for workers. We emphasize what we have constantly repeated: Mooney and Billings will be freed only by the mass pressure of the working class. Mooney was saved from hanging by the protest of labor. Labor can obtain his and Billings' freedom only by the same method. This holds true for the New York Communists, whose continued imprisonment is a blot on the working class movement and a burning indictment of capitalist class "justice".

The fight for the release of our class war prisoners is the fight of every worker of the whole labor movement. There is still time for the building of a broad, powerful mass movement of defense. The Left wing must initiate it and imbue it with spirit and determination. A united battle will defeat the jailors.

LOVESTONE'S SYMBOL

Gandhi, says Lovestone, is the "symbol of the revolutionary upsurge in India". Gandhi's closest lieutenant is Pandit Vallabhi Patel, president of the all-India National Congress. On July 6th the New York Times reported a speech of Patel's to the rich Parsee merchants of Bombay. And this is what this Lovestoneite "symbol of revolutionary upsurge" said:

"It has been suggested that the Parsees might lose all their wealth under swaraj, but instead of being millionaires as at present, you would all become multi-millionaires under swaraj."

Apparently imperialism abrogates the class struggle in the eyes of the Bucharins, Stalins, Roys and Lovestones but not in the eyes of the Chiang Kai Sheks, Patels and the good Parsees of Bombay.

CAPITALIST MURDER ON THE STREETS!

Three revolutionary workers murdered in one week. That is the toll taken by police savagery and reactionary labor thugs in New York City and Chicago.

In Chicago, Herzl Weizenberg, a member of the T.U.U.L., was set upon by gangsters of the Painters' Union bureaucracy because he was engaged in distributing leaflets for the Left wing group. The brutal scum of society, paid employees of the reactionary labor traitors, attacked comrade Weizenberg with brass knuckles, black jacks and lead pipes and left him in such a condition that he died a few hours later in the hospital.

In New York City, at a street meeting in Harlem of the Communist Party, the police came to the aid of the black chauvinists of the Garvey movement who had started to break up the Communist meeting. Wielding their clubs in a rabid frenzy, the blows fell thickest upon Alfred Levy, an unemployed member of the Party. The injuries he received at the hands of the police proved fatal.

Forty-eight hours had barely passed when the police claimed another victim. This time it was the Mexican worker Gonzalo Gonzales, also a member of the Communist Party who was shot down in cold blood by a policeman in Harlem for marching through the streets with a small group of workers on their way to an indoor meeting. Comrade Gonzales died an hour later.

The New York militancy responded to this outburst of barbaric police fury by an impressive funeral parade of more than five thousand workers, a united march of hundreds of Negro workers together with their white brothers, a symbol of the coming day of the revolutionary labor unity which the capitalist class seeks so des-

perately to hamper and destroy. The splendid march of the workers is only a beginning. A real struggle must now be begun—against police brutality, against the murder of the workers, and for the freedom of speech and assembly of workers.

Police Savagery

Why are the police so savage in their attacks on workers' meetings? There are thousands of gangsters engaged in the most nefarious work, openly, every day, in the city. Thirty thousand speak-easies run with cynical disregard for capitalist law. Corruption, bribery, speculation run rampant throughout the official administration. And the police are silent and inert as the tomb. But the activities of the labor movement, particularly of its revolutionary section, immediately arouse the uniformed thugs to mad activity; because the property, the wealth, the right to exploit and crush, the power of the boss class is endangered; because the threat rises of a working class aroused out of its lethargy and inspired to militant struggle. That is the function of the police: the suppression of the militancy of labor and the preservation of capitalist class power.

The awakening of thousands of workers under the influence of the economic crisis has impelled the police to more brutal activity. The working class must be kept in its place—the place of the underdog! The offensive against it must be sharpened on every front. Therefore, the most violent measures against the vanguard, the most militant section of the working class, the Communists. Break up their meetings! Raid their halls! Shoot down their fighters!

The attack on the whole working class is always started against its most conscious section. The capitalists and the

value to the workers of the Communist movement, and its dangers to their class rule. They know that the Communists alone—not the bosses' agents in the trade unions or the middle class socialist party—seek to mobilize the workers for struggle against their misery. They hate the Communist Party and fear its potential strength—not because of the blundering and harum-scarum policies and leadership of the Party, but in spite of them.

Workers Stirred

The attack on the Communists is first blood drawn from the whole working class. The whole working class must therefore unite against this attack. It must present an iron front to the murderers of workers on the street. The workers have been profoundly stirred by these slaughters. The workers must actively resist the disruption of labor meetings.

The Communist Party must strike back at the police thugs and their masters with the weapon of the united front—the organized power of labor. We do not speak here of the paltry frauds, the hollow, self-deceptive "united fronts" that have been practiced recently by the official Party. We urge instead a genuine united movement of all the progressive workers and their organizations to batter down the police terror, to fight militantly for that which is being taken from labor so violently: free speech, free assembly and free press.

Such a movement and such slogans can make powerful reply to the blue-coated murderers and their capitalist employers. The creation of such a movement will proceed from the elimination of the Party's official phrase-mongering, meaningless to the masses of workers and incapable of setting them in motion.

The Crisis in the Communist Movement

New Party Forces Continue to Join the Communist Opposition

JERRY HILL FOR THE OPPOSITION

Jerry Hill is a young Negro worker who was elected an alternate member of the National Executive Committee at the last convention of the Young Communist League. He joined the Y.C.L. in 1925 and did Negro work in Jacksonville and Springfield in 1927-28. Comrade Hill was elected a delegate to the Fifth National Convention of the Y. C. L. held in New York City in 1929. He is working at present in Springfield.

I agree with and endorse "Back to Lenin" the manifesto of the Communist League of America (Opposition) which points out correctly the crisis in the Comintern and the American Party.

The Comintern has revised the fundamental principles of Leninism, especially on the question of Building Socialism in One Country. Leninism is internationalism and the theory of "socialism in one country" is impossible in an epoch of world economy. The Chinese Revolution, the British General Strike and the United Front tactic failed because of the wrong policies of the Right-Centrism leadership in the Comintern.

The present objective situation in America—the Wall Street crash—the Atlanta situation—the white terror in the form of lynching Negroes in Sherman, Honey Grove and Bryan, Texas; all offers the Party a great opportunity to organize the workers. But due to incorrect policies and lame and impotent leadership the Party is not only losing ground daily but also it has utterly failed to organize and defend the working class. This condition is especially shown in the Southern Illinois district. Although thousands of coal miners are unemployed and tenant farmers being driven from their homes, practically no work is being carried on, especially among the Negroes living in Southern Illinois. Thousands of Negroes live in Springfield, Peoria, East St. Louis and Rockford yet no effort at all is being made to carry on work among them. The Party must begin to carry work in this so-called "great Abe Lincoln" state upon such burning issues as; Jim-crowism, barring Negroes from mines, factories, unions, theatres and municipal bathing pools. The Party must also fight against the white chauvinism that exists among the Party members as for instance at West Frankfort during the last National Miners Union strike.

The "self-determination for Negroes" theory* of the Party is incorrect because the American Negro is part and parcel of the American working class and not a colonially oppressed people. This theory in America leads away from class consciousness to race consciousness and ultimately into the swamp of white chauvinism.

The Young Communist League in general reflects the failures and mistakes of the Party and further shows the bankruptcy of the Stalinist leadership.

The International Opposition, under the leadership of comrade Leon Trotsky adheres to the fundamental principles of Leninism and the Left Opposition is the true bearer of the International Proletarian Revolution. The unity of the Comintern and the American Party on the line of Leninism is the need of the hour. Therefore, I, as member of the Young Communist League, demand that the first step in this direction must be the reinstatement into the Party of the Left Opposition and comrade Leon Trotsky under whose leadership the Red Army was organized and the October Revolution made victorious and who is today the foremost teacher of World Communism.

—JERRY HILL

* The question of the slogan referred to by comrade Hill was left by the national conference of the Communist League to the discussion and elaboration by the organization.—Eds.

The 7th Convention of the Party - a Debacle

The seventh convention of the C. P. U. S. A. will take its place as one of the most lamentable in the history of American Communism. The current economic crisis constitutes a more powerful indictment of American capitalism and its tinsel "prosperity", than the arguments of a thousand theses. The lash of hunger curves about the bodies of millions of unemployed. In their conference rooms the financiers weave schemes for the reduction of the workers' existence levels. Yet in this crisis the Party claiming to be the revolutionary vanguard reveals a shallowness of political thought, a pettiness of spirit and impotence in action that bring malicious satisfaction to every enemy of our movement. In speaking of the Party, we draw a sharp line of distinction between the membership and the bureaucracy. Where criticism on all but secondary issues is stigmatized immediately as Right or Left "opportunism" and invites expulsion, the bulk of the rank and file still prefer silence. The convention was a formality—the theses had already been drafted and adopted in Moscow.

The New Zig-Zag of Centrism

In substance these theses illustrate all the characteristic features of centrism. Who does not remember Molotov's formulation of the period at the Tenth Plenum as "we have entered with both feet into the realm of revolutionary events". Regardless of time or space, the "third period" strategy of the imminent revolutionary crisis was uniformly applied to all countries. When Stalin's ultra-Left caricature of collectivization and the Five Year Plan brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster, the bureaucracy, sounded a panicky retreat and unloaded responsibility for the "excesses" on the ranks. In the Comintern, Stalin's agent, Remmele blamed the membership for the extravagances of the theory of "social fascism".

Accordingly, the Party statement on the convention condemns as "Leftist" those who do not recognize the cyclical character of the economic crisis. The *Daily Worker* wakes up to the fact that the struggle for social insurance is one of the foremost Party tasks in connection with the unemployment situation. But eclectic substitution for Marxist analysis still prevails. In the same breath, the theses state that "a revolutionary upsurge grips the masses". In the United States? Where, how, when? Only in the lurid headlines of the *Daily Worker* nonchalantly lying that "thousands of miners have gone out in a mass strike against unemployment". How can a really correct line of political action result from such confusion and self-contradiction.

Consider M. Olgin's report of the convention. Olgin is one of the present ideological Party leasers and editor of the most widely circulated Party organ. In an article in the *Freiheit* (July 3rd) he calls for a militant alliance between white and black workers "...to lead to a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" (our emphasis)—and this not for China or India but for the greatest imperialist power on earth. In other words, the coming revolution in America is not to be proletarian and socialist but bourgeois and democratic. Either the man knows what he is talking about or he is an imbecile. In either case he should be expelled from a Bolshevik-Leninist party.

Bureaucracy versus Bolshevism

This convention in the United States was a pocket edition of the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Both were simply rallies of the Centrist faction. While Stalin indulged his coarse witticisms amid the Bonapartist adulation of his apparatus pretorian guard, hundreds of Left Oppositionists were being arrested and rushed into solitary confinement and concentration camps in Siberia. Similarly in the U. S. we can record the biggest wave of adherents to our opposition movement since its formation after the Sixth Congress. The bureaucrats cannot stifle the Bolsheviks. Fresh cadres are maturing. We will continue our struggle for the Comintern against both Right and Centrists misleaders.

We shall yet have occasion to recur to the plenum of the Lovestone faction which met about the same time. It is the Lovestones in the Comintern who are jointly responsible with Stalin for the Menshevik corruption of the program and policies of the Communist International. Good elements though there are in the ranks of the group, the Lovestone leadership is the same old self-styled "Marxian trunk". Albert Weisbord criticized the Lovestone misrepresentations of the position of Trotsky on the international questions, the failure to protest the deportation, and the assassination of Blumkin. In answer, B.D. Wolfe came across with the same old fallaciousities about Trotsky's alleged "sectarianism", "conditional defence of the U.S.S.R.", "advocacy of Thermidor" (sic)! Lovestone has persuaded the group to "broaden out". He is prepared to admit all tendencies—"even Trotskyites"—under the hegemony of the "Marxian trunk," of course. The gap between Lovestone and Bolshevism widens.

The names of the 25 elected to the Central Committee of the Party are being (Continued on Page 8)

FORMER N. M. U. HEAD FOR LEFT GROUP

The Letter of comrade Watt brings to the Opposition one of the best fighters among the American miners. In the Communist movement for many years, he was a leader in the Left wing fight against John L. Lewis. He was the first president of the National Miners Union. His opposition to the bureaucratic, mechanical tactics of the Stalinists was sufficient to cause his arbitrary removal from the union and expulsion from the Party.

Springfield, Ill.

I attended a very good meeting here in Springfield which was addressed by comrade Max Shachtman, Tuesday, May 24th, in which he explained the program of the Left Opposition, his meeting with comrade Trotsky and the preliminary Congress of the Left Opposition in Paris. Comrade Shachtman also dealt very effectively with the glaring errors of the Stalinite group in the various trade union and new union movements, dealing separately with their maneuvers, wrong policies, idiotic schemes and phrase mongering in the Needle trades, textile and mining unions.

To me it was a treat, for not only has it been sometime since I have heard officially of the happenings in the other industries of this country, but also his lecture on the world conditions was clear and free from the exaggerations so commonly used by the Stalinite press, which only serve as their purpose the further muddling of the worker.

Comrade Shachtman was honored (?) by having in his meeting a few Party members, who by their exhibitions of ignorance on fundamental questions facing the Party and the new unions, their Stalinite traits of exaggerations, vilification and slander, made it easy for Shachtman to show to the honest workers in attendance the hypocrisy and sham that has destroyed the Communist Party in the mining fields of Illinois and how impossible it is for the Party under such leadership ever again to lead the workers. One glimpse at the Stalinists present, at their scowling faces, their inexperience in the economic or political phases of the struggle, and the traps they made for themselves and fell into when comrade Shachtman gave them the privilege of asking questions and permitting them to answer, was enough to show to the audience why there is no miners union of the National Miners Union in Illinois, much less any Party branches.

The meeting was significant in several respects. The audience was composed of workers, some coming from many miles to hear the message of the Opposition. We were deeply interested in the program and the also had one colored comrade present who rest of the audience was made up of real progressive elements in the labor movement. It showed the possibilities of again recruiting the progressives and again taking the lead in the struggles now going on. It showed that the workers are interested in the cause of the Opposition, for those workers sat some three hours, very attentive to comrade Shachtman and I predict that from this meeting will develop a strong group for the Opposition, and that the Opposition will be heard from in the coal fields of Illinois.

Personally, it also proved one thing to me, and that was that I have remained too quiet under the lying statements that have been broadcast by the Stalin group in regards to my activities connected with the National Miners Union. I have decided now that I shall issue a statement dealing in detail with my experiences with these Stalinites from the time I got into the movement. This will be illuminating and instructive especially to the mine workers and the Communists and other progressives who have felt the iron heel of these bankrupt "third period", phrase mongering bureaucrats.

—JOHN J. WATT

The Rank and File of Newark Speaks Out

The Worker-Communists in the ranks of the official Party are moving towards the Left Opposition in spite of all the abuse, slander, and suppression practised by the blind Party bureaucracy! This is manifest from the statements of adhesion to our platform which have been appearing in the last few issues of the *Militant*, and which we expect to continue for some time. The "liquidated Trotskyists" are on the march and nothing can prevent the victory of their ideas. In addition to the statements of support reproduced in other parts of this issue, we are glad to print the following letter from a young rebel in Newark, N.J. It is indicative of the process of development that is taking place inside the Party:

Φ

Newark, N. J.

Since the split in the Communist Party and the expulsion of the comrades of the Communist League (Opposition) I have tried to get the real facts of what caused the split. I did not know much about Communism at that time as I only joined the Young Communist League a month before the split. But since then, after reading between the lines, I seem to

agree with your line much more than I do with the present Y.C.L. and C.L. line. You seem to think that you have no sympathetic workers in the Party and League. But let me tell you that here in Newark, N.J., the question of the Opposition is discussed very often among Party and League members, but not at meetings. I often try to bring this question up at Young Communist League meetings, but every time I am threatened with expulsion. I am not the only one, there are a few other League members who try to get the real facts of the split, but they are also threatened. They even went so far as suspending one League comrade for a month. Some of our League members received the *Militant*. They read it with great enthusiasm. Right around the corner of the Communist Party headquarters a newsstand used to sell the *Militant*. But no more, since they were threatened that they would get their stand broke up. I wish you would do something about this if you can.

If you would only do some work here I am sure that you could win both the Party and the League and establish a Communist League branch right here in this city. Do not make my name public yet —X.Y.

Aftermath of Needle Trades Convention

3. Tactics and Slogans for the Left Wing Struggle

By JAMES P. CANNON

It is high time to restate the fundamental tactics of Bolshevism on the trade union question and organize the struggle against their revision. The future of the Left wing in the American labor movement—and the future of the Communist Party—hinges on this issue. The decision of the convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union against the formation of a Left wing inside the old unions of the industry strengthens the grip of the reactionary leaders on these unions and thus strengthens the grip of the bosses on the workers. The nucleus of the Communist Opposition which is taking shape in the union, has for its first and most insistent duty the organization of a struggle to change this decision. Life itself will smash the decision, but the Communist militants must hasten the process in order that the least possible harm for the Left wing movement will result.

The building of the new industrial union and the organization of a fighting Left wing in the old unions are not contradictory tasks. They are two sides of the same task and are indissolubly bound together. The slogans and methods for the conduct of this two-sided struggle require explanation and discussion. This is all the more necessary since the convention failed to give a proper lead, and the document issued by the Lovestoneites at the convention is a typical product of opportunist straddling and half measures.

The policy adopted at the convention of the industrial union deals a double blow against the Left wing movement in the needle trades. On the one hand it forcibly tears away the more advanced and revolutionary elements from organizational contact with the masses of workers in the old unions. On the other hand it brings about a split in the ranks of the Left wing. In both of these consequences the policy runs counter to the basic line of Bolshevik tactics.

In the Amalgamated, which has a firm grip on the men's clothing section of the industry and where membership in the union is tied up with the question of a job, the new policy encounters insuperable difficulties from the start; and these difficulties will accumulate if any serious effort is made to enforce the policy. It will soon be demonstrated there that the workers who are willing to sacrifice their living in order to justify the stupidity of the Party are few. In the Cap and Millinery Union the new policy has already hit the rocks. The attempt to enforce the decision of the convention has split the Left wing of the New York blockers' local of this union in the middle.

The developments in the blockers' local are very instructive and they are symptomatic of what is to follow on a broader scale. In this local of 1,500 workers, constituting about fifty per cent of the workers in the trade in New York, the bloc of the Left wing and progressive forces has constituted a strong minority. The instructions to join the new Industrial Union have met with a categorical refusal on the part of all the Left wing and progressive elements except a handful of Party members. Let the Communist workers take heed of this situation in the blockers' local, it is a warning of what will happen everywhere.

Can a Left Wing Be Organized in the Old Unions

Is it possible under the present conditions to organize a strong Left wing in the old unions of the needle trades? Now more than ever. The program which the Party leadership forced on the Industrial Union convention, in arguing against it, cites the destruction of standards won in years of struggle and the failure of the Right wing officialdom to defend the interests of the workers at any point. The answer is: just because this is so, just because the conditions of the workers grow more and more intolerable and the treachery of the Right wing bureaucrats becomes more clearly manifest, the soil becomes more favorable for the organization and rapid development of a broad Left wing movement within the old unions. The bureaucrats are powerless to prevent it. The only real obstacle is the policy of the Party which has been imposed on the present Left wing forces in the industry. And—so loudly do all the circumstances cry out for such an organized movement in the old unions not even the Party can hold it back for long. If not with the official Party then without it for the time being, it must and will be organized.

The nucleus of needle trades Communists now crystallizing under our banner have the duty to take the lead in this struggle and show the way, regardless of the decisions of the Party bureaucrats to the contrary.

The Program of Demands

The first and most important step in this direction is the formulation of a concrete program of economic demands and a vigorous agitation for them within the old unions. This is the Achilles heel of the Right wing regime and there is nothing they can do to prevent a sympathetic response to such an agitation in the ranks of the membership. The more they join hands with the bosses against the workers, the more they collaborate with them in robbing the workers of their standards the more do they create the conditions for a movement of revolt against them on the basis of our economic demands.

Every attempt on the part of the Right wing fakers to throttle this agitation will strengthen the position of the Left wing for the advocacy of another powerful slogan, the slogan of democracy in the unions. In view of the narrow, bureaucratic and arbitrary practices which have been smuggled into the administration of the new industrial union itself, it may be thought that this slogan is out of date. Nothing could be further from such an assumption. Those who hold it reckon without the workers and their deep-rooted impulse for self-governing organizations, one of the truest impulses of the advanced elements of the class. Not for nothing has been the long schooling of the needle trades workers in trade union organization: not in vain the historic struggles of the Left wing for this slogan of the rank and file. The sentiment for trade union democracy, developed and strengthened in these long struggles, is not dead. Given a sensible policy and leadership, this sentiment will reassert itself and be a source of power for the new Left wing struggle in the old unions.

Does the policy of re-opening the fight in the old unions imply any reconciliation with the traitorous and bribed officials of these unions, as the soft-headed experts of the "third period" say? Just the opposite. It means the elevation of Left wing fight from phrase-mongering futility into action which will animate the Left wing movement with a new vitality. We do not speak in favor of a tip-toe activity in the old unions by grace of the fakers, but an open, militant and ruthless war to exterminate them and all their influence. This

means to expose and denounce them before the workers on the basis of every concrete act of betrayal which they commit from day to day. It means to explain theoretically and practically their role as agents of the bosses and to imbue the workers with a deathless hatred for them. The constitution of a new Left wing movement within the old unions, uniting its struggle with that of the militants in the new industrial union, means to enter on another stage in the fight to cleanse the needle trades movement of the reactionary labor lieutenants of the employing class.

The Tactics of the United Front

The fourth important phase of Left wing strategy is the revival of the tactics of the united front and the slogan of trade union unity. The slogan of unity has power to move the masses. It corresponds to the necessities of their struggle and to their own inmost convictions, born of tragic experience in splits and defeats. The Left wing must raise again the slogan of unity in the new union and in the old ones. It must explain to the workers over and over again that it is the Right wing reactionaries who bring division and split into the labor movement and that it is the Left wing which fights for unity. The Left wing must prove this in its daily policy because words alone are not enough; it is deeds which convince. The Left wing in the needle trades took shape, grew and became consolidated in battle under the slogan of unity. The abandonment of the slogan has been accompanied by a weakened organization and a dwindling influence. The revival of the slogan now is necessary to turn the helm and change the course toward new victories for the Left wing and for the masses of the workers.

A general phrase about unity means nothing. What is required is a precise formulation for the concrete circumstances. The Party's talk about unity is good for nothing because it goes hand in hand with a policy of split. The workers are not as dumb as the bureaucrats think and they are not so easily fooled by words which are contradicted by deeds. The slogan put forth by the Lovestoneite faction—a typical production of opportunist generality and evasion—is no better. This shoddy crew, trying to capitalize the sentiment for unity in the old unions and fearing to offend the sectarian patriotism of the members of the new union, has issued the slogan: "Fight for one industrial union in the industry!" What does that mean? Like all the slogans of the opportunists it means anything you like. As to how it is to be realized, how it is to be put concretely in

the new union and in the old unions—this is left to guess work and interpretation.

The Slogan of Unity

The Opposition Communists in the needle trades cannot trifle with double-meaning slogans. Their aim is to clarify the issues, not to attract the workers with catch-words. They are duty bound to act in the spirit of Lenin, who said: "Argue about tactics but give clear slogans!" Therefore they must formulate the slogan of unity with such precision that there can be no misunderstanding about it. The Stalinists propose to achieve "unity" by having the 175,000 workers in the Right wing unions withdraw from them individually and join the six or seven thousand members in the new industrial union. This is absurd. The Lovestoneites formulate the slogan so that it can be interpreted one way when they are under the attacks of the Stalinists in the new union and the opposite way when they are under the attack of the officials in the old unions. This is misleading; this is playing with issues according to the time-honored practice of these unprincipled opportunists.

In our opinion the slogan of unity should be formulated as follows: "Unite the old unions with the new industrial union into a single organization for the entire industry!" The slogan, thus formulated, should be raised in direct connection with the other slogans mentioned above regarding the fight for economic demands, trade union democracy and the elimination of the Right wing leaders. It should be issued by the new industrial union and by the organized Left wing in the old unions in precisely the same way and would be the most important means of uniting their struggles into one, along the front of the entire industry. The two sections of the Left wing, working in different fields of organization, would thereby be bound together into a single ideological force. From this organizational coordination of the joint struggle would follow.

On this basis both sections of the Left wing would bound forward in the confidence of the workers, and each section—the new union in the sphere of the unorganized and the reorganized Left wing in the old unions—would expand its organization. There is no contradiction in such a perspective. The two lines of activity supplement and strengthen each other. The existence of the new union as a growing force would constitute a standing threat to the bureaucrats of the Right wing unions against mass expulsions. In fear of the new union they will be compelled to hesitate and temporize with a Left wing in their own organizations, and allow it a certain room for development. On the other hand, a desperate fear of the movement within the Right wing unions, driving the officials to mass expulsions and splits again would bring new forces to swell the ranks of the industrial union, not handfuls of Communists as will be the case under the present policy but masses of workers who would impart to the new union the character of a mass organization.

The Question of "Reforming" the Old Unions

Against our proposals and perspective there remains a question of last resort for the Stalinist tacticians: "Is it possible to reform the old unions and transform them into genuine organs of the class struggle?" The Stalinists have answered this question in the negative and thereby disposed of it as far as they are concerned. As for us this schematic formulation has no meaning. We do not advise the Left wing workers to waste their time in speculation as to the possibilities of a "legal" conquest of the apparatus of the old unions. Experience in the needle trades struggle has already provided a certain answer on this point. When we speak of a conquest of the old unions we do not think in terms of the offices, the buildings and the banks. We think of the 175,000 workers in these unions and we say they can and they will be won for the revolutionary banner. When we proclaim the slogan of uniting the old unions with the new industrial union in a single organization we do not promise that this unity will be legally confirmed by the reactionary leaders with a voluntary abdication. But our slogan of unity is nevertheless a sincere one and it is put forward with confidence that it will be realized. With a correct policy and a competent leadership the Left wing will win over the masses and unite them—if not all, then the great majority—into one union. Let the reactionaries think of the unions in terms of contracts with the bosses, offices, buildings and banks. Let us think of the unions in terms of the workers within them. This conception will guide us toward the slogan and tactics of victory.

First Henri Barbusse - Is Michael Gold Next?

A number of weeks ago, we printed the correspondence of comrade Pierre Naville, of Paris, on the fate of Henri Barbusse, intellectual valet of the Stalinist regime, and his literary journal of pseudo-Communist confusionism, *Monde*. We announced then that the sale of *Monde* had been prohibited in the Soviet Union (for three months now) and that the bureaucracy of the Party was getting ready to unload Barbusse. We asked then why a journal which is prohibited in the Soviet Union is recommended as good revolutionary literature to the members of the French Communist Party in particular and the workers in general.

A reply of sorts has finally appeared in the French edition of the International Press Correspondence (No. 46, page 544), addressed to Barbusse by the so-called "International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature" which says:

"In a period of sharpened struggle, you, comrade, edit and publish under your name a journal by which there is emptied into the masses who have confidence in you the opportunist doctrine of the calumniators and enemies of the U.S.S.R. This journal which has no proletarian line, spreads ideological confusion in the masses, extremely detrimental in the present period...Are you with us in our struggle or against us? The only reply to our question will be the radical change of the line of the paper edited by you, or the withdrawal of your name from it. An evasive reply cannot be given in the present period."

All well and good—particularly if we bear in mind that the belated critics of Citizen Barbusse are precisely the same

people who lauded him to the skies, started his paper *Monde*, and set it up as the model for all other "proletarian literary" journals to follow.

As is well known, the American prototype of *Monde* is the *New Masses*, under the ideological aegis of Michael Gold, Walt Carmon, Earl Browder and other prominent proletarian poets. The *New Masses* continues to publish advertisements for *Monde*, which—we repeat—has been prohibited in the U.S.S.R. The same *New Masses* fearfully rejects advertisements for the *Militant* or for any of comrade Trotsky's books. Like *Monde*, columns are open to every confusionist and dilletante hanging on to the fringes of the revolutionary movement, but not to the Left wing of that movement. They fear to anger the Stalinist commissar whose literary footmen they are, and the millionaire banker, Otto H. Kahn, patron of "proletarian art" and of Citizen Gold, the pallid devourer of Trotsky and Oppositionists.

M. Barbusse played the same role for a while. The Stalinists have now rid themselves of that embarrassing baggage. Were Gold one-tenth the sage in politics he imagines himself, he ought to be able to read handwriting when it is written on the wall.

Remember the days of "prosperity" when labor banking, was all the rage among the "constructive statesmen of labor?" Yet another "labor bank" has had to close its doors—this time the largest of its kind in the country (the Botheholds of Railway Clerks National Bank) as a result of the \$1,000,000 kiting operations.



THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA

By L. D. TROTSKY

India is the classic colonial country as England is the classic metropolis. All the viciousness of the ruling classes, every form of oppression that capitalism has applied against the backward peoples of the East is most completely and frightfully summed up in the history of the gigantic colony on which the British imperialists have settled themselves like leeches to drink its blood for the past century and a half. The English bourgeoisie has diligently fostered every remnant of barbarism, every institution of the Middle Ages which could be of service in the oppression of man by man. It forced its feudal agents to adapt themselves to colonial capitalist exploitation to become its links, its organs, its convoys to the masses. The British imperialists boast of their railroads, their canals and industrial enterprises in India in which they have invested close to four billion gold dollars. Apologists for imperialism triumphantly compare present day India with what it was prior to colonial occupation. But who can doubt for a moment that a gifted nation of 320,000,000 people would develop immeasurably quicker and more successfully were it freed from the burden of systematic and organized plunder? It is enough to recall the four billion gold dollars which represent the British investment in India to imagine what England extracts from India in the course of only some five or six years.

Allowing India carefully weighed doses of technique and culture, exactly enough to facilitate the exploitation of the riches of the country, the Shylock of the Thames could not however prevent the ideas of economic and national independence and freedom from penetrating more and more widely into the masses.

Just as in the older bourgeois countries, the various racial stocks that exist in India can only be fused into a nation by means of a binding political revolution. But in contradistinction to the older countries, this revolution in India is a colonial revolution directed against foreign oppressors. Besides this, it is the revolution of a historically belated nation in which the relations of feudal serfdom, caste divisions and even slavery exist alongside of the class antagonisms of the bourgeoisie and proletariat which have grown greatly in the last period.

Social Antagonisms in India

The colonial character of the Indian revolution against one of the most powerful oppressors masks to a certain extent the internal social antagonisms of the country, particularly to the eyes of those to whom such masking is advantageous. In reality the necessity of throwing off the system of imperialist oppression which, with all its roots intertwined with the old Indian exploitation, demands the greatest revolutionary effort on the part of the Indian masses and by that itself assures a gigantic swing of the class struggle. British imperialism will not abandon its positions voluntarily; while dropping its tail before America, it will direct the remains of its energy and its resources against insurgent India.

What an instructive historical lesson it is that the Indian revolution, even in its present stage, when it has not yet broken loose from the treacherous leadership of the national bourgeoisie, is being crushed by the "socialist" government of MacDonald. The bloody repressions of these scoundrels of the Second International who promise to introduce socialism peacefully in their own home countries represent so far that small deposit which British imperialism brings in today on its future accounting in India. The sweet social democratic deliberations about reconciling the interests of bourgeois England with democratic India are a necessary supplement to the bloody repressions of MacDonald, who is of course ready, between executions, for the thousand and first commission of reconciliation.

The British bourgeoisie understands too

well that the loss of India would not only mean the crash of its sufficiently rotted world power but also a social collapse in its own metropolis. It is a struggle of life and death. All forces will be set in motion. This means that the revolution will have to mobilize irresistible energy. The many-millioned mass has already begun to stir. They showed their half-blind force to such an extent that the national bourgeoisie was compelled to come out of its passivity and master the movement in order to break the edge of the revolutionary sword. Gandhi's passive resistance is the tactical knot that combines the naivete and self-denying blindness of the disunited and petty bourgeois masses with the treacherous manoeuvres of the liberal bourgeoisie. The fact that the chairman of the Indian Legislative Assembly that is, the official organ of the machinations with imperialism, gave up his post to head the movement for the boycott of English goods, is of a deeply symbolic character. "We will prove to you," say the national bourgeoisie to the gentlemen on the Thames, "that we are indispensable for you, that without us you will not calm the masses; but for this we will present you with our own bill."

The Jailing of Gandhi

By way of reply, MacDonald puts Gandhi in jail. It is possible that the lackey goes further than the master intends, being conscientious beyond reason in order to justify his faith. It is possible that the Conservatives, serious and experienced imperialists, would not at the present stage go so far with repressions. But on the other hand the national leaders of the passive opposition are themselves in need of repression as support for their considerably shaken reputations. MacDonald does them this service. While shooting down workers and peasants, he arrests Gandhi with an abundance of forewarning such as the Russian provisional government used to arrest the Kornilovs and Denikins.

If India is a component element in the internal rule of the British bourgeoisie, then on the other hand, the imperialist rule of British capital over India is a component element of the internal order of India. The question cannot at all be reduced to one of the mere expulsion of some tens of thousands of foreign exploiters. They cannot be separated from the internal oppressors and the harder the internal oppressors and the harder the pressure of the masses will become the less will the latter want to separate. Just as in Russia the liquidation of Czarism together with its indebtedness to world finance capital became possible only because to the peasantry the abolition of the monarchy grew out of the abolition of the land-owning magnates, to the same degree also in India the struggle with imperialist oppressions grows out of the countless masses of the oppressed and semi-pauperized peasantry, out of the necessity of liquidating the feudal landlords, their agents and intermediaries, the "chinovniks" and sharks.

The Indian peasant wants a "just" distribution of land. That is the basis of democratism. And this is at the same time the social basis of the democratic revolution as a whole.

At the first stages of their struggle the ignorant, inexperienced and disunited peasantry which, in single villages, opposes the individual representatives of the hated regime, always resorts to passive resistance. It does not pay rent, does not pay taxes, it escapes to the woods, or deserts from military service, etc. The Tolstoyan formulae of passive resistance were in a sense the first stages of the revolutionary awakening of the peasant masses. Gandhi does the same in regards to the masses of the Indian people. The more "sincere" he is personally, the more useful he is for the owners as an instrument for the disciplining of the masses. The support of the bourgeoisie for peaceful resistance to imperialism is only a preliminary condition for its bloody resistance to the revolutionary masses.

From passive forms of struggle, the peasantry has more than once in history passed over to the severest and bloodiest wars against their direct enemies: the land owners, the authorities and the loan sharks. The middle Ages were full of such peasant wars in Europe; but they are also full of merciless suppression of peasant wars. Passive resistance of the peasantry as well as its bloody uprisings can be turned into a revolution only under the leadership of the urban class which thus becomes the leader of the revolutionary nation and after the victory—the bearers of the revolutionary power. In the present epoch such a class can be only the proletariat, even in the Orient.

It is true that the Indian proletariat occupies a smaller numerical place in the composition of the population than even the Russian proletariat on the eve of 1905 and 1917. This comparatively small size of the proletariat was the main argument of all the phillistines, all the Martinovs, all the Mensheviks against the perspective of the permanent revolution. They considered fantastic the very thought that the Russian proletariat, thrusting the bourgeois aside, would take hold of the agrarian revolution of the peasantry, would give it a bold swing, and rise on its wave to the revolutionary dictatorship. Therefore they considered realistic the hope that the liberal bourgeoisie, leaning on the masses of the city and village, would complete the democratic revolution. But it turned out that their social statistics of the population are far from measuring the economic or the political role of single classes. The October revolution, by experience has proved this once and for all and very convincingly.

The "Only" Missing Condition

If today the Indian proletariat is numerically weaker than the Russian this in itself does not at all pre-determine the smaller swing of its revolutionary possibilities, just as the numerical weakness of the Russian proletariat compared to the American and English was no hindrance to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. On the contrary all those social peculiarities which made possible and unavoidable the October revolution are present in India in a still sharper form. In this country of poor peasants, the hegemony of the city has no less a clear character than in czarist Russia. The concentration of industrial, commercial and banking power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, primarily the foreign bourgeoisie, on the one hand; a swift growth of a sharply defined proletariat, on the other, exclude the possibility of an independent role of the petty bourgeoisie of the city and to an extent, the intellectual and transform by this the political mechanics of the revolution into a struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the peasant masses. So far there is "only" one condition missing: a Bolshevik Party. And that is where the problem lies now.

We were witnesses to the way the leadership of Stalin and Bucharin carried out the Menshevik conception of the democratic revolution in China. Armed with a powerful apparatus, this leadership had the possibility of applying the Menshevik formulae in deeds and by that alone was compelled to carry them to a conclusion. In order best to secure the leading role of the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois revolution (this is the basic idea of Russian Menshevism) the Stalinist bureaucracy transformed the young Communist Party of China into a subordinate section of the national-bourgeois party. In connection with that, according to the terms officially arrived at between Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek (through the intermediary of the present People's Commissar of Education, Bubnov), the Communists had no right to occupy more than one-third of the posts within the Kuo Min Tang. The party of the proletariat this way entered the revolution as an official captive of the bourgeoisie with the blessings of the C.I. The result is known: the Stalinist bureaucracy slew the Chinese revolution. History has never known a political crime equal in extent to this one.

For India, just as for all countries of

the Orient in general, Stalin advanced in 1924 simultaneously with the reactionary idea of socialism in one country, the no less reactionary idea of "dual composition worker and peasant parties". This was another formula for the same rejection of independent policy and of an independent party of the proletariat. The unfortunate Roy has ever since that time become the apostle of the super-class and supra-class "peoples" or "democratic" party. The history of Marxism, the development of the nineteenth century, the experience of the three Russian revolutions—everything, everything passed for these gentlemen without leaving a trace. They have not yet understood that the "worker-peasant party" is conceivable only in the form of a Kuomintang, that is in the form of a bourgeois party leading behind itself the workers and peasants in order later on to betray and crush them. History has not yet invented another type of a supra-class, or intra-class party. After all, not in vain was Roy the agent of Stalin in China, the prophet of the struggle against "Trotskyism", the executor of the Martinovist "bloc of four classes", in order to become the ritualistic scape-goat for the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy after the inevitable defeat of the Chinese revolution. Six years passed in India in weakening and demoralizing experiments with the realization of the Stalinist prescription for the two-class worker-peasant parties. The results are at hand: impotent, provincial "worker-peasant parties", which waver, limp along or simply melt away and are reduced to nothing precisely at a moment when they are supposed to act, that is, at a moment of revolutionary tide. But there is no proletarian party. It must still be created in the fire of events and at that it will be first necessary to remove the garbage piled up by the leading bureaucracy. Such is the situation! Beginning with 1924, the leadership of the Comintern has done everything that could be done to render impotent the Indian proletariat, to weaken the will of the vanguard, and to clip its wings.

While Roy and the other Stalinist pupils were wasting precious years in order to elaborate a democratic program for a supra-class party, the national bourgeoisie utilized this dawdling to the maximum in order to seize the trade unions. If not politically, then in the trade unions, the Kuo Min Tang has been accomplished in India, true, with the difference that the creators have in the meantime become frightened by their own handiwork, and have jumped aside heaping slander on the "executors".

Centrism's "Left" Jump

This time the Centrists jumped, as is known, to the "Left", but matters will not improve by this. The official position of the Comintern in the questions of the Indian revolution is such a tangled ball of yarn which is apparently intended especially to derail the proletarian vanguard and bring it to despair. At any rate, half of it goes on because the leadership strives constantly and willfully to conceal its mistakes of yesterday. The second half of the tangle must be credited to the hapless nature of Centrism.

We have in mind at present not the program of the Comintern which ascribes to the colonial bourgeoisie a revolutionary role, completely approving the constructions of Brandler and Roy who still continue to wear the Martinov-Stalin cloak. We also do not speak of the innumerable editions of the Stalinist "Questions of Leninism" where, in all the languages of the world, the discourse on the dual composition worker and peasant parties continues. No. We limit ourselves to the present, to today's latest posing of the question which is in conformity with the Third Period mistakes of the Comintern in the Orient.

The central slogan of the Stalinists for India, as well as for China, still remains the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. Nobody knows, nobody explains because nobody understands what this formula signifies at present, in the year 1930, after the experience of the past fifteen years. In what way is the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants supposed to be distinguished from the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang which massacred the workers and peasants?

Its TASKS and its DANGERS

Manuiskys and Kuusinen will perhaps answer that they now talk about the dictatorship of three classes (workers peasants and the city petty bourgeoisie) and not four as it was in China where Stalin had so happily attracted to the bloc his ally, Chiang Kai-Shek.

If so, we reply, then make an effort to explain to us why you reject the national bourgeoisie in India, that is that ally for the rejection of whom in China you expelled Bolsheviks from the Communist Party and then imprisoned them? China is a semi-colonial country. In China, there is no powerful caste of feudal lords and feudal agents. But India is a classical colonial country with a mighty heritage of the feudal caste regime. If the revolutionary role of the Chinese bourgeoisie was deduced by Stalin and Martinov from the presence in China of foreign oppression and feudal remnants, then for India each of these reasons should hold with doubled force. This means that the Indian bourgeoisie, according to the exact basis of the program of the Comintern, has immeasurably more rights to demand its inclusion in the Stalinist bloc than the Chinese bourgeoisie with its unforgettable Chiang Kai-Shek and the "true" Wang Chin Wei. And if this is not so in spite of the oppression of British imperialism and the whole heritage of the Middle Ages, the Indian bourgeoisie is capable only of a counter-revolutionary and not a revolutionary role—then condemn mercilessly your treacherous policy in China and correct immediately your program in which this policy has left cowardly but sinister traces!

Who Will Lead the «Bloc»

But this does not exhaust the question. If in India you construct a bloc without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie, then who will lead it? The Manuiskys and Kuusinen will perhaps answer with their characteristically gentle ardor: "The proletariat, of course!" Good, we answer, it is quite complimentary. But if the Indian revolution will develop on a basis of a union of workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie; if this union will be directed not only against imperialism, feudalism, but also against the national bourgeoisie which is bound up with them in all basic questions; if at the head of this union will stand the proletariat, if this union comes to victory only by sweeping away the enemies through armed uprising and in this way raises the proletariat to the role of the real all-national leader—then the question arises: in whose hands will the power be after the victory if not in the hands of the proletariat? What is the significance in such a case of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in distinction to the dictatorship of the proletariat leading the peasantry? In other words: in what way will the hypothetical dictatorship of the workers and peasants be distinguished in its type from the actual dictatorship which the October revolution established?

There is no reply to this question. There can be no reply to it. By this course of historical development the "democratic dictatorship" has become not only an empty fiction but a treacherous trap for the proletariat. That slogan is correct which admits the possibility of two diametrically opposed explanations: in the sense of the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang and in the sense of the October dictatorship! There can be nothing in between these two. In China, the Stalinists explained the democratic dictatorship twice, at first as a dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang of the Right, and afterwards of the Left. But how do they explain it in India? They are silent. They are compelled to keep silent for fear of opening the eyes of their supporters to their crimes. This conspiracy of silence is actually a conspiracy against the Indian revolution. And all the present extremely Left or ultra-Left noise does not improve the situation one iota for the victories of the revolution are not secured by noise and clatter but by political clarity.

But what has been said does not yet unwind the tangled yarn. No. Here is precisely where new threads are twisted in. Giving the revolution an abstract character and permitting it to be the dictatorship of the proletariat

only after some sort of a mystical or mystifying "democratic dictatorship" is established, our strategists at the same time reject the central political slogan of every revolutionary democratic movement, which is precisely the slogan of the Constituent Assembly. Why? On what basis? It is absolutely incomprehensible. The democratic revolution signifies equality to the peasant—above all equality in the distribution of land. On this is based the equality of rights. The Constituent Assembly, where the representatives of the whole people formally draw the balance with the past and the classes actually draw the balance with each other, is the natural and inevitable combination of the democratic tasks of the revolution not only in the consciousness of the awakening masses of the peasantry but also in the consciousness of the working class itself. We have spoken of this more fully with regard to China and we do not see here the necessity of repetition. Let us only add that the provincial multifariousness of India, the variegated governmental forms, and their no less variegated bond with the feudal caste relations, saturates the slogan of the Constituent Assembly in India with a particularly deep revolutionary democratic content.

The theoretician of the Indian revolution in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at present is Safarov, who with the price of a happy capitulation transferred his injurious activities to the camp of Centrism. In a programmatic article in the Bolshevik about the forces and tasks of the revolution in India, Safarov carefully circles around the question of the Constituent Assembly just like an experienced

rat circles around a piece of cheese on a hook. This sociologist does not by any means want to fall into the Trotskyist trap a second time. Disposing of the problem without much ceremony he counterposes to the Constituent Assembly such a perspective:

"The development of a new revolutionary ascent on the basis (!) of struggle for the proletarian hegemony leads to the conclusion (whom? how? why?—Ed.) that the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in India can be achieved only in the Soviet form." (Bolshevik, 1930, No. 5, page 100).

Amazing lines! Martinov multiplied by Safarov. Martinov we know and about Safarov Lenin said, not without tenderness: "Safarchik will go Leftist, Safarchik will pull boners." The above-mentioned Safarovist perspective does not invalidate this characterization. Safarov has gone considerably Leftist and it must be admitted that he did not upset the second half of Lenin's formula. To begin with, the question of the revolutionary ascent of the masses of the people develops "on the basis" of the struggle of the Communists for proletarian hegemony. The whole process is turned on its head. We think that the proletarian vanguard enters or is preparing to enter or should enter a struggle for hegemony on the basis of a new revolutionary ascent. The perspective of struggle, according to Safarov, is the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Here, for the sake of Leftism, the word "democratic" is shaken off. But it is not said frankly what kind of a dual composition dictatorship this: a Kuo Min Tang or an October type. But for that we are

assured on his word of honor that this dictatorship can be accomplished "only in the Soviet form". It sounds very noble. Why the slogan of the Constituent Assembly? Safarov is ready to agree only with the Soviet "form".

The essence of epigonism—its contemptible and sinister essence—lies in the fact that from the actual processes of the past and its lessons it abstracts only the bare form and converts it into a fetish. This is what has happened to the Soviets. Without saying anything about the class character of the dictatorship—a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, like the Kuo Min Tang, or a dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, like the October?—Safarov lulls somebody and primarily himself, by the Soviet form of the dictatorship. As if the Soviets cannot be a weapon for deceiving the workers and peasants! What else were the Menshevik-Social Revolutionary Soviets of 1917? Nothing but, a weapon for the support of the power of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of its dictatorship. What were the social democratic Soviets in Germany and in Austria in 1918-1919? Organs for saving the bourgeoisie and for deceiving the workers. With the further development of the revolutionary movement in India, with the greater swing of mass struggles and with the weakness of the Communist Party—and the latter is inevitable with a Safarovist muddle prevailing in its mind—the Indian national bourgeoisie itself may create workers and peasants Soviets in order to direct them just as it now directs the trade unions, in order thus to slaughter the revolution as the German social democracy, by getting at the head of the Soviets slaughtered it. The treacherous character of the slogan of the democratic dictatorship lies in the fact that it does not close tightly to the enemies, once and for all, such a possibility.

The Apotheosis of Confusion

The Indian Communist Party, the creation of which was held back for six years—and what years!—is now deprived, in the circumstances of revolutionary democratic ascent, of one of the most important weapons for mobilizing the masses, precisely the slogan of the democratic Constituent Assembly. Instead of that, the young Party which has not yet taken its first steps is inflicted with the abstract slogan of Soviets as a form of abstract dictatorship, that is, a dictatorship of nobody knows what class. It is truly an apotheosis of confusion! And all this is accompanied as usual with disgusting coloring and sugaring of an as yet difficult and not in the least sweet situation.

The official press, particularly this same Safarov depicts the situation as if bourgeois nationalism in India is already a corpse, as if Communism has either gotten or is getting at the head of the proletariat, which, in its turn, is already almost leading the peasantry behind it. The leaders and their sociologists, in the most conscienceless manner, proclaim the desired as the existing. To put it more correctly, they proclaim that which might have been with a correct policy for the past six years, for what has actually developed as a result of the false policy. But when the inconsistency of the inventions and realities are revealed, the ones to be blamed will be the Indian Communists, as bad exponents of the general inconsistency which is advanced as a general line.

The vanguard of the Indian proletariat is as yet at the threshold of its great tasks and there is a long road ahead. A series of defeats will be the reckoning not only for the general backwardness of the proletariat and the peasantry but also for the sins of the leadership. The chief task at present is a clear Marxist conception of the moving forces of the revolution, and a correct perspective, a far-sighted policy which rejects stereotyped, bureaucratic prescriptions, but which, in the accomplishment of great revolutionary tasks, carefully adjusts itself to the actual stages of the political awakening and the revolutionary growth of the working class. May 30, 1930.

Some Stalinist Activities in Czecho-Slovakia

The struggle of the Centrists against the Left Opposition Communists develops its own objective logic. Where there is default of principled policy, there precarious maneuvers arise, where revolutionary integrity is throttled, bureaucratic slander flourishes. Where the capacity to think is bankrupt, crude violence is the substitute. The Stalinists in Russian do not hold back from the abuse of revolutionary justice against the Oppositions proletarians and likewise they do not hesitate in Western Europe to make a united front with the police against Opposition worker-Communists. The facts are strong enough in themselves to make every commentary superfluous. We draw the attention of the workers to the following facts.

The Soviet Diplomats and the Police

A delegation of Communist workers made a demand upon the representatives of the Soviet Union in Prague, Arosew, for an explanation of the shooting of Blumkin. He thereupon alleged that he would make a direct inquiry of Moscow. After several futile interventions this successful Communist declared in the course of a debate on being driven into a tight corner by a worker, that the shooting of a Communist did not come within his diplomatic "jurisdiction". The comrades, on leaving the building, were surrounded by secret service men, detained and subjected to a severe cross-examination: the above-mentioned worker was then arrested. The bold Arosew had displayed his finished diplomatic "art" having arrived at a secret understanding with the bourgeois police for the handing over his Party comrade to them.

A "Communist" as State Attorney

Some time ago, two worker-Communists, members of the Opposition who had a long revolutionary past behind them, were hailed before the bourgeois court on the charge of having distributed illegal leaflets of the Opposition. As they belonged to the Red Aid, a comrade demanded that they supply a lawyer for their defense. The latter, a certain Dr. Bartoschek, refused to assume the duties of defense counsel as soon as he learned that it was a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist" who was up on charges. Apart from the formal aspect of this affair, that is, that he was an official of the Red Aid who was supposed to defend every worker against the persecutions of class justice, the following is noteworthy: These

were two Communists who had been hailed up for their revolutionary consciousness and activity, for their struggle against imperialism, and for the revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union (the leaflet they distributed left no doubt on that score). But still they were at the same time Oppositionists and therefore this would-be Communist Attorney, who is a leading member of the League of the Rights of Man, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Anti-Fascist League, etc., simply refused to take up the defense and stood by passively while these workers were being condemned to jail. A sorry picture indeed!

How the Workers Think

The bureaucrats have also not hesitated to exploit the confidence of the workers and their belief in the authority of the Comintern and the Russian workers' state. Under these colors they have often enough tried to rouse a pogrom sentiment against the Opposition. But the deeper one penetrates into the Party ranks, the more evident it becomes that the rank and file of the workers have a strong aversion to beating up their fellow workers. In Zizkov, one of the working class quarters of Prague, our comrades arranged a discussion evening on the lessons of the Canton insurrection. A Party official who learned of this meeting, thought that the best method of carrying it on would be by smashing in Opposition workers' heads. He demanded at one Party meeting that energetic measures be taken to break up our meeting. But the workers have their own opinion and were guided by their own instinct. Not a single man among them signified his assent to the proposal of the bureaucrats. Prague, June 17, 1930. —JAN

Φ

PUBLIC WARNING!

We note with alarm that Stalin's first public unleashing of Karl Radek (Inprecorr, No. 23, page 505), for the purpose of throwing a stink-bomb at the Opposition's standpoint in India, is immediately accompanied by a deviation! In the very second paragraph of his article, Citizen Radek speaks of "the so-called third period". What does he mean "so-called" third period? We demand that he be compelled to issue a new statement of error, and that forthwith. Why should he be any more privileged than Kameney?

Lessons of the Chinese Revolution

The Constituent Assembly and Soviets

By ARNE SWABECK

The epoch-making events in India today compel even the "theoretical" pigmies in the Stalinized Comintern, to cast an occasional glance at the historic lessons of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. Unfortunately they continue to sink into the quagmire of their own confusion.

For the working masses who may not be able to follow the rapid changes of leadership in this "third period" we volunteer the information that Earl R. Browder is the latest Stalinist appointee to the position of superficial political director and "theoretician" in America. In 1927 he spent several months in China during the height of revolution and beginning of its defeat. Upon his return Browder wrote the pamphlet "Civil War in Nationalist China". In its foreword he promised an extensive work on the "more fundamental aspects of the Chinese revolution". We venture to predict that Browder will not keep his promise for fear of exposing the whole house of cards built up of the Stalinist policies.

Browder—Professional Confusionist

On the Chinese lessons and the standpoint of the Left Communist Opposition Browder says in the *Daily Worker* (6-6-30), in an article entitled "Opportunists and India":

"On China, where the revolution is in a much higher stage of development than India, Trotsky also issues the slogan of Constituent Assembly, putting it up against the slogan of 'Soviets' as organs of power of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants."

And further:

"The Trotskyites cover up their own surrender to the bourgeoisie in India and China with 'very left' phrases about the dictatorship of the proletariat, violent opposition to the slogan 'democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants' and then practically replace both with the open bourgeois slogan of 'Constituent Assembly'."

(Could opportunist confusion be more "eloquently" put?)

Browder goes on to explain that in a period when the bourgeoisie is historically a revolutionary class overthrowing feudalism, the Constituent Assembly is a revolutionary measure. But today the bourgeoisie as a class, as well as its organ, the Constituent Assembly, is reactionary standing in the way of the completion of the "bourgeois democratic revolution". Proceeding from this he draws the conclusion that the Left Opposition has united with the Right wing, and he then repeats all the cheap calumnies always held in stock for the Left Opposition hoping thereby to prevent the revolutionists from engaging in an objective study of the Chinese lessons.

Browder, in these passages quoted, commits one "little" error. He completely confuses the question of the essential character of the Chinese revolution with the question of a slogan to be applied at a certain stage of its development. To make our case clear let us recall a few important factors in the Chinese developments.

Browder's Confessions

In his pamphlet, "Civil War in Nationalist China", Browder tells of reports of Chinese trade union and peasant union leaders on March 16, 1927: "The countryside is in terror, the Kuomintang (revolutionary army) has turned against the people. At Kanchow, the second division has assassinated the secretary of the General Trade Union and occupied the union offices; the leaders are all in hiding and communication with the city is cut off." This is one side of the picture showing the so-called Right wing of the Kuomintang in its actual role, later repeated precisely by the so-called Left wing. For the other side of the picture Browder reports that during the northern expedition (from Canton to Shanghai), when the nationalist armies captured half of China, all the military victories were accomplished by the revolutionary masses who even overthrew and drove out the military rulers before the nationalist armies arrived. There were 2,300,000 trade union members and 10,000,000 members of the peasants union, several hundred thousand of them under arms, pledged to the revolution.

What do we find in these reports? In the first half of the picture those upon whom Stalin and Browder had pinned their hopes as liberators of the working class, and harbingers of the proletarian revolution

tion and supported by the Stalin policies the Kuomintang, first its "Right" wing and later its "Left" wing, were already then beginning to show themselves in their true role as the hangmen and butchers of the Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants. In the second half of the picture we note the wide mass ferment, the mounting revolutionary wave of workers, peasants and soldiers; the ruling classes collapsing and power slipping out of their hands with a systematic struggle for power begun by the workers—the conditions for organization of Soviets as organs of power. But what in this situation was the policy of Stalin and Browder?

Stalin for Hankow

As late as the E.C.C.I. plenum, May 18, 1927, the Stalin policy still held to the theory of the Chinese revolution as based upon four classes (bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, workers and peasants). The plenum decided that the organizing center of the revolution must be the Hankow government of the Kuomintang, the hangmen of the Chinese workers. It hog-tied the Chinese Communist Party in subordination and political subjection to the Kuomintang. We quote from the resolution adopted:

"The E.C.C.I. regards as incorrect the view which underestimates the Hankow government and which in fact denies its great revolutionary role. The Hankow government and the leaders of the Left Kuomintang by their class composition represents not only the peasants, workers and artisans, but also a section of the middle bourgeoisie. Therefore the Hankow government being the government of the Left wing Kuomintang, it not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but is on the road to it and will inevitably, in the course of the victorious class struggle of the proletariat and in discarding bourgeois camp followers, develop in the direction of such a dictatorship. (1)"

"The E.C.C.I. calls the particular attention of the Communist Party of China to the fact that more than at any other time is it now necessary to maintain the closest contact between the revolutionary government and the masses of the people. Only if such close contact is maintained—and obtained primarily through the Kuomintang—only by maintaining a determined course toward the masses, will it be possible more and more to strengthen the authority of the revolutionary government and its role as the organizing centre of the revolution. (1)" (1927—Emphasis ours—A.S.)

Trotsky, speaking for the Left Opposition view at that plenum, demanded

the striking out of these paragraphs and all references of support to the Hankow government and the Kuomintang; to openly fight this center of counter-revolution and to proceed to organize Soviets as the revolution.

Whom did history, that is the actual revolutionary experiences, prove correct? The policies of Stalin, Bucharin and the Menshevik, Martinov, who had fought Bolshevism for twenty years? No! Their policy of strengthening the enemy led to disastrous defeat. The Hankow government established the organized bourgeois counter-revolution and drowned the workers and peasants in blood. Only after the turn downward, with the disarming, defeat and slaughtering of the workers and peasants, did Stalin propose the organization of Soviets. But then—too late.

It could lead then only to miscarriages and blunders culminating in the Canton insurrection—to adventurism as a product of opportunism. Yet even the Canton insurrection holds valuable lessons forged in the fire of revolution. It became a curtain raiser for the third Chinese revolution. Despite all its weaknesses and mistakes it indicated definitely this next stage. The shortlived Canton Soviet, not elected but merely appointed from above, proceeded to confiscate feudal lands, establish workers control of industry, nationalize big industry and banks and confiscate bourgeois dwellings and all property for the benefit of the laborers. Automatically it led to the proletarian dictatorship.

Browder in his present *Daily Worker* article, either in blissful ignorance, or else in a deliberate attempt to obscure all these historical experiences, proceeds to outline the tasks of the Indian and Chinese revolutions as follows:

The Bourgeois Democratic Revolution

"Revolution in India and China today has as its first task the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution, that is, to carry out in India and China those measures which were the characteristic feature of the transition from feudalism to capitalism—national independence, distribution of the land among the peasants, breaking the power of the feudal elements, establishment of certain popular rights of organization and individual liberties." (So, this is the task!) He adds that it cannot be carried out by the bourgeoisie but only the workers and peasants can carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution.

This is the crux of the problem. Here we see that Browder like Stalin, still holds to a policy which could only spell another defeat for the Chinese workers and peasants.

Independent Workmen's Circle on the Coast

Comrades:

For the last several months I have read your weekly steady. I am a member of the Independent Workmen's Circle, refusing to join the International Workers Order—believing that we can do plenty of work in the ranks of the Independent. The Stalinists as you call them began calling me and my comrades names like renegades, traitors, Lovestoneites. It opened up my eyes. I began looking for the truth—who are these renegades and traitors, Lovestoneites and Trotskyites. I went over to the stand to buy a *Revolutionary Age* when I also noticed the *Militant*. I bought a copy—compared it with the *Revolutionary Age* and remained a steady reader of your paper.

Coming down to brass tacks the situation stands this way: The I. W. C. branches are hopelessly split. Branches which have been always Left, branches (5 of them) that have given money and energy towards the Communist movement are now split in half. They hoped to take away full branches, but instead they only got about 250 out of 500 members. They kicked us out of the Co-operative Centre which we have built and kept up. They refused to take our donation for the *Frehelt* when we were in. By the way on an

income of \$2,400 they have had an expense of \$1,000. They also made Olgin a "proletarian" suit of clothes which amounts to \$90 which was charged to the expenses of the *Frehelt*.

The Cooperative Restaurant existing for over a year has been brought to a dangerous condition by the same Stalinite leadership. It is about to fail utterly and miserably. The Cooperative Bakery fired the day shift and only works two men at night—in a city of nearly 100,000 Jews. The newly opened barber shop lost in its honeymoon months—\$30 the first month and \$50 the second month. The whole Cooperative movement including the Center is on the verge of failure and closing up entirely.

The Imperial Valley strike for which six of our best fighters were sentenced to one half year at San Quentin and Folsom was nothing but a fiasco, it never materialized; a bunch of inexperienced boys were sent down there, with no experience in union work—and how to conduct it.

In my branch of the Independent Workmen's Circle I am pushing the *Militant* all I can, and hope to organize a fraction here of the Communist League.

Yours for a clean Bolshevik policy,
Los Angeles, Calif. RO—EIN

Lenin on the "Democratic Dictatorship"

It was precisely on the problem of the bourgeois democratic revolution that Lenin, upon his return to Russia in April 1917, took such decisive issue with the views of the Pravda fraction, and Stalin as the editor of the *Pravda*. The Pravda fraction, through its spokesman Kamenev, demanded the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution—that is the carrying out of the measure listed by Browder—Lenin replied that the bourgeois democratic revolution could find its solution in the proletarian revolution. Referring to those "old Bolsheviks" who more than once have played a sorry role in the history of our Party when they repeated a formula, once acquired, without thinking, instead of studying the peculiarities of new living realities" he added:

"He who now speaks of 'revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' only, is behind the times, is therefore in practice on the side of the petty bourgeoisie and against the proletarian class struggle; such a one should be placed in the archive of Bolshevik pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'old Bolsheviks')." (Lenin, Letters on Tactics, Vol. 20 part 1.)

The bourgeois democratic revolution took place in China in 1911 and was completed in so far as a bourgeois democratic revolution in China could be completed, sufficient to prove that its problems could not be solved under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The second revolution in China proved that the solution of these problems could be found only in the proletarian dictatorship. It further proved that it could not remain in the state of the bourgeois democratic revolution but would have to become transformed in the permanent revolution to find its final solution on the world arena. In 1927 the proletarian dictatorship in China was raised by history up to the first point on the order of the day. Its realization was sabotaged by the Stalin policy. The organization of Soviets was rejected by Stalin who chose the bourgeois leadership of the Kuomintang. The revolution, with the decisive sections of the masses of workers and peasants in revolutionary ferment, therefore took the road of the only other alternative—the establishment of the bourgeois counter-revolution which still rules today.

A "Revolutionary Upsurge" Here and in China

Browder now speaks glibly, in the seventh Party convention thesis, about the "revolutionary upsurge of the working masses of the United States" while demanding the bourgeois democratic revolution for China. Adventurist phraseology on an opportunist basis. He is now riding the peak of this "revolutionary upsurge in the United States" which may soon collapse because it rests on nothing but paper.

The actual revolutionary upsurge of the Chinese masses in 1927 Browder failed to recognize and understand correctly therefore he is now trying to turn its history backward.

Did the democratic revolution in Russia solve its problems—that is, the measures listed by Browder. No. These problems were solved by the dual power, by the rising proletarian revolution based upon the Soviets and culminating in the proletarian dictatorship. We repeat—from history these pigmy theoreticians have learned nothing.

The problems of the Chinese workers and peasantry, including the measures listed by Browder, which will rise more in the coming third Chinese revolution can find their solution only in the proletarian dictatorship. Since today, under the established rule of the bourgeois counter-revolution, it cannot be expected that the Communist Party can arrive at the seizure of power in one jump—the slogan of the Constituent, or National Assembly becomes a correct slogan to mobilize the masses.

It was after the establishment of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia that the Bolsheviks demanded the speediest convening of the Constituent Assembly. This as well as its final dissolution proved a correct tactic. And as Trotsky now points out: "The millions of the toiling masses (of China) can come to the dictatorship of the proletariat only on the basis of their own political experience and the National Assembly would be a conservative step on this road."

A Review and Criticism

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

The T.U.U.L. drive in the South, starting in 1929 at the very inception of the "new turn" in the Communist Party has not yet been analyzed. Our articles on the South have dealt with tasks and later with shortcomings and "self criticism" but none have followed this to a logical conclusion and explained the basic causes of these shortcomings. With the majority of the American workers unorganized, the building of new unions is on the order of the day but this is not separate and apart from our work in reactionary unions to unite the broadest forces possible against the labor fakers, reformists and sectarians. Such a correct relationship of these forces to expose the reactionaries existed in several of our past campaigns as exemplified by Passaic and the Colorado coal strikes, both cases isolating the A.F.L. fakers and gaining trade union support. In the first case the gain was nationally for the Communist leadership and in the second case mainly in Colorado and Wyoming by Communist forces for the I.W.W. leadership.

Only by the correct disposition of our forces in the reactionary trade unions and the new unions will it be possible for us to defeat the treacherous bureaucrats and build our influence in the labor movement. Let us review the Gastonia struggle and the southern campaign to find the causes of our mistakes.

In the economic development of capitalist society ever so often culminating points are reached when the psychological reaction of the workers to those changes making for greater oppression one form or the other are transformed into class ideology of a rudimentary nature. This change due to the material transformation can be accelerated and definite organizational results obtained providing the vanguard of the workers, the Communist Party is able to apply tactics and strategy based on a Marxian program for the concrete situation to crystallize the developing ideology to an organized class consciousness.

The stage of economic transformation in the West when the I.W.W. continued the traditions of the Western Federation, where the vanguard applied tactics with considerable success giving them a crystallizing of this changing ideology and an organizational base. The transformation in the South in the last several years is similar to the change in the West in the period spoken of, except (to our advantage) we are in a different stage of historical development. In the West at that period the vanguard was able to organize a considerable base but up to the present the vanguard has yet to accomplish this first task in the South.

A review of our activity in the South will throw light upon our success and failure that we may not repeat these blunders again. To begin with we must point out that our Southern campaign up to the present can register the following positive points:

1. We have brought for the first time in this section, the class issue into the struggle to advancing the workers' conditions.

2. Through our Gastonia Campaign (only considering the Southern end of the campaign) we have agitational though not organizationally, gained the wide support of American-born workers and proper farmers to our broad struggle in spite of the rabid anti-Red campaign of the bosses.

3. We have proven agitational to a wide section of the Negro masses, Southern and Northern, that the Communists are the leaders in the struggle of the Negro masses.

4. To a fair degree we consolidated the unity of black and white workers at each step of the struggle and were consequently considered by these workers as the "best fighters" and known to the bosses and their henchman as the "worse enemies".

Since revolutionists don't need self-praise (nor the present official Party campaign of mechanical self-criticism) we will deal with the problem of how the class is could have been brought into the

In the beginning of our Southern work, before our forces were sent South the condition of the Gastonia area was in a state of tension without important open class conflicts. This period was a culminating point in the transformation of the new industrial South, dominating old forms of control and changing the "hill people" into machine automatons on a large scale.

Especially in the Textile section of the Southern industries was there a critical stage. A steady Southward shift of the cotton spinning section and an acute international textile crisis, accelerated competition between the North and the South. On the other hand modern mills with machines of enormous output had to be kept moving if the rate of profit was to be kept up. These contradictory forces resulted in intensifying the stretch-out system, in wage reductions, worse company town conditions and general lowering of the standard of living with wide-spread unemployment, pellagra and chain gang victims. Men, women and children of American born stock were being driven into open revolt and organization against these conditions.

In this period when the Party should have sent forces South the Cannon-Foster group was fighting to correct the official American Party leadership, who had been given leadership on a platter by the Stalin-Bucharin regime. The Pepper-Lovestone group considered that this industrialization was to create a reservoir of reaction and that no work could be carried on now. The R.F.L.U. was the first to clamor for the new line that was soon to follow in the international movement but instead of a correction of the Right mistakes in relation to our trade union work and the United Front tactics a mechanical swing to the Left was taken.

After months of fooling away time comrade Beal was sent South in February 1929 inadequately supported one way or the other. In fact from that period up until the October 13th conference and today the decisive voting majority at the Center of the Communist Party did not know what it was all about and was often a brake instead of a help. The mechanical shift at the top in these hectic days for the Lovestones was no remedy, because such is never a remedy for anything except bureaucratic consolidation. Beal's glowing reports of what really could be done in the South and the A.F.L. activity opened the eyes of more forces at the Center, some to reality but most of them to the possibilities of dashing spectacular "victories".

More forces were sent South and the pivot point of activity was properly selected as Gastonia, the cotton spinning center with the Loray Mill as the pace setter. This pre-strike stake with the intense activity of a small force was entirely new to

Southern conditions, but several comrades with Beal did excellent work under the circumstances.

The leading committee was committed to a "rolling-wave theory" which in practice relied too much on the spontaneity of the masses and spectacular dramatization and not sufficiently on preliminary organizational activity.

The A.F.L. had already started their second drive since the war in the Southern textile field and were "coming in and taking over revolts of the workers" in Elizabethton, Greenville, Lexington, Ware Shoals Marion, etc., trying to get any kind of agreement with the bosses, selling out and leaving if it became too hot as they did in Ware Shoals and other places. The driving force of this campaign were the Mustekes who as a new development at this stage stood in between the reactionaries and the best progressives who in the immediate past had supported the Left wing led by the Communists.

Our mechanical interpretation of the policy of building new unions and the rejection of the United Front policy as a swing away from the Right blunders of the past in the united front action put a taboo on all kinds of united fronts, if not in words then in deeds.

This resulted in our refusal to utilize throughout the country all possible forces, so badly needed in that concrete situation, against a powerful enemy that was concentrating all forces against us.

In the Loray Mill, where the National Textile Workers Union was concentrating its forces the company had increased the stretch-out and systematically, department by department was reducing the workers' wages. Five thousand workers was the full time capacity of the mill. Before the union was ready for the counter-attack the Manville Jencks, owners of Loray started discharging union members.

This precipitated the strike and over 2,500 quit work. This was inopportune for the union, for a little more time would have found them better situated. Mass picketing followed. A great number of these workers were in a strike for the first time and were new trade union recruits which meant that more emphasis should have been put on preliminary organization work.

This premature forceful break could have been overcome by the tried and tested tactic so well used in the Lawrence 1912 strike and many times since. The tactic of going from department to department at the inception of the strike in an organized planned manner—Strike!—Strike! and pulling switches, etc. This was not done. The failure at the start to close the mill pre-determined the tempo of the positive force and choked the fighting spirit of the workers on strike making a breach with those in the plant and enabling the bosses to play these two forces against each other to our disadvantage. Naturally, workers in the nearby mills did not gain the necessary inspiration from the strike, especially considering the training of these workers in any kind of class struggles.

(To Be Continued)

India

Browder vs. Luhani

Leadership among the Stalinist section of the Communist movement has become a very specialized function. In the motley collection that serves as the American "leadership", the specific function of Earl Browder is to "expose the counter-revolutionary renegades". That his "anti-Trotskyist" endeavors are limited structurally to abominable and deliberate falsehoods and politically to a vulgar admixture of Lester Wardism and a handful of Marxist platitudes is simply traceable to the natural character of the man. The trouble, however, is that he is permitted to inflict his sorry leadership upon the Communist Party.

Latterly, Browder has been firing his paltry weapons at the Opposition for advocating the slogan of the Constituent Assembly in India (and China) as a democratic slogan to arouse and coordinate the struggles of the masses and lead them to the victory of the proletarian power over the imperialist and nationalist bourgeoisie. In the *Daily Worker* (June 18, 1930), he writes:

"The Trotskyites cover up their own surrender to the bourgeoisie in India and China with 'very Left' phrases about the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', violent opposition to the slogan 'democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants', and then practically replace both with the open bourgeois slogan of 'Constituent Assembly'." (Our emphasis).

Browder's remarks on "surrender to the bourgeoisie in India and China" are of course instructive, and do not come from any mateur. Let us anticipate any criticism from readers on that score by reminding them that he banqueted with General L. Ti-Sin, the butcher of the Canton proletariat, AFTER this bourgeois Kuo Min Tang militarist had decapitated scores of Canton's best revolutionary fighters. He speaks with authority about "surrender to the bourgeoisie", for did he not bring back from China an official letter from the Kuo Min Tang expressing its most cordial thanks for the services Browder had rendered it in China.

But so far as the "Constituent Assembly" slogan is concerned, it is hard to say whether Browder is ignorant or base, for surely he must know the policy of the so-called Communist Party of India, advocated, so far as we know up until a short time ago. It is stated by no less an authority than G. A. Luhani, the Stalinist who replaced Roy and was the Indian "specialist" and spokesman at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. On the very eve of that Congress, Luhani wrote:

"Finally, the Communist Party of India, as the Party of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has put forward the slogan of the convocation of a Constituent Assembly for determining the constitution of India...In putting forward the slogan, the Communist Party of India declares:

"...The demand should be the convocation by the National Congress of a Constituent Assembly which will be the supreme organ of the people's power and as such settle the question as regards the form of government, relation to Britain, etc. The entire people must participate in the election of the Constituent Assembly. Committees for the election of the Constituent Assembly should be set up all over the country. Representatives of all the political parties, workers and peasants organizations and all other democratic bodies will sit on these committees. The election campaign must be carried on throughout the country over a period of at least a year. The largest possible section of the population should be drawn into the campaign through mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc." (International Press Correspondence, Vol. 8, No. 6, Page 133).

The quotations speak for themselves and they speak facts. But we cannot say as much for Browder.

If the number on your wrapper is

51

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Open Letter to the C. P. on the Elections

June 28, 1930

To the District Committee of Dist. 2,
Communist Party of the U. S. A.:

The deep-going economic crisis, the growing army of the unemployed millions the renewed attacks on the living standards of the workers, prompts the capitalist exploiters of this country to initiate a ruthless drive against the Communist movement as the spear-head and most militant section of the entire American labor movement. The activity of the Fish Committee to "investigate Communist plotting" foreshadows a stage of wholesale persecution of the Communists, of jailings and deportations of revolutionaries. At such a crucial time the Left (Communist) Opposition deems it more imperative than ever that the enemies of the working class—the capitalists and their social democratic and labor bureaucrat lackeys—should be confronted by united Communist ranks.

Regardless of the fact that the present factional and Centrist Party regime falsely and stupidly slanders us as "counter-revolutionaries" and "renegades" and wages a campaign of hooliganism against us, we will never permit them to separate us from the Communist Party and the Communist

International. As adherents of the principles of Marx and Lenin—undiluted by either opportunism or adventurism—it is our duty at one and the same time to criticize and correct the official Party line in its deviations from Bolshevism, and also to demonstrate our closest solidarity with the Party in the fulfillment of its tasks in the every day class struggle.

In view of these considerations and of the objective political and economic situation in the country, we herewith offer our cooperation in the forthcoming election campaign of the Party to secure signatures to place Communist candidates on the ballot, to supply qualified speakers for the election meetings of the Party and to carry on whatever other election work is assigned to us.

Awaiting your acceptance of our offer,
With Communist greetings,

The New York Branch of the
Communist League of America (Opposition)

In our next number there will appear a full report and critical evaluation of the Unemployment convention held July 4th in Chicago. Do not miss this number.

Solidarity on the Streets**New York Demonstrates for India**

The British consulate was the scene of a militant demonstration of 1,500 workers who attempted to address the mass from the balcony. Following the mass meeting in Battery Park the march of the workers on Whitehall Street began. Shouting revolutionary slogans and singing revolutionary battle songs, the procession advanced to the vicinity of the consulate. It was here that Mulrooney's police thugs swept in with their accustomed brutality. One worker who attempted to address the mass from the steps of the building was arrested by the police and pulled down.

This was the signal for a concerted onslaught of the police on the demonstrators. The workers fought back bravely until the police re-inforcement arrived in the shape of an emergency wagon with sirens shrieking, prepared to hurl tear bombs. Four comrades were arrested, Rollins, Manusky, L. B. Cohen and one other. Several workers were terribly man-handled and one Beatrice Blosser was knocked unconscious.

The demonstration was called by the New York district of the Communist Party and all workers organizations were invited to participate. The Communist League (Opposition) in New York immediately signified its decision to take part. We wrote a letter to the International Labor Defense notifying them of our intention and asking whether legal aid and defense would be extended to any comrades of the Opposition who would be arrested in the course of the demonstration. We received no reply from the I.L.D. which still leaves the question open whether the I.L.D. is an organization for the defense of the revolutionary movement at large or only the auxiliary for the defense of the adherents of the Stalin faction which momentarily controls the Party machinery.

Immediately we arrived at the demonstration we unfurled the banner of the Communist League which bore slogans denouncing British Imperialism and manifesting solidarity with the Indian Revolution. It was here that the functionaries of the Stalin group struck an ally note that threatened to disrupt the mass meeting before the demonstration could get under way. A series of physical attacks began on our comrades who carried the placards bearing our slogans and militants. Among the rank and file Party comrades there was a noticeable current to resist this breach by their officials of the united front of the demonstration. But the officials went around agitating for a pogrom and comrades Berman and George Clarke were set upon by the functionaries tools, certain half-underworld types that have bored their way into the Communist Party under the present regime. Finally our placard was destroyed, but our comrades held their ground staunchly and would not be eliminated.

While the Daily Worker maintains silence regarding our presence at the demonstration, the Freiheit, and the Uj Eloré both shamefully surpass themselves.

The Freiheit is the Party organ whose editor is the old Menshevik, Olgin, Abe Cahan's old crony and a former strong believer in the Sisson documents that "Lenin and Trotsky were German spies". This Freiheit came out with the unspeakable statement that the "Left renegades were in a united front with the detectives to break up the meeting, etc., etc." It would be tragic if it were not so ridiculous that no worker in his senses reads this without shrugging his shoulders and feeling

The 7th Party Convention

(Continued from Page 2)

kept secret from the membership until they have received the approval of Stalin. Balam, Enckel and Wicks, the last of the Lovestone Mohicans in the Party leadership were dropped from the C.E.C. Ella Reeves Bloor takes the place of Anna Damon as the dowager. The Party secretariat—God save the mark!—is composed of Browder, Hathaway and Bedacht. However, Bittelman is on his way home from conquests in the Indian revolution and Bedacht will be transferred to Moscow. Alexander will now prepare to wield the sceptre while Browder and Hathaway run messages.

But the very last word in the Party will be with the Bolshevik-Leninists.

—M.S.P.

ashamed that what was once a Communist paper should have sunk to the degraded spiritual level of the yellow Forward.

We repeat—such factional tactics will not deter us. As Communists we continue to participate in every class struggle demonstration of the Party against capitalism and imperialism, without abandoning our Marxist right and duty to work for the clarification of principles, the correction of political blunders, and a Bolshevik Party regime.

—Sp.

«CLARIFICATION»

If ever one is looking for clarification on certain important questions and he wants to become muddled, he has but one thing to do. He can ask a member of the Communist Party to explain to him. A very striking incident occurred a few days ago, when another comrade and myself were walking through a park where many members of the Communist Party and of the Left wing unions hold unofficial meetings. One of them appoints himself speaker and chairman and answers any questions that his comrades may put to him.

When I joined the group, the self-appointed speaker was explaining to another the position and purpose of an industrial union. After he had exhausted all the stories he knew about his comrades in Russia about his shopmates, and had omitted to answer the question, he asked for other questions. I very naively asked him what the dispute was between Trotsky and Stalin and wherein they differed in principle. The question was taken up.

After speaking about a half hour to explain why he thought he ought to answer that question saying that in spite of the fact that Trotskyism is a dead issue he considers it his duty to explain to a young worker the truth and to keep her from going astray; he wasted another half hour telling me about Emma Goldman. Finally he came to Trotsky. He began from the end, he said to come to the beginning.

"Now this Trotsky, who sells himself to the capitalist class, who writes for their press, who betrays the working class, has been expelled from the Communist Party because he is a traitor." Here many of the other members of the Communist Party objected. That is not the way to explain a question, they all said. This is a very significant fact for us.

The comrade started again. I said that I would not listen to any scandal stories but I wanted to know the difference in principle. The comrade was in a loophole and again started to tell me all the black stories he knew about comrade Trotsky. Finally I was given the chance to explain the question myself.

After a short talk I noticed that quite a number of the Party members were in full sympathy with me. Many of them agree that it was not a question of personal grievances that put comrade Trotsky out. Many of them objected to the way the Communist League of America (Opposition) had been treated in the last demonstration. Some agreed that it was wrong for League members to be expelled because of their views. This all is very significant to us because it shows that we are growing in influence. Those that agreed with us that it was a question of principle and that principally comrade Trotsky is correct said that the only reason that they did not join us was that they had to keep the unity of the Party. That, to them, counts above everything else. However, we are breaking through the thick wall set up by the Party bureaucracy.

—REVA CRAINE

THE FOSTER FACTION

Lack of principle, characterlessness, intellectual and political cowardice on the part of the Foster-Bittelman group of "leaders", so clearly and so disgustingly revealed in the whole pre-convention and "anti-Trotsky" campaign, are the manifestations and the result of their contradictory and impossible position.

—FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20 1929

A Stalino-Fascist Attack**Cleveland Workers Reply to Hooliganism**

CLEVELAND—

Following a fascist attack by the Stalinist clique on the public meeting arranged by the Communist League to hear Max Shachtman speak on the Left Opposition and his recent visit to Europe, local police swooped down on the meeting and arrested eleven workers, including comrades John Brahtin and L. Bryar, the owner of the meeting place, a couple of Party members, and a half dozen others who came to the hall. The "broad and non-partisan" International Labor Defense proceeded to bail out everyone but the two comrades of the Opposition.

The meeting was scheduled for the Painters Hall, but when the committee and the audience of 100 workers gathered there, the hall was closed and the caretaker nowhere in sight. His failure to appear was greeted by the assembled C. P. members with knowing grins. It was impossible to get a new hall immediately, and the Stalinists were overjoyed, until the Hindu owner of a restaurant, sympathetic towards the Party offered to rent his place as a makeshift. The committee in charge accepted the offer and announced the change of place on the street. The assembled workers then proceeded to march through the city to the restaurant, located two doors from the official Party's district office.

After some 70 workers had entered the restaurant and taken seats, a gang of some 20 Party members came down from the Party office, up the stairs leading to the restaurant, and attempted to break through the guard at the door. They were composed largely of the same people who had come down armed with blackjacks and knives a year before to break up the meeting organized to hear comrade J.P. Cannon. In spite of their fascist record, the door committee offered to let 10 of their number come in free of charge in order to take the floor and speak for the Stalinist standpoint.

The hoodlums refused to accept this proposal and started to create a violent disturbance. The door was nevertheless held, until the gang suddenly pulled out their weapons of Stalinist enlightenment—blackjacks, clubs, iron bars, brass knuckles, knives—and began wielding them murderously against the Opposition comrades at the door. Our comrade, Joseph Keller was badly cut around the head, his lip was laid open and he was kicked repeatedly in the stomach. Despite their superior numbers, however, these fascists who disgrace the name of Communism were repulsed by the Opposition comrades who were aided by many of the workers in the hall, including members of the I.W.W., who were incensed at the outrageously anti-working class tactics of the Stalinists.

A squad of police and detectives appeared immediately, and were directed to

The Opposition in Brazil

Our comrades of the Communist Opposition in Brazil just issued the first number of their paper, *A Luta de Classe* (The Class Struggle). As has already been pointed out, the Left Opposition in Brazil is rallied around the "Lenin Communist Group", which has strong working class support in Rio De Janeiro and Sao Paulo, the largest industrial city in the country.

We enthusiastically greet the appearance of this paper which strengthens the Left Opposition on American soil. There now exist in the Americas four journals of the Left Opposition, around which the workers are being organized in spite of the difficulties that confront them: The Militant, in the United States, the Bulletin of the Communist Opposition, in Mexico, La Verdad in the Argentine, and A Luta de Classe in Brazil.

The journal of our Brazilian comrades will probably appear semi-monthly. It is printed in four pages of large format. In the first number we find an editorial on "Our Objectives", articles on May Day, on the new policy of the Communist Party, Trade Union notes, an extensive labor chronicle of Sao Paulo, Lenin's Testament, and an extract from Trotsky on the "Radicalization of the Masses".

The Opposition is on the march! Against the Right wing and Centrism and for the preservation and strengthening of revolutionary Marxism!

the hall by one of the Stalinists, Cullen name, who has probably been taught by the district organizer, Bimba that even cooperation with the police is permissible in the struggle against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". The meeting, of course, was then broken up.

The Opposition comrades immediately proceeded to the Public Square and announced a meeting for the coming evening to protest against the shameful knife-work of the Stalinists. The next evening, the Opposition comrades arrived to find both Public Square "stumps" occupied by Stalinists, who were apparently in frenzied fear of having the workers listen to the Opposition's point of view. We nevertheless set up a park bench at the other end of the Square and comrade Boich had just begun speaking when the same hooligans appeared once more and began to boo and shout like madmen. They attempted to rush the platform, but meeting with better resistance than they expected, they had to give up. Again the cops arrived, and our bold Stalinists fled precipitately in four directions. We remained and continued our meeting, with the Party opening up immediately on the other "stump". Comrade John Foley, the chairman, introduced comrade Shachtman who spoke at length on the events of the night before and then delivered his lecture. Almost a thousand workers packed the square, and the loudness with which the radical workers of Cleveland denounced the fascist attack of the Stalinists was enough to make the latter's ears tingle. The Party speaker, one I. O. Ford, who was delivering himself of a despicable attack upon the Opposition as "counter-revolutionists" and "enemies of the workers", was properly exposed by comrade Boich as having been a private detective, i. e., a stool pigeon, just a little while ago, before he joined the Party and became so ardent a supporter of Stalinism.

The quick and authentic reaction of the Cleveland workers to Stalinist gangsterism was one of the severest blows the latter has yet suffered. These contemptible tactics imported into the labor movement from the armory of Mussolini, Lewis, Sigman and their ilk, only serve to disgrace and discredit the whole Communist movement, to expose the political weakness of Stalinism, and alienate the best sections of the working class. The rank and file workers in the Party have no stomach for them—wherever they are practised, it is only under threats of discipline from the bureaucrats who stay discreetly at home.

Let the Party members and the militant workers in general reflect seriously on this: What is it that the Stalinist bureaucracy fears so desperately in the platform of the Opposition that it attempts by the basest methods of fascism to prevent its being heard? These methods will not do. Many cities have already shown that Cleveland has just shown it again. The standpoint of the Opposition is making its way to the workers. It has only become stronger and better consolidated in Cleveland after the hooliganism of the Stalinists was used against it.

—M.

AFTER THE CLEVELAND RIOT

(The author of the following letter was one of the Opposition comrades brutally attacked by the Stalinist pogromists at the Cleveland mass meeting for comrade Max Shachtman.)

Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Comrades:

Although still in pain, I am determined to rush whatever little help I can toward sustaining our fighter, the Militant. Comrade Michael Miklovich paid his debt in renewing his sub for the Militant, while he decided to donate two dollars towards the Sustaining Fund. He offered said amount to me in order to help me pay the doctor's bill, but I advised him to help our paper since I am still in a position to pay the doctor's bill. Tell Max that I finally had to go to the doctor to have my wounds examined, and they were accordingly treated, and now I feel much better. I don't think you would believe what a terror the Stalinists organized against us. Max could tell you what a beating the Stalinists administered to my body, but my enthusiasm for our cause would surpass—any time—all the beatings of the terrorists in Stalin's camp. They got theirs and they have learned a lesson for future discussions. Enclosed you will find money order.

—JOSEPH

TROTSKY ON THE NEW MASSES

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III, No. 27.

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY JULY, 26,

PRICE 5 CENTS

What Fish Committee Means

A Fighting United Front Needed Against the Sharpening Offensive of the Capitalist Class

The bubble of the Whalen documents has been loudly and derisively punctured. That clown and former police commissioner Whalen presented these documents as "proof" that Amtorg the official Soviet trading agency in New York was the center of Communist propaganda for the United States.

Three witnesses called before the Fish Committee have conclusively demonstrated from different angles that these "documents" are absolute and unadulterated forgeries. The first witness exposed sixteen internal mistakes and discrepancies that pointed to their fabrication by Russian white guards. A newspaperman testified that the "documents" had been offered for sale in Washington six weeks before Whalen released them to the New York press. But the most deadly testimony came from the man in whose print-shop on East Tenth street the letterheads of the Whalen documents were printed.

No one in the least familiar with the history of the series to which Whalen forgeries belonged could have entertained the shadow of a doubt as to their true character. The Sisson documents of some years ago, setting out to prove that Lenin and Trotsky were "German spies" could have been convincing only to such a product of the New York Forward as Moissaye Olgin. The celebrated Zinoviev letter could impose only on the willing credulity of a social-imperialist like Macdonald.

This exposure will, of course not stay the activities of the Fish Committee. It is the time-honored practise of the ruling class always to explain away "social unrest" as a malicious foreign importation. When the masses were once struggling in England for the blessings of parliamentary democ-

racry, the aristocracy blamed this movement on the gold of the French regicides. The source of all evil, the Czarist bureaucracy had it, were the Jews. In our present epoch of proletarian struggle, the capitalists find the key to all the riddles of the universe in . . . Moscow gold. The one thing they will not admit is that the roots of the revolutionary are sunk deep in the crisis of a class society that has outlived its historic usefulness.

Commissioned by Congress to investigate Communist propaganda for the overthrow of the government, the Fish Committee was in reality an expedient to distract attention from the misery of the unemployment crisis. In line with this policy, the Fish Committee made a rabid attack on Amtorg. It is no pleasure to the workers of Russia to have to trade with the eneral Electric or Henry Ford but power in the United States still lies in the hands of the capitalist, not the working class. The development of trade even under these conditions is, however, of direct interest to the American working class. Amtorg bought more than \$107,000,000 of American goods in 1928-9 and was planning to double that in the near future. The goods that Amtorg purchases here mostly with hard cash go towards facilitating the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and at the same time inevitably alleviate unemployment for thousands of American workers.

The baiting of Amtorg by the Fish Committee aided by the Matthew Wolls constitutes part and parcel of an attack on the interests of the American working class. The defense of the Soviet Union is their own best defense. This does not mean that the U.S.S.R. is any substitute for the action of the American proletariat. The Soviet

Union is the friend and ally of the international revolution which is the only guarantee that socialist society can be built up and maintained in any country. But the development of the class struggle takes place on the basis of the conditions in each capitalist country. The world organization that fights for the establishment of a chain of Soviet Republics is the Communist International. The functions of the Soviet Government and the Comintern are sufficiently distinct without P. A. Bogdanov, the Amtorg head, having resort to Sokolnikov's worthless, dangerous and revisionist subterfuge at the Geneva Economic Conference to the effect that capitalist and socialist systems can cohabit the world peacefully side by side!

It is imperative to arouse the widest possible mass movement against this Fish Committee and its probable consequences. Elihu Root has already advanced the idea of creating a special secret Federal police, a sort of American Ochraza to spy more effectively over the revolutionary workers. Whether Root's proposal in this form is realized at this time or not, the coming storm and stress period in the class struggle will mark more and more vicious attempts to place heavier shackles on the labor movement. The Department of Justice will be more extensively solidized and its stool pigeon activities re-enforced. The revolutionary press will have a constant struggle against being barred from the mails. The industrial espionage system will be intensified. The jailing of militants who organize the workers will gain momentum. The capitalist campaign to terrorize the foreign born workers by the finger-print and passport route will revive. The criminal syndicalism and sedition laws of the various states will be brought into more

frequent play.

As the counter-action to this capitalist offensive, the workers must organize a fighting united front. To make the most powerful appeal to the masses in the approaching elections, the Communist Party should demonstrate its re:linep; to place itself at the head of a movement for working class unity. The immediate objectives of this movement should be the release of all class war prisoners, federal, state and municipal grants for the relief of the workless, the enactment of unemployment insurance and old age pensions, the six hour day and the five day week, and the recognition and extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

The 16th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Convoked after two years of calculated manoeuvring for factional advantage the sixteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was one of the most ominous events in the annals of the October Revolution. There has been nothing quite like it in the entire history of Bolshevism.

Enthroned in the midst of the fawning adulation of his faction agents ("Comrade Duranty of the New York Times included) rose the sinister figure of Stalin, the man against whose aims and methods Lenin warned in his last testament, striking a note of the most poignant alarm. Every major leader of the October Revolution had been eliminated and crushed by the bureaucracy and its intrigue. But what was worse—or an accompaniment—the Party momentarily lies prostrate.

A measure of the degeneracy that has set in, is the spectacle of the Right leaders Rykov and Tomsky and others who were compelled by Stalin to drink the bitterest dreks of personal and political humiliation. For such self-abasement there is absolutely no Bolshevik tradition. Lenin never conceived of such a thing against his opponents inside the Party in the most desperate days of the civil war. But the keynote of this congress was that in Stalin, the apparatus-bureaucracy have far more reason to be satisfied than ever under Lenin.

Stalinism reigned supreme at the sixteenth Congress. There was no critical analysis of the course of political and economic events for the past two years. There was no honest and searching admission of mistakes. Self-praise and self-content pervaded the whole Stalin faction. The Congress was a mere fig leaf. It met; it dispersed. A few organizational charges were arranged to make the "Master's" power even more air-tight. Such "congresses" are of the soil of Bonapartism.

It is not the cowardly Rights and their captive leader Rykov who can give leadership to the Russian proletariat in the great crisis that looms up ahead of it. That leadership will come from the iron Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky. It will come from the thousands of revolutionists who have been imprisoned and deported. It is from the Left Opposition in the Party that the Thermidorians will meet with the resistance that will give leadership to the revolution in the crucial events that are maturing behind the fog of the sixteenth congress. In the next issue of the Militant we propose to publish a detailed analysis of the significance of this congress and the situation in the Soviet Union.

A FORCED RETREAT

For the balance of the summer period, the Militant has been compelled to change its frequency of issue to a semi-monthly basis. This change, which we shall attempt to make as brief in duration as possible, was forced upon us by two factors: the severe unemployment situation which has sharply affected the financial income of the paper, and, added to it, the summer months, during which a certain organizational and financial relaxation usually sets in.

The change to a semi-monthly is an adjustment to this situation. It should be distinctly emphasized to all our comrades and sympathizers that the change is in no sense of the word a permanent one. Plans are even now being elaborated for the return to a weekly publication basis early in the Fall, and a corresponding expansion of the publishing, as well as the general activities of the Opposition.

The change is undoubtedly a blow to our movement, from which all our supporters can help us recover more speedily by immeasurably increasing their financial assistance, beginning immediately. A broadly grounded financial support, ORGANIZED NOW will not only signify a swift return to the weekly Militant, but its re-issuance on a sounder basis.

United, conscientious efforts are required. We expect the militants throughout the country to bend their efforts for a generous response. The return of the Weekly is our joint responsibility. Let it be met with the necessary speed!

The Mass Workers Join the Opposition!

George J. Saul Also Demands That Party Reinstate Our Group

Comrade Saul has addressed a statement to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, in which he declares his support for the platform of the Left Opposition. He joins the Communist League of America (Opposition) and demands of the Communist Party that it reinstate all expelled members of the Left Opposition and adopt its platform in the United States; and in the Comintern.

The adherence of George Saul to the Communist League following the action of Hugo Oehler, is still further evidence of the movement of the mass workers in our direction and the dissatisfaction of the honest Communist workers with the present disastrous Party course, and the steady growth of influence among the Communists of the ideas of the Left Opposition. Comrade Saul only recently returned from work for the Communist Party and International Labor Defense in the South where he was very active in helping to organize the Southern textile workers into the National Textile Workers Union. His activity in the Gastonia and other Southern regions brought about his arrest by the southern bourgeois and a sentence of six months on the chain gang. A new trial was recently granted him and Comrade Saul is returning forthwith to stand trial.

Comrade Saul was also one of the leaders and active workers for the Communist Party, along with comrade Hugo Oehler, in the Colorado Coal miners strike. He is at present working in the harvest fields of

Kansas and is making his way East and South for his trial in South Carolina. The Left Opposition welcomes comrade Saul into his ranks. The following represents some of the views expressed by comrade Saul on the situation and needs of the Communist movement:

"The contradictions of imperialism are sharper than ever. The objective situation is favorable to the revolutionary movement of the workers toward the proletarian revolution and communist society.

"At the same time there is not the close relationship between our Party and the workers as a class which anticipates a growing confidence in our party as the leader in the class struggle.

"This is explainable when one considers the inner-party situation, the non-Leninist tactics being employed . . .

"The inner-Party situation, internationally and nationally is as follows: Mechanical control by bureaucrats; the non-Leninist tactics being applied in connection with the colonial and semi-colonial uprisings; in trade union activities and strike struggles; too much emphasis on legalism—resulting in isolating the workers' support.

"The strongest defense of the Soviet Union; the most effective struggle against war and imperialism in Europe, in America, throughout the world, will be made through the adoption by the Communist International of the Leninist line of march sponsored by Comrade Trotsky and the

(Continued on page 2)

The Chicago Conference

The Unemployed Gather

By ARNE SWABECK

CHICAGO—

The Chicago unemployment convention, the first of its kind, sharply denoted, in more than one respect, the present degree of development of the unemployed movement in the United States. It was the first culmination point around this burning issue facing the working class. Called by the Trade Union Unity League, its policies became those of the official Communist Party.

While the crowded one day session brought out many healthy aspects it also glaringly showed the extremely narrow character of the movement to date. Moreover, the policies adopted will, instead of overcoming the difficulty, tend further to narrow a basis where now the broadest scope is not only essential but also possible.

Many Extravaganzas

A summary of the speeches made, all bristling with a healthy militancy, would indicate the complete absence of a serious tackling of the problem—how to set the working masses into motion against their class enemy. They were well typified by the first speaker from the floor, following the main report. This speaker, on behalf of the New York delegation, extravagantly pledged: to build the mass unemployed councils to build the mass "revolutionary unions"—to build the mass Communist Party, etc., etc. Nor were any of the "democratic encumbrances" of "ordinary" labor gatherings apparent at this convention. All was cut ready to order, its first business being the selection of a presidium from a previously made up slate. The presidium then proceeded to select those who were to speak from the floor, as per its announcement from lists submitted in advance by district delegations. This method "gently" eliminated in advance anyone who might not hew closely to the official "line".

On its positive side the convention had some real healthy aspects shown for example in a large Negro delegation, 153 out of a total of the announced 1120 registered delegates. Many splendid proletarian types had answered the call and came clearly evidencing the signs of pressure of the economic crisis drawing workers toward the Left, themselves being attracted by a movement which had fearlessly taken up their battles. Otherwise the composition of the delegation showed but little sweep of the movement beyond the general periphery of the Communist Party and closely sympathetic organizations and groups. 484 delegates came from the Chicago district alone, 150 from Michigan, 73 from Minnesota, 92 from Ohio, 56 from Indiana, 53 from New York and a sprinkling from some other states. There were none of those Southern workers who had taken such splendid part in the strikes of the Carolinas.

To understand the basic cause of the present narrow limits upon a movement which has great possibilities and has otherwise displayed vitality in struggle, should now be the object of serious efforts of all militants. Without that no shortcomings will be remedied. It is wrong to conclude as the Party does, that the present situation is one of a "revolutionary upsurge of the working masses in the United States." Riding the crest of such a wave which is artificially constructed will at best get us caught in the dip, and at the worst prepare us for serious defeat when the offensive begins. The March Sixth and other unemployment demonstrations have manifested splendid working class response, but nevertheless what is most outstanding at the present moment is a downward curve. Everywhere increased capitalist reaction; innumerable jailings of Communist and workers on strike (many delegates were arrested on the way and in Chicago); break-up of demonstrations; intensified speed-up; wage cuts, directly and indirectly; the trade unions, including the new industrial unions, losing members. With this reaction also increasing signs of workers' resistance through small defensive strikes. There have lately been, for example, the strikes of the southern textile workers in Elizabethton and Marion and those of the northern section in Nazareth and Abernethy, Pa., and Plainfield, N.J.,

the short so-called strike of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York; the strikes of the Pittsburgh taxi drivers, St. Louis bus drivers and the recent strike of the Pittston anthracite miners. All these were defensive strikes and none under the leadership of the Left. Where the Left does play a role has been on a small scale in the New York cafeteria strikes and the present Flint automobile workers strike.

Such is the picture at the present moment. Within it is contained the visible outlines of the upward curve in which the resistance, as yet isolated, can become a workers' offensive of possibly broad sweep and surely of much sharper conflicts. Each such curve requires its specific tactics. Each has possibilities of growth for the movement and the tactics of one must simultaneously be the preparation for the other.

First Tasks

At this moment the first necessity is the most elementary ground-work. Millions of workers are unemployed and only a small section set into motion. Millions are still blissfully ignorant of their future status as members of a standing army of unemployed. That is the first point to bring home. The bourgeoisie have set to work actively to divide the ranks of the unemployed workers from those having jobs and already with some success to isolate the unemployed movement in its organized expression from the working masses. Can these efforts of the bourgeoisie be effectively defeated in any way than the broadest application of the slogans for work or compensation, unemployment relief, shorter workday, credits for Russia, etc.? Obviously not. Certainly the successful carrying on of the struggle for the unemployed means to spare no efforts really to unite the working class, which cannot be done within the narrow framework of the T.U.U.L. There could hardly be any situation where correct united front policies are so essential than precisely in this one. Could the hypocrisy and deceit of the social reformists and self-styled progressives on the burning issue of unemployment be better exposed than just through a correct and genuine united front policy?

These, however, were not the matters given serious consideration at the unemployment convention. It was keyed up to a very revolutionary phraseology but forgot its elementary tasks. William F. Dunne, in his report for the T.U.U.L. correctly stressed the necessity of unification of all of the struggles of the workers. But from that came the wrong conclusion, in the program of action adopted, entirely to limit the unemployed movement within the framework of the T.U.U.L. Thus the exact opposite of unification. Each union and industrial league is to set up unemployed councils in their industry as a part of the T.U.U.L. General councils, according to the program, are not to be organized where a section of the T.U.U.L. exists. These additional mechanical limits which isolate the movement and confine it to that section of the workers ready to join the "revolutionary unions". There could be no better way of actually preventing a mass basis of struggle for the unemployed. The social reformist will thus have a free field to rally all those workers who by vain search for a job are turning away from capitalist ideology but are not yet ready to join the "revolutionary unions". In that broad field they can continue to sow their seeds of illusions and deceit. And it is precisely also in that field where a united front struggle around the burning issue of unemployment as well as Communist activities has such rich potentialities.

The Program of Action

The program of action lists the immediate demands to be made: Work or wages, unemployment relief, no evictions, 7-hour day, free employment agencies, etc. A total of 17 demands. Unquestionably the few most pressing ones, which are also the most elementary ones, must become the outstanding slogans. It would, however, have been more correct and realistic to advance the demand for the six hour day. More realistic, if for nothing else, in view

of the fact that all of the railroad unions have officially gone on record recognizing the six hour day as a necessity.

But among all these demands no room could be found for the pressing one of large scale credits from this country to the Soviet Union to further insure her successful industrialization and build the bonds of solidarity between the working classes of both countries. The Stalinists will probably answer that the Soviet Union "does not need" such credits. But that is contrary to facts. Simeon Zuckerman, vice president of the Amtorg, reports that orders in the United States for machinery, equipment, etc. averaged \$10,000,000 monthly for the first six months of the fiscal year. In April and May of this year, they fell to \$3,000,000 while orders placed in Germany ran to \$10,000,000 because Germany offered a full 100 per cent credit for eighteen months and on some deals for two years or more. He adds:

"A big Soviet construction program in the Urals—metallurgic plants, tractor and machine plants—were planned with the aid of American specialists, who are cooperating in building. But in the present difficult period, which our leaders never attempted to deny or disguise (so!) credits play an important role. If we get better terms from Europe we must place orders in Europe instead of America."

The Chicago unemployment convention did not take up or attempt adequately to solve the tasks which the present situation had placed upon it. Despite its narrowness, a correct policy could have made a substantial beginning toward laying the foundation for a broad genuinely united movement of the working class against the present capitalist reaction and in the struggle for the unemployed. The Left Communist Opposition must intensify its fight for such a policy.

The Iron Heel Grinds Mexican Labor

The white terror in Mexico continues in still greater force than formerly, there having been within the last few weeks numerous, especially vicious, attacks on the working class organizations on the part of the bourgeois counter revolution. Several working class leaders have been murdered by the present regime in widely separated sections of the country. Recently in an armed clash between a Communist demonstration protesting the government's anti-labor policy, twenty comrades were killed at Matamoros Laguna, State of Coahuila.

The Communist Party and C.S.U.M. (Unitarian Labor Federation affiliated to the R.I.L.U.) have been entirely incapable of resisting these attacks on the part of the reactionary forces. The masses under pressure of the general crisis, with its continuous shut-downs, and unemployment reaching the 700,000 mark, continue in a swing towards the Left. The Communists, however, are not able properly to organize this growing discontent, with the result that the anarcho-syndicalists of the General Confederation of Labor, also suffering at the present time the government's persecutions, are reaping a big harvest in fields of organization and influence. Lower California is becoming the scene of great struggles and the anarcho-syndicalists are showing activities far exceeding those of the Communists in both the Imperial Valley Region and in the mining camps of Santa Rosalia in the central part of the peninsula.

Not only is the Party incapable of carrying its struggle to new fields but is even losing heavily in sections where it formerly had great strength. In the State of Michoacan, the local labor federation, while actually manipulated by the state governor who is posing as a "Left" and a "laborite", has been greatly subject to Communist influence from some time back. Recently the Central Committee ordered the Party comrades in Michoacan to affiliate the state labor federation to the C.S.U.M. or else organize a dual organization dependent on the C.S.C.M. The Michoacan comrades, realizing that no profit could be effected by this policy which the masses could not fail to recognize as having an open splitting character, refused to obey the order of the Central Committee. The Party's organization in the state fell to

Saul Joins Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

Opposition comrades of the Left.

"The way to overcome the serious mistakes in the internal life of our Parties is to do what Comrade Trotsky and others were expelled for wanting to do, namely, to raise the level of political life in the Communist Parties in all their organizational links on the basis of wider internal democracy"

"The bureaucrats have lied to us long enough concerning the contentions of the Opposition. The methods of the bureaucrats has only resulted in the isolation of the Party from the workers, at a time when the objective situation tends for radicalizing the politically backward workers

"In view of these facts I will my strength and energy to the support of the movement led by the Left Opposition. I stand for the adoption of the fundamental views of the Left Opposition by Comintern internationally and of the views of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the United States. I stand for the immediate reinstatement of the expelled Oppositionists into the Party and Comintern."

"For a genuine World Bolshevik Party! For the Proletarian Revolution!"

—GEORGE J. SAUL

Yes! No?

The Daily Worker of July 18, 1930, prints the report made by Stalin at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In it, Stalin says:

"The Chinese workers and peasants have already replied by forming Soviets and Red Armies. IT IS REPORTED that Soviet Governments are being formed. IF THIS IS TRUE, I do not find any cause for wonder. There can be no doubt that nothing but the Soviets can save China from final ruin and impoverishment."

"It is reported"; "if this is true"—that is how Stalin speaks of the much-advertized "Chinese Soviet regime". The Daily Worker, and with it the international Stalinist press, have been filled for weeks with columns of clap-trap sensationalism with "wirelesses from Shanghai", about the 80,000,000 Chinese who have established a Soviet regime in Southern China. These stories were used to justify the false policy of Stalinism in China and to confound the "Trotskyist renegades". Stalin now sings another song. Has the Daily Worker been bluffing, as we said it had?

Has an organized Chinese Soviet regime been established? Does the Comintern really know anything about it or not? YES OR NO?

pieces as a result, but the Communists remain for the most part at their posts in the existing state labor federation.

Comrades Eduardo Calero and Jorge Pino, members of the Central Executive Committee of the Young Communist Federation of Mexico, have been expelled for disagreement with the present Party "line". Comrade Calero has issued a statement in support of the Left Communist Opposition, by which step the Mexican Opposition group finds itself reinforced by one of the finest elements of the youth movement.

Pino and also comrade David Alfaro Siqueiros, recently expelled from the C.E.C. of the Party and from the Party itself as mentioned in a former issue of the Militant, are both among those remaining in jail, after their arrest for participation in the May Day demonstrations. They are being held together with a number of Party and Y.C.F. comrades without bail and without trial.

The Mexican section of the International Red Aid, which for a time, under the able (!) "direction" of Enea Sormenti, made a big stir on the basis of plenty of bluff but with no substantial national basis, is unable to do more in the present crisis with mass arrests, terror and almost complete illegality than to shout an occasional slogan or issue a few leaflets in protest. The Party claims that Pino and Siqueiros are government stool-pigeons and that they had themselves arrested in order to gain prestige among the Party rank and file! Naturally they are not receiving the benefits of the "non-partisan" defense of the Red Aid.

—R.B.

Northwest Experiences

Farmer-Laborism in Action

In the last seven years no question has received more serious study and attention by American Communists than the so-called Farmer-Labor Party, or Labor Party question. Up to and including the 1928 elections the Minnesota Communist Party devoted more time, money and energy to the "Farmer-Labor Party" idea than to any other question on its program. Numerous pamphlets and much literature was issued by the Party to show why Communists should participate in the "Farmer-Labor" movement and there fight for a "genuine Labor Party".

After chasing this Labor Party phantom from the moment it made its appearance in the post war days the Minnesota workers, who by training and experience should be best qualified to analyze the question, have come to the conclusion that this entire Farmer-Labor Party movement has nothing constructive to offer the American working class.

Reformist Labor Parties

In the first place it should be made clear to the workers that there are two kinds of political parties, revolutionary and reformist. Practically all Farmer-Labor, or Labor Parties, belong to the last named group. Like other political parties, the character and classification of a working-class political party is determined by its organization and program. The Farmer-Labor Association in Minnesota is of the reformist variety. That is, there is nothing in its program which calls for the overthrow of the present ruling class and to place the working class in power. Like all labor parties of the reformist character, the F.L.A. simply intends to function as a party of a subordinate class to ask for favors from the ruling class, the capitalists. Therefore, it can be seen, that a reformist political party of a subordinate economic class can only obtain for its members such favors as the ruling class is willing to grant them. On the other hand, revolutionary parties like the Communist Parties, have for their main purpose to put the working class in power as the ruling class.

Communist (revolutionary) parties of the workers stand for this because it is necessary. They know that the producing class cannot even realize their immediate needs under capitalist economy and capitalist rule, to say nothing about their legitimate aims. Communists also know, and they teach the workers this fact, that history does not disclose a single instance where a ruling class relinquished power because they were out-voted. More persuasive means were necessary to replace them. Votes are only practical in settling disputes between a class, but votes are useless in settling disputes between classes. This, of course, refers to cases where there are material issues involved, and not to such immaterial questions as to whether Hoover or Smith should be the President of the United States or whether Shipstead or Nelson should have a seat in the Senate. On such issues the capitalists do not object to abide by the result of the vote.

With this all too brief analysis of the aim and purpose of political parties, let us sum up the net results of ten years of Farmer-Labor activity in Minnesota.

Theory of Labor Reformism

The Farmer-Labor Association is supposed to be the organized political expression of the workers and farmers in the State of Minnesota. The intention is, on the surface at least, that through this organization the workers and farmers shall control the legal Farmer-Labor Party which appears on the ballot together with the Republican and Democratic parties. The Farmer-Labor Association is supposed to furnish the program and endorsed candidates for the State Farmer-Labor Party. However, this theory has not worked out very well in practice.

In the first place the organizational structure of the F.L.A. is wrong as a labor party in that it is partly based on individual membership. This arrangement admits politicians and office seekers whose sole ambition is to use the Farmer-Labor Association as a stepping stone to climb into some soft job. The representation to the F.L.A. conventions, where the political programs are written and candidates endorsed is based on territory instead of industry. The territorial basis is the county. There are 87 counties in the state. The farmers control 84 of them. The result of this is that the Farmer-Labor Association

is controlled by conservative farmers, small-town lawyers, small business men and individual office-seekers, all of them incapable of political leadership by decree of history. At the last state convention the organized workers with their mild program were overwhelmingly defeated by the reactionary elements in control. At each succeeding election the Farmer-Labor Association is merely being used as a vote-getting machine for individuals like Shipstead, Wefald Starkey and others. The worker members of the Association merely furnish the votes and the campaign expenses.

A "Two-Class" Party

As mentioned above, one of the most serious defects of the Farmer-Labor Association is that it is reformist in program and outlook. Second, it is made up of two classes, farmers and workers, with the wrong class, the farmers, leading or rather strangling the movement. By the laws of economic development farmers and small business men are unable to furnish political leadership for either the workers or the capitalists, but on the other hand, must of necessity follow one or the other class. For this reason, any political movement headed by farmers or small business will soon find itself in a blind alley or will be forced to surrender its leadership to the workers or the big bourgeoisie, (the big

capitalists).

In the recent Minnesota Primary election the labor vote for the Farmer-Labor ticket was very small. Thousands of workers paid no attention to the election as they could not see any object in voting. The workers have been fed up on broken campaign promises by office seekers masquerading behind the Farmer-Labor label. The wrong make-up and program of the F.L.A. has completely blurred both party and class lines, and party issues in the campaigns have degenerated to meaningless issues between individuals. Since the F.L.A. has become a plaything for ambitious politicians of the Shipstead-Starkey type the endorsements of the Association mean nothing to the workers and are generally ignored. That was the case in the Primary election just past where several endorsed state and congressional district candidates were defeated by individuals who carried no endorsement.

All the efforts which have been wasted in the last ten years by the Communist movement to build and maintain Farmer-Labor parties in the United States can be laid to the Right wing opportunist policy of the Stalin leadership of the Communist International. This false conception concerning the role of Farmer-Labor parties, is but another blunder added to the long string of wrong united fronts sponsored by the Stalin gang in the C.I. It will be the duty of the Communist League, the Left wing of the Communist movement, to furnish the American workers with a correct political program which will guide them along the most direct path toward their ultimate goal.

—A.EKSTROM

Why Doesn't Lovestone Answer Trotsky?

More than three months ago, the following letter from comrade Trotsky was transmitted to Harry Winitsky, business manager of the Revolutionary Age, organ of the American Right wing:

Buyuk-Ada, April, 16, 1930

Dear Comrade Winitsky:

I have received your organ regularly. The various addresses signify the same. In thanking you for your kind attention, I nevertheless feel the need of expressing openly to you a certain surprise on my part in connection with your letter. The Revolutionary Age has from its very beginning, and its present director* long before its appearance, constantly and energetically denounced me and my friends as counter-revolutionists. I cannot doubt that this happened out of honest conviction.

You sign yourself, dear comrade Winitsky, fraternally. The sincerity of this salutation, I also have absolutely no right to question. But since we are no diplomats, and what we say must correspond to what

*Trotsky refers to Jay Lovestone.

we think, I assume that if not the Revolutionary Age as a whole, then at least a section around it, no longer regards us as "counter-revolutionists". Would it then not be in place to acknowledge this openly?

I raise this question not in my interest but in the interest of political clarification in general.

In this spirit I also sign myself,

Fraternally,

L. TROTSKY

Three months, and many issues of the Revolutionary Age, have elapsed, but no answer has been made in that paper, unless one can count as such the continued misrepresentations of Trotsky's and the Opposition's standpoint that appear in it regularly. The letter, it is true, was reported at the recent "convention" of the Lovestone group, and interpreted by the professional Trotsky-slayer, Bert Wolfe, as a "bid for unity" with the Right wing! But Wolfe's conjuring tricks are not yet enough to obviate the need for an open reply to comrade Trotsky's letter.

What have Winitsky and his paper to say?

The Man Stalin Chose to Succeed Blumkin!

The French press is announcing new revelations on "the activities of the G.P.U." They are supposed to come from a high Soviet functionary. In fact, it refers to a new deserter of Bessedovsky's type, who as soon as he passes "over the other side of the wall", goes over body and soul to the bourgeoisie and swears to fight Bolshevism with all his power.

The cases of desertion by functionaries of the rotten apparatus abroad have become very frequent. Diplomats, military attachés, commercial agents, bank directors, the whole fine gang that is often recruited from the bourgeois world, seeks the first opportunity to betray the proletarian state. It is a normal condition and that is why we have not bothered ourselves with these people in our press.

But the case of the latest deserter is very characteristic of the Stalinist apparatus and of the struggle that Stalin, with the aid of the apparatus, conducts against the Left Opposition.

Agabekov, the name of the new deserter was charged with a secret mission of the G.P.U. for Turkey, Greece, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. And here is what Agabekov says in Miliukov's paper, Posledni Novosti (Latest News) of July 2nd, 1930:

"It is Blumkin who was charged before me with this mission. Last fall he was recalled to Moscow, and, suspected of Trotskyism, he was shot. I was designated in his place and I was given the order to relieve from their posts all his collaborators suspected of Trotskyism, too."

This declaration explains a lot about

the methods of struggle that Stalin uses against the Left Opposition. In the same declaration, Agabekov says that while he was yet in Moscow he no longer believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat and that he "considered it as the dictatorship over the proletariat". But Stalin does not trouble about such a trifle provided the functionary is faithful to him and accepts all the dirty jobs against the Opposition. All the rest—conviction, fidelity to Communism, etc.—are secondary matters. The Opposition, hunted driven from their posts, deported like Rakovsky or shot like Blumkin are replaced by the Bessedovskys and by the Agabekovs.

The Agabekov case shows us again that in the bitter struggle against the Left Opposition, against the Bolshevik vanguard that has remained loyal to Communism, Stalin employs covert or open counter-revolutionists, people who are ready at the first occasion to betray the Soviet state.

—O.

KLORKEIT No. 4

Note that the fourth number of Klorkeit, organ of the Jewish Left Opposition group in France, has arrived. It contains among other articles the fourth installment of comrade Trotsky's "The Third Period of the Mistakes of the Comintern."

France

Opposition Progress

The minor effects of the world crisis which French industry has already come to experience (textile, wines, etc.) and the pessimistic perspectives created for it by the recently adopted U.S. protective tariff, do not as yet lead the French bourgeoisie to seek methods of despair ("fascisation") as the Party here would have us believe. It senses trouble for the future to be sure. It knows that the crisis is not going to leave France economically immaculate. And for this very reason it strains every effort to reinforce and consolidate its present political domination in the country. A stable bourgeois bloc, purged of all "extremist" elements, is its chief aim.

This was clearly demonstrated by the recent speech of Tardieu at Dijon. By threat and by persuasion he hopes to win over the Radicals to his Republican Concentration, because it is these that he needs to assure stability to his class-government. He openly admits that there are serious problems facing his class (the agricultural crisis, financial disorder, etc.) and he makes a strong plea for cooperation to the different bourgeois parties on the basis of what he has already "accomplished." As a major part of his "accomplishments" he cites his strong-handed suppression of Communist influence! This Communist influence, two, three years ago, was menacing. Today it is impotent! Now, he sees as the task of the government: "positive" achievement.

The Party up a Blind Alley

The Party writers pass over in painful silence this enemy class estimate of the movement. For, it is the solemn truth. The First of May, the inaction displayed in the campaign for the 13 martyrs of Yen-Bay attests it. Yet nothing stirs the leadership from their phillistine complacency. Vacant, optimistic phrases are still the substitute for effective class action. As long as the Party will not realize that a strong, solid working class resistance must be assembled to oppose the concentrated power of the bourgeoisie, its influence is going to decline still further. And such a working-class resistance cannot be achieved by "third period" antics, by mechanical control of the mass organizations, by bureaucratic execution of the trade union work, by leaving the basis of reality. By these methods, it only drives the workers into the arms of the reformists of all shades socialists, popists or syndicalist minoritaires. By these methods it discredits Communism as a whole in the eyes of the workers. The masses have to be educated through all possible phases of collective struggle for their historic class task and not by light-headed optimism and talk.

Opposition Growth

With all this tragic sterility of the Party leadership, the situation is, however, by no means hopeless. The Left Opposition is always there, watchfully exerting its pressure, struggling to revitalize the Party. The progress of the Left group is increasing. It was the Ligue Communiste which in conjunction with a majority of Anarcho-Communists here (who, after having carefully studied the events of the Chinese revolution, know where to find proper Communist guidance for their own) organized the first, real protest demonstration against the executions of Yen-Bay, before the president's palace. This demonstration and the impression it made upon the bourgeoisie contributed a great deal to awaken the membership of the Party to the insufficiency of the leadership and to force the Party itself into (belated) action, governmental measures striking our comrades heavily (expulsion and prison).

In the North of France a strong detachment of the regional C.G.T.U. has joined the Opposition Unitaire (which rallies about the political program of the Left Opposition and the Verite.) The C.G.T.U. Left Opposition is rapidly developing, parrying successfully the calumniating attacks of the both the Stalinist majoritaires and the syndicalist minoritaires ("Committee for Trade Union Independence") In the Party itself, different nuclei and subsections (Tours, 13th Arrondissement, Paris etc.) have started a struggle against the false policy of the leadership, backing and declaring their full support of the Left Opposition. The struggle for the Party and for the reestablishment of a Leninist line has only begun. —S.GORDON

What the 'New Masses' Refused to Print

Concerning the «Defenders» of the October Revolution

Dear Friend:

I have received a copy of the New York magazine the *New Masses* containing articles about my autobiography and about the suicide of Maiakovsky. I do not regret the fifteen minutes I have spent getting acquainted with the American Left intelligentsia. Magazines like this are to be found in several countries. One of their most important tasks is said to be the "defense" of the Soviet Union. This is a wholly praiseworthy undertaking, regardless of whether the Messrs. "Defenders" fulfil it from inward conviction or—as is sometimes the case—from less lofty motives. But it would be foolish to exaggerate the importance of this defense. These groups, sufficiently variegated in their composition, busy themselves on one side with the fringes of the bourgeoisie, on the other with the fringes of the proletariat, and offer no guarantee whatever as to their own future. As the majority of pacifists struggle against war only in times of peace, so these radical "defenders" of the Soviet Union, its titular "friends" from the ranks of Bohemia, will fulfil their mission only so long as this does not demand real courage and genuine devotion to the revolution. These qualities they do not possess. And where indeed should they get them? Their radicalism needs a protective coloration. For that reason it finds its chief expression in the "defense" of the Soviet Union—defense of a state possessing power, wealth and authority. It is a question of defending what exists and is already achieved. For such defense it is not at all necessary to be a revolutionist. You can quite well remain a mixture of anarchist and conservative. But at the same time you can seem revolutionary, deceiving others and, to some extent, yourself. We have seen this in the example of Barbusse and the French paper *Monde*, which belongs to the same category as *New Masses*. From the standpoint of time, their radicalism is chiefly directed toward the past. From the standpoint of space, it is directly proportional to the square of the distance from the scene of action. In relation to their own country, these bold boys always were and always will be infinitely more cautious and evasive than in relation to other countries—especially those in the East.

The best representatives of this type, excelling the rest by many heads both in gifts and character, is undoubtedly Maxim Gorky. He sympathized for years with the Bolsheviks and considered their enemies his enemies. This did not prevent him from appearing at the time of the proletarian revolution in the camp of its enemies. After the victory of the revolution he long remained in the camp of its enemies. He reconciled himself with the Soviet Republic when it became for him an unalterable fact—that is, when he could reconcile himself with it without departing from his essentially conservative outlook. There is irony in the fact that Gorky warred against Lenin at the greatest period of Lenin's creation, but now long afterwards, gets along very peacefully with Stalin. What can we expect of the pencil-sized Gorkys?

The essence of these people from the Left wing of the bourgeois Bohemia is that they are capable of defending the revolution only after it is accomplished and has demonstrated its permanence. In defending the yesterday of the revolution they adopt an attitude of conservative hostility to all those who are laying the road to its tomorrow. The future can only be prepared by revolutionary methods, methods as foreign to the conservative Bohemia as were the ideas and slogans of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the day before the October revolution. These gentlemen remain, accordingly, true to themselves and to the social classes which created them and feed them. Furthermore, in spite of a formal veering to the Left, to the "new masses" (!), their conservatism has really grown stronger since they are leaning their backs against—not the October revolution, no!—but against a great state as an "institution", independent of its guiding ideas and of its policy. They were with Lenin and Trotsky—by no means all of them, by the way—after that they were with Zinoviev, after that with Bukharin and Rykov, now they are with Stalin. And tomorrow? Upon that they will express themselves when tomorrow has be-

the bourgeoisie and the social democracy? come yesterday. They have accepted every change in the governmental course as patriotic officials accept a change of uniform. There are always potential Chinovniks sitting around Bohemia. These people are courtiers of the Soviet power, not soldiers of the proletarian revolution.

The workers state, as a state, may have need of such characters for temporary goals, although I have always thought that the near-sighted epigones greatly exaggerate the weight of these groups—just as they exaggerated the value of the "defense" of Purcell or the "friendship" of Chiang Kai-Shek. As for these characters themselves, I am ready to acknowledge that it is better to be a courtier of the Soviet power than of the oil kings or the British secret service. But the proletarian revolution would not be the proletarian revolution if it allowed its ranks to be confused with this problematical, unreliable, fickle and wavering brotherhood.

Their moral triviality assumes cynical and sometimes insufferable form when they, in the character of "friends of the family", interfere in the inner problems of Communism. To this testifies the aforementioned number of the *New Masses* (a paradoxical name by the way for an organ of Bohemia!). These people, you see, think that my autobiography will serve the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, while *New Masses*, *Monde*, and other publications of this kind, are obviously necessary to the

proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This aberration is easily explained: Fooling around the fringes of two hostile classes and revolving continually on their own axes, the Barbussees of all countries naturally get mixed up as to where is the bourgeoisie and where the proletariat. Their criteria are simple. Since the work of the Left Opposition decisively criticizes the domestic policy of the Soviet Union and the world policy of the Comintern, and since the bourgeois newspaper-writers exult in this criticism and try to make use of it—why, the conclusion is perfectly obvious: The courtiers are in the camp of the revolution, and we, the Left Communists, in the camp of its enemies! This is the usual depth of the political thinking to be found in Bohemia.

The bourgeoisie would be stupid if they did not try to use the inner disagreements in the camp of the revolution. But was this question first raised in my autobiography? Wasn't the expulsion from the Party of the President of the Comintern, Zinoviev, and one of the presidents of the Soviet government, Kamenev, a gift to the bourgeoisie? Did not the exile and subsequently the banishment, of Trotsky give the bourgeois press of the whole world a welcome theme for agitation against the October revolution? Was not the denunciation of the head of the government, Rykov, and the head of the Comintern Bukharin, as "bourgeois liberals" used by These facts, brought to the attention of the

whole world, were far more helpful to the bourgeoisie than the theoretical reflections or historical explanations of Trotsky. But what interest has the anarcho-conservative Bohemia in all this? It takes all the foregoing events, because stamped with the official stamp, as once for all given and eternal. Criticism of the Stalin regime is impossible to them, not because the Stalinists are right, but because the Stalinists are today the government. I repeat. These are courtiers of the Soviet power, and not revolutionists.

For revolutionists, the question is decided by the class line, the content of ideas, the theoretical position, the historical prognosis, and the political methods, of each of the opposing sides. If you think, as we think—and as we have proven on a world scale through the experiment of the last six years—that the policies of the Stalin faction are weakening the October revolution, that they destroyed the Chinese revolution, that they are preparing the defeat of the Indian revolution and undermining the Comintern, then—and only then—our policy is justified. The bourgeoisie will grab up the fragments of our true and necessary criticism of course! But does that change in the slightest degree the essence of a great historical problem? Has not revolutionary thought always developed by the road of ruthless inner struggle, at whose fire the reaction always tried to warm its fingers?

I remark in parenthesis, however, that the whole bourgeois press, from the *New York Times* up to the Austro-Marxist *Arbeiter Zeitung*, in its political estimate of the struggle of the Left Opposition with Stalinist Centrism, stands incomparably nearer to the Centrists and never conceals it. You could publish a whole anthology of press clippings to prove this. Thus, in addition to all the rest, the "friends" and "defenders" of the revolution, having nothing in common either with the old or the new masses, crudely distort the genuine picture of the distribution of political sympathy and antipathy among the bourgeoisie and the social democrats.

Lying, by the way, is a necessary accomplishment in a courtier. In the article about Maiakovsky, as I turned over the leaves of the magazine, I hit upon the name of Rakovsky. I read eight or ten sentences, and although I am accustomed to much, nevertheless what I read made me gasp. It is related here how Maiakovsky "hated war" ("hated war"—what a vulgar formulation of the relation to war of a revolutionist!) and how, in contrast to that, Rakovsky, at Zimmerwald "was going to take off his coat and punch Lenin and Zinoviev...in the jaw" for their revolutionary struggle against war. Rakovsky is named here for no purpose whatever except for that of spreading this scandalous lie. It is necessary to spread it because Rakovsky is in exile and it is necessary to justify his being there. And so the courtier becomes a contemptible slanderer. He spreads this stupid scandal instead of stating—once he has named Rakovsky in connection with the war—with what revolutionary courage Rakovsky struggled against war under a hail-storm of persecution, slander, assault and police prosecutions. Exact for that struggle Rakovsky was thrown into prison by the Roumanian oligarchy and was saved from the fate of Lejkecht and Rosa Luxemburg only by the revolutionary Russian army.

That is enough. If the October revolution had depended upon its future courtiers, it would never have appeared in the world. And if its further destinies depended upon their "defense", the revolution would be condemned to ruin. The proletarian vanguard can guarantee the future of the country of the Soviets, and prolong the road of the world revolution, only by a correct policy. We must work out that policy, establish it theoretically, and defend it with tooth and nail against the whole world, and if necessary against the very "highest" institutions which have raised themselves up (or rather slid themselves down) on the back of the October revolution. But of those questions we need not speak in connection with the pseudo-revolutionary courtiers from the ranks of the petty bourgeois Bohemia. For them enough has been said.

Yours,
—L. D. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, June 10, 1930.

Hypocrisy for Art's Sake in the New Masses

Correspondence between Max Eastman, Walt Carmon, Mike Gold

The following letters are virtually self-explanatory. They arose out of a letter sent to Michael Gold, editor of the *New Masses*, by Comrade Max Eastman. In this letter comrade Eastman enclosed the article by Trotsky (printed in this issue of the *Militant*) and demanded the publication of the latter in the *New Masses*, in view of the slanderous attacks made by Gold and Earl Browder against the Opposition in general, and Trotsky and Rakovsky in particular, in a previous issue of that periodical. The first reply to Eastman's letter was in the affirmative from Walt Carmon, managing editor of the *New Masses*, followed by a cowardly negative reply from the editor, Gold, which is answered by comrade Eastman. The three letters are printed below.—Ed.

NEW MASSES
112 East 19 St. New York, N. Y.

July 7, 1930

Max Eastman,
Chilmark, Mass.
Dear Max Eastman:

This will acknowledge receipt of your note and article by Leon Trotsky. We are certain to use this in the coming issue. Mike Gold is not in town. Back in a few days. You will probably hear from him as well on his return.

Yours,
WALT CARMON

NEW MASSES
112 E. 19 St. New York, N. Y.

July 16, 1930

Dear Max:

I'm sorry, but I really don't think we should print this in *New Masses*. We reviewed Trotsky's book, because it was "literature", but all of us here agree that the mag. shouldn't become an organ of political discussion and if we give up a lot of space to this Trotsky fight from now on—we immediately lose our function as a literary vehicle—

Sorry

MIKE GOLD

July 18, 1930

Dear Mike Gold:

Your pretense that you will not publish Trotsky's rejoinder to your cheap attack on him because your magazine is too "literary" is an insult to my intelligence. The article to which Trotsky makes this rejoinder was written by an active head of the Workers Party and was a political attack from the first word to the last.

Moreover it was a total abandonment of the policy of your paper which had been to pussy-foot on this whole issue of the Left Opposition. You refused to let me write about it as a member of your Executive Board, even with an answer by a Stalinist in the same number. When I resigned, the pussy-foot policy was carried to the point of not printing my letter of resignation. When I stated this fact in a communication to *The Nation*, suggesting that this was not a shining example of "brave thinking", you replied justifying yourself on the ground that "We none of us used the magazine to express our opinions". (I quote this confession of yours from memory.)

Moreover about a year ago when I met you on 7th Ave. and asked how the magazine was getting on, you volunteered the information that, "We're through with the Party, we've learned that much anyway." (Here too I am quoting from memory but my memory is good.) It struck me strange that you should offer me this piece of inside information, when all previous negotiations with me had been conducted under the pretense that the magazine was independent of the Party—a "free revolutionary magazine" as it advertised itself. Upon reflection I wondered whether this gratuitous declaration of independence might not mean that you are now directly subsidized by the International.

Whether because you are subsidized, or because you depend upon the party for sales, the fact is that in publishing these attacks on Trotsky and Rakovsky you have at last shown your political colors. You are now overtly what you were before under cover, a Stalinist organ. And yet you have the brass to tell me that you won't publish Trotsky's rejoinder because you are too "literary".

And you have the folly to add, "All of us here agree etc.," although you know that ten days ago I received a letter from your associate Walt Carmon stating—what any courageous and independent editor having viciously attacked one man and slandered another would state—that "We are certain to use this in the coming issue."

What happened during these ten days? Do you really expect any grown person to believe that having attacked a political leader with a page and a half of vituperation written by a political opponent, you refuse to publish a brief rejoinder because you are literary? Even people who re-

(Continued on Page 8)

NOTES of a JOURNALIST (Concerning ZINOVIEV, MANUILSKY, and "RADOVOY.") by ALFA

Zinoviev and the Evils of Printing

In Number 5 of the Bolshevik of this year, Zinoviev once more "fuses" with the Party—by that single method now accessible to him. Zinoviev writes:

"In 1922, Trotsky predicted that 'the real rise of socialist economy will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe.' This prediction has not been confirmed, just as many other predictions of the author mentioned. The real rise of our socialist economy became possible already prior to the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe. The real rise is developing before our very eyes."

The same Zinoviev, beginning with the same year 1922, accused Trotsky of "super-industrialism", that is, of demanding a too speedy industrial rise. How should this be reconciled?

The Opposition was accused of non-belief in socialist construction and at the same time that it wants to rob the peasantry. If that were so, why did it have to "rob" the peasantry? In reality, the Opposition spoke of compelling the Kulak and the upper layer of the peasantry in general to bring sacrifices for socialist construction—the one which the Opposition was supposed "not to have believed". A fiery belief in socialist construction was manifested only by those who struggled against "super-industrialism" and proclaimed the empty slogan "face towards the village". Zinoviev proposed to the peasantry, instead of cotton prints and a tractor, a pleasant smiling "face".

In 1930 as well as in 1922 Trotsky considers that "the real rise of socialist economy in Russia will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe." Only it must be understood—and this is not so difficult, after all—that by socialist economy we have here in mind precisely socialist economy and not the contradictory transitory economy of the NEP and that by a real rise we understand such a rise which will completely reconstruct the habitual and cultural conditions of life of the toiling masses, destroying not only the "queues", O wise Zinoviev, but also the contradiction between the city and the village. Only in this sense can a Marxist speak about a real rise in socialist economy.

After his struggle with "Trotskyism" in 1923-1926, Zinoviev in July 1926, officially admitted that the basic core of the Opposition of 1923 was correct in its prognosis. And now for the sake of fusion with Yaroslavsky, Zinoviev once more rushes into all the difficulties and warms over the old dishes.

It is worth while therefore, to recall that this same Zinoviev signed, and in part wrote on the question he now touches, in the Platform of the Opposition:

"When we, in the words of Lenin, say that in order to construct a socialist society in our country a victory of the proletarian revolution is needed in one or more of the advanced capitalist countries, and that the final victory of socialism in one country and a backward one at that as impossible, as Marx, Engels and Lenin proved, the Stalin group ascribes to us the view that we 'do not believe' in socialism and socialist construction in the U.S.S.R." (Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists, page 72).

Not badly said, is it?

How to explain these scurrilous from falsifications to repentance and from repentance to falsifications? On this point the Platform of the Opposition does not leave us without an answer:

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT

2 Avenue, New York, N. Y.

"...The petty bourgeois tendency within our own Party cannot struggle against our Leninist views otherwise than by ascribing to us things we never thought or said." (ibid, page 72).

The last lines were not only signed by Zinoviev, but, unless we are mistaken, were written by him. Truly Joseph Gutenberg has rendered some people a very poor service. Particularly when they have to "fuse" with the other "Joseph" who, it is true, did not invent printing, but works very conscientiously at its destruction.

Has France Entered the Period of Revolution?

The Left turn in the C.I. began in 1923. In July, the "third period" was proclaimed. A year later, Molotov declared that France, together with Germany and Poland, had entered a period of "the greatest revolutionary events". All this was deducted from the development of the strike movement. No figures, no facts were cited. They limited themselves to two or three examples taken from the last numbers of the newspapers. We took (see Militant No. 29-33) the question of the dynamics of the French labor movement in the light of figures and facts. The picture given by Molotov, prompted by the words of others (the role of the prompters, we assume, was played by Manuilsky and Kuusinen) in no way coincided with reality. The strike wave of the last two years had a very limited character, even though it revealed a certain rise compared to the preceding year, which was the lowest of the decade. The weak development of the strike struggle in the last two years is all the more remarkable because France, during 1928-1929 went through an undeniable industrial revival, clear enough in the metal industry where the strike movement was the weakest of all.

One of the reasons for the fact that the French workers did not utilize the favorable conjuncture is undoubtedly the extremely superficial character of the strike strategy of Monmousseau and the other pupils of Losovsky. It became clear that they did not know the state of industry in their own country. As a substitute for that they characterized as offensive, revolutionary and political strikes the isolated, defensive economic strikes primarily in the light industries.

This is the essential part of the analysis we made in our work on the "third period" in France. Thus far we have not seen a single article in which our analysis is submitted to criticism but evidently a very acute need for such a criticism is felt. There is no other way of explaining the appearance in Pravda of an enormous feuilleton, "On the Strike Strategy of the Generalissimo Trotsky", where there are frivolous rhymes, quotations from Juvenal, and in general fathomless wit, but not a word about a factual analysis of the struggle of the French proletariat, (for the last decade), particularly for the last two years. The article which evidently belongs to the pen of one of the recent gifts of the "third period" is signed modestly Radovoy (rank and filer).

The author accuses Trotsky that he knows strike defense but does not recognize the offensive. Let us assume that Trotsky is guilty of that. But is this a reason for renouncing an offensive struggle in the metal industry under the most favorable conditions and at the same time designate petty, defensive strikes as offensive?

The author accuses Trotsky of not distinguishing capitalism of the epoch of rise from capitalism of the epoch of decline. Let us assume that this is so. Let us forget about the struggle over the relation of the crisis of capitalism and its cyclical crises which went on in the Comintern in the period of its Third Congress, when live thought was pulsing in the Comintern. Let us assume that Trotsky forgot all of that, and that Radovoy absorbed it all. But does this give an answer to the question whether France entered for the past two years into the period of decisive revolutionary events, or not? This is precisely what the Comintern has proclaimed. Has this question any significance or not? It would seem that it has. But what does the author of the witty feuilleton say on this point? Not a word. France and its labor movement are completely disregarded. As a substitute, this Radovoy proves that Trotsky is a "mistake" and that he serves the bourgeoisie.

Is that all? Yes, nothing more than that.

But, a well-meaning reader will object, can so much be expected from a young Radovoy? He still has a chance to grow. After all it is not he who creates the trade union policy for France. For that we have serious revolutionary strategists, tested in struggle, as for instance, the general secretary of the Profintern, Losovsky.

Correct—we will reply to the reader—all this would be convincing if...if only the Radovoy were not Losovsky himself. And in the meantime, the matter stands thus: the bouquet of soured light-mindedness and flaccid wit is such that it cannot deceive us.

The leading general, under the modest pseudonym, defends his own acts. With rhymes he drapes the calamities he inflicts upon the labor movement with his leadership. In connection with that, he assails the Left Opposition with all the magnificence of his vengeful irony: it can, don't you see, be completely seated on one sofa. Let the Radovoy investigate: Are there any sofas in the jails that are filled with Oppositionists? But if they really were so few in number as Losovsky would have it, this would not frighten us at all. At the beginning of the war, the revolutionary internationalists of all Europe went to Zimmerwald on a few carriages. We never feared remaining in the minority. It is Losovsky who, during the war, was very much afraid of remaining in the minority and therefore defended in print the Longuevists, with whom he tried by all means to unite us, against us. During the October revolution, Losovsky was afraid that the Bolshevik Party would be "isolated" from the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and he therefore betrayed the Party which he temporarily joined, and united with us, against us. During the October revolution, Losovsky was afraid that the Bolshevik Party would be "isolated" from the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and he therefore betrayed the Party which he temporarily joined, and united with its enemies in the most critical period. But even later on, when Losovsky did join the victorious Soviet power, his quantitative evaluations were just as little reliable as his qualitative ones.

After the victory of which he was not in the least guilty, Losovsky, putting the minus signs where he had previously had his pluses, at the time of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, declared in a triumphant manifesto that the French Socialist party "no longer exists," and in spite of all our protests against this shameful light-mindedness, retained this contention. When it became clear that the international social democracy nevertheless does exist, Losovsky together with his teachers, crawled on all fours through the whole policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee and was in a union with the strike-breakers during the greatest strike of the British proletariat. With what triumph—with a triumph over the Opposition—did Losovsky, at the session of the Plenum of the Central Committee, report the telegram in which Citrine and Purcell generously agreed to converse with the representatives of the All-Russian Trade Union Central Committee, after they had crushed not only the general strike but also the strike of the coal miners.

After the destruction of the Chinese revolution and the disintegration of the organizations of the Chinese proletariat, Losovsky, at the Plenum of the Central Committee (where he came as a guest because Stalin had not as yet decided to bring him in as a member) reporting the fantastic data about the conquests of the Profintern, gave the figure of the workers organized in the trade unions of China as three million. Everybody gasped. But Losovsky did not even wink an eye. He operates just as lightly with millions of organized workers as he does with rhymes for the coloring of articles. This explains sufficiently why Losovsky's witticisms about the sofa on which the whole Opposition can be seated do not in the least overwhelm us with their magnificence. Sofas as well as furniture in general are undoubtedly in abundance in the offices of the Profintern, but unfortunately there are no ideas there. And it is ideas that conquer, because they win the masses...

"But why did Losovsky sign 'Radovoy'?" we hear a distrustful or a doubtful voice. There are two reasons: a personal and a

political. The personal role of Losovsky is such that it is not of advantage to him to expose himself to blows. In delicate moments of ideological clashes he prefers modest anonymity, just as in the sharp, acute hours of the revolutionary struggle he is inclined to solitary deliberations. This is the personal reason. As we have said, there is also a political reason. Had Losovsky signed Losovsky, everybody would say: Is it possible that in the questions of the trade union movement, we really have nothing better than this? But seeing the signature of Radovoy (rank and filer) under the article, the well-meaning reader retains the possibility of saying: We must admit that Radovoy is a sorry scribbler. But nevertheless we still have Losovsky.

Another New Talent

Only a few months have elapsed since it was declared throughout the Comintern by command of Molotov that the ideological struggle against "Trotskyism" must be considered at an end. Well? The publications of the Comintern, beginning with the publications of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are once more devoting an innumerable amount of columns and pages to the struggle against "Trotskyism". Even the most honorable Pokrovsky, who is burdened with the labors of instructing the youth, has been moved to the front trenches. This corresponds approximately to the period in the imperialist war when Germany resorted to the mobilization of those forty-five and fifty years old. This fact alone would suggest serious fears for the condition of the Stalinist front. Fortunately, the Nestor of the Marxist historiography has not only grand-children but even great grand-children. One of them is S. Novikov, the author of an article on the autobiography of L.D. Trotsky. This young talent immediately established a record by showing that one can fill one and a half printed pages without presenting a single fact or formulating a single idea. Such an exceptional gift could be developed only under the direction of an experienced master. And we involuntarily ask ourselves: Was it not Manuilsky, in the hours free from the direction of the Comintern, that nourished Novikov at his breast, this blessed baby of the "third period"? Or perhaps Manuilsky had no need of bringing up the young talent? Maybe Manuilsky simply made use...of his own talents? We will not tire the reader any longer: Novikov is Manuilsky. The same one who in 1918 wrote that Trotsky—no more, no less!—liberated Russian Bolshevism from national limitations and made it a world ideological current. Now, Manuilsky writes, that Stalin freed Bolshevism from Trotskyism and by that definitely strengthened it as an ideological current of the solar system.

But are we not mistaken in identifying the little Novikov with the great Manuilsky? No, we are not mistaken. We did not come to this conclusion lightly, and not by guessing, but through zealous investigation, to be exact: we read five lines at the beginning of the article and five lines at the end. More than that, we hope, nobody will demand of us. But why should Manuilsky hide under the signature of Novikov, somebody will ask? Isn't this clear? To have people think: If Novikov is so invincible then how must Manuilsky himself be! By the way, we will not repeat ourselves: The motives are the same for which Losovsky turned into Radovoy. These people are in need of reincarnation, like shiny pants—of a chemical cleaning.

Φ

CORRECTION

In the letter from South Africa by comrade C. Frank Glass published in the March 29, 1930 issue of the Militant, an unfortunate error occurred. The third paragraph read: "The cause which led to the severance of my connection with the C.P. was the newly adopted policy laid down by the C.I. This policy, with its central slogan of 'An Independent Native Republic, with autonomy for national minorities' (meaning the whites mainly) was one to which I was unable to subscribe." It should have read: "The cause which led to the severance of my connection with the C.P. was the newly adopted policy, subsequently confirmed and extended by the C.I., under the central slogan of autonomy for national minorities."

Opposition Problems

Deeper into the Party!

By JAMES P. CANNON

In a previous article on the character and limits of our faction reference was made to the experiences of the German Leninbund, and to the flabbiness of principle which brought it to impotence and ruin. In this case, as always, confusion and looseness on principle questions were bound up with errors in tactics which contributed to and hastened the debacle. One of the greatest errors of the Leninbund in this field, as the results have shown was its false attitude toward the Party. In common with the entire International Opposition we have drawn the lessons of the split in the Leninbund and reacted to a firmer intransigence in regard to principle questions. We must make use of these lessons also in determining our attitude toward the Party. It is particularly necessary now because we stand on the eve of new developments in the Party which will be vitally affected by our tactics.

A Question of Tactics

For us this is a tactical question. We do not make a fetish of the Party organization; our disregard of the bureaucrats' "discipline" is a sufficient indication that we do not put the form before the substance. What we are concerned with at the present moment is the composition of the Party, its influence among the radical workers and the present relation of forces in the struggle in the Communist ranks.

Our task is to win over the workers' vanguard to the platform of the Opposition. A tactic which gives us the best approach to them is the one we must seek and apply. A tactic which hampers our approach to them is wrong on the face of it. Such a tactic would block the path of future development for the Opposition.

Where are the American revolutionary workers today? This question we must answer first of all. Unless we close our eyes to all reality we have to recognize that the great bulk of revolutionary workers who play an active role in the class struggle today are in the Party, and around the Party. The Party has the unquestionable hegemony in the Left wing labor movement. Take the needle trades as an example. It is true that Communist influence has declined as a result of the monstrous errors of the Party leadership; but the Party remains the decisive leading force in the Left wing. The same thing applies to other fields, for instance, the miners'. There are many Communist workers not in the Party; there are many who have dropped out of the Party—thousands of them—but they are not an organized force.

It is possible, with an aggressive policy and an energetic independent activity, to reach some of these revolutionary workers directly and bring them into the ranks of our organization. This we must do. But the main road of approach to them is through the Party. Under the present circumstances and relation of forces a complete break with the Party—a course toward the organization of another Party—would weaken, not strengthen our connection with the Left wing workers who are sympathetic to Communism.

This relation is not fixed and final for all time; it simply determines the attitude for the present and the near future. In comrade Trotsky's letter published in the Militant some months ago he expressed the opinion that the relation of forces in America justified an orientation on our part toward the formation of an independent party. We did not agree with it at the time and we thought comrade Trotsky would change his opinion when he received more complete and detailed material on the situation in the Communist and Left wing labor movement. This proved to be case, as attested by a second letter from him.

Need Flexible Tactics

The peculiarities of our position as a body of expelled Communists impose upon us a flexibility of tactics. Dogmatic narrowness and one-sidedness will be fatal to our future development. We are confronted with the necessity of maintaining our position as a fraction of the Party, despite the prohibition of the officialdom, and at the same time of developing an independent organization with its own independent activities and its own discipline. To combine these tasks, to make each supplement the other is our problem.

The most important means of approach to the Party members is the tactic of the

united front with the Party. Our participation in the demonstration for the Indian revolution was an excellent illustration of this policy and we must follow more energetically in the future. On the same order is our offer to participate in the New York election campaign, our repeated attempts to enter into joint class struggle action with the official Party in behalf of the unemployed, the class war prisoners, etc. By these means we are continually refuting in action the slanders of the Party overseers against us and gaining in the sympathy of the Communist workers.

The Centrist leaders are always aroused to the greatest fury by our attempts to make a united front with the Party in common struggle against the class enemy. And that fact ought to be instructive for our own members. The bureaucrats fear our contact with the Party workers on the firing line of the class struggle. They fear the influence of our example. They fear our arguments and our slogans. They want to tear us away from all contact with the proletarian Communists. This ambition of theirs is quite understandable. But we must not help them realize it by false tactics.

The Party—that is the Party membership—is not a dead body. It is a living organism constantly under the pressure of the class struggle. It cannot be kept in a strait-jacket. The Party reacts to events. It is influenced by criticism—especially so when the Party members see the criticism confirmed in life. Things which have just recently happened in the Party and others which are in a course of preparation bear out this contention.

A long time after the echoes of our expulsion had died down in the Party, after it seemed on the surface, that all our contact was broken—the Party was startled

a few weeks ago by another bombshell. This was the declaration of Hugo Oehler for the platform of the Opposition followed the next week by a whole group of young Communists in New York. There are more to come. Just the other day we received a letter from a comrade in a city where we had no supporters up till now. The letter states that a number of comrades have been reading the Militant very attentively for some time and that they are about ready to make a declaration in our behalf. Hardly a week goes by without similar news.

There can no longer be any doubt that our propaganda is penetrating into the Party ranks and influencing the Communist workers more and more as they see it borne out by events. What is happening now is not the adhesion of isolated individuals here and there, but the beginning of a movement for the Opposition. We are breaking through the wall reared against us by the Centrist leadership. The second layer of Oppositionists is taking shape in the Party.

The Character of the New Movement

The new movement for the Opposition shows certain distinctive features. Its main current is made up of the best types of proletarian Communists who have been attempting to carry out the policy of the Party on the battle-field of the class struggle. Here they are confronted with the contradiction between the bluff and the fakery of the Party jacks-in-office and the realities of the situation. The more these comrades in the field try to apply the official policy the more they bump their heads against this contradiction. The result is a gradual awakening to the fact that something is amiss.

They begin to criticize and to propose modifications, and are met with accusations of "Right wing tendencies" and threats of discipline. The swivel-chair generals in the Party office have no sympathy for the grievances and complaints of the fighters in the field. Slogans and "instructions" cost the Browders nothing; they don't have to carry them out. Therefore they can be as bomb-

astic as language will allow. Not so the Party workers in the field.

Deprived of the right to discuss anything really important in the official Party channels, the comrades begin to discuss among themselves. The gap between them and the leadership widens. This process has been going on now for a long time. That it has not exploded before now in a faction struggle over questions of current policy is accounted for by the terror regime in the Party and the lack of "prominent" leaders. This lack of leadership is not altogether a minus quality. While it retards the open manifestations of the proletarian current it drives it deeper into itself, compels it to weigh the questions more carefully and to relate them to the fundamental issues.

The logic of the situation drives the proletarian revolt in the Party toward the platform of the Opposition. Only on that basis can it develop into a real power. There are some who understand this already but who shrink from its implications. To think the conflicts through to the end means to connect the contradictions in local policy with the national, and the national with the international. This leads inevitably to a consideration of the standpoint of the Opposition. To study the platform of the Opposition objectively and honestly means, for a conscientious worker Communist, to support it. This means "disgrace". Loss of "position". Expulsion. Slander. The severing of social relations and other trifles. Some fear this. Others go forward resolutely and tell the truth to the Party. Such a type is Hugo Oehler. There will be other Oehlers.

Closer Bonds with the Ranks

It is our most important task at the moment to establish closer bonds with this coalescing proletarian movement in the Party and help it to take shape as a genuine political force. We must help from a political standpoint. We must stimulate its organization.

Regardless of the vacillations of some of the potential leaders, this movement in the proletarian ranks of the Party will develop and go forward. It will do this because it is rooted in the deepest needs of the Party of the proletariat to coordinate its policy with the realities of the class struggle. And this is not a question of empirical and short-sighted shrewdness and practicality. It is a question, in the last analysis of the Marxist fundamentals on the main issues of international import from which, and only from which, the correct everyday tactics flow. To make this clear to the revolting workers in the Party ranks is the task of the Leninist Opposition. In order to do this we must have the closest contact with the Party. We must go deeper into the Party. The decisive trend of this movement in our direction, already noticeable, is a justification of our attitude toward the Party. The successful development of the movement into a new fighting regiment for Leninism will confirm these tactics beyond all further dispute.

As the new developments show, the Party cannot be judged by the apparatus. With most of these people political stultification has been blended with moral corruption, and their reclamation is beyond the power of politics. Not to trust them, but to fight them; not to count on them for the regeneration of the Party but to see that they will be its first victims—that is our attitude toward them. It is different with the Communist worker who has no axe to grind. Let us not forget this distinction.

Our Independent Activity

One way—and one of the very best ways—to give real support to those comrades fighting for our views inside the Party is to increase the independent activity of the Communist League. The stronger we are as an independent force, the more rapid will be our progress in the Party ranks. The steps we have taken since the Plenum of our National Committee toward the formation of an Opposition group in the needle trades unions as an independent factor has a special value and importance in this regard.

We cannot foretell every fluctuation of the struggle for Leninism in the Communist movement nor the forms it will always take. The main tasks and the main line, however, are clear to us. Under a shower of slander we are organizing the fundamental nucleus of the future Communist Party and we must connect this nucleus with the larger body of worker revolutionaries and win them for our platform. At the present stage of the struggle—which we visualize as a long one—it is above all a fight for the Party. A clear understanding of this will hasten our victory.

The Truth About the Bolivian «Revolution»

The much talked of "revolution" in Bolivia is nothing more than a change of power from the hands of one clique to another of the same semi-feudal military exploiting class. It is one of those many "revolutions" so frequent in the turbulent and instable "democracies" of Latin America at the same time that it reflects the struggle between those elements favorable to British imperialism attempting to scratch the political control of the country from the hands of those indisputably on side of the North American bankers.

The recent occurrences in Bolivia have not the revolutionary class character that the Daily Worker gives them when it states in a recent issue that the workers and peasants almost captured power, which the Party organ interprets as proof that the revolutionary movement in Latin America is becoming "deepened and extended". In other issues of the Daily Worker during the last few days declarations are made in the sense that the Bolivian masses, truly viciously exploited by financial capital are already completely radicalized in the spirit of the "Third Period". This is a false and childish method of analyzing the situation, born perhaps of the desire to make it appear that a real mass movement exists throughout Latin America. "Revolutions" of the Bolivian type, in countries where the mass of the population is made up of peasants with few workers, and where no true class consciousness has yet developed, always turn out to be means by which certain cliques of the exploiting classes dispute for power and for the right to serve imperialist interests.

The state of disorganization of the toilers of Bolivia, in the mines as well as in the countryside could not be less promising. In Bolivia there is no Communist party, nor for that matter any real working class organization. Under these circumstances how could the workers and peasants take power. With this state of affairs, to speak of the workers and peasants almost capturing power, results only in cheap phrase-mongering; it is a miserable bluffing attitude towards the workers that read the Party's press, disfiguring the facts.

At the present time the only ones who

have profited by the Bolivian revolution are certain military groups, some of the liberal petty-bourgeois elements and British imperialism, this latter only, in case the new regime does not reach an understanding with United States finance capital. These internal struggles among the exploiters in order to steal the booty from one another, offer an impulse to the masses for spontaneous participation in street fighting where they serve the ends of the opposition group, and as soon as the workers and peasants demand certain concessions bettering their conditions, they find the machine guns turned on them for the restoration of "order" and the "pacification" of the country.

A situation similar to that in Bolivia existed in Ecuador in 1925, and there were many comrades who interpreted the military rebellion at that time as a "social revolution", while others thought that a petty bourgeois democratic revolution had taken place; in reality it was nothing but a replacement of the dull swords of the old military chiefs for the sharper, newer ones of the younger elements.

Facts should not be exaggerated in this manner. A real analysis of each situation should be made in order to draw correct conclusions so as to better orientate the revolutionary movement of Latin America in particular and the international movement in general.

—CAMILO TORRES

Trotsky's Autobiography has proved to be a dangerous subject for critics of his standpoint to review. The bad luck of the New Masses with this enterprise has not only caused these dilettantes to regret their venture into the field of politics; it has frightened away others who once posed as experts on the menace of Trotskyism. The Revolutionary Age announced in a previous issue that it would review the book, but in the intervening period it thought better of this rash promise. It serves up instead a quotation from a German paper of the Right wing. We would like to know what Lovestone has to say about the book. Or does he intend to surrender leadership in the struggle against Trotskyism to the New Leader, the New Masses, and the Daily Worker?

A Review and Criticism

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

(Continued from Last Issue)

Success or failure of any struggle depends on how wide your first break is, and how fast you follow this up with additional attacks before the bosses can mobilize a counter attack. This is true in every stage of the development of the struggle. For example in Passaic, the first attack of the workers was followed up with not one but several victories before the bosses could begin an important counter-attack.

If our first attack is not broadened before the bosses answer, we are not so able to withstand these blows but if we make big inroads and then the bosses attack, it is not felt so easily and we can not only better withstand their blows but answer them much faster before the bosses can follow up.

Such was not our fortune in Gastonia. Our mass picketing was very good, but did not enable us to follow up this first point with anything of consequence. The bosses answered the first blow with the Loray Committee of 100, organized from overseers, thugs and superintendents, led by Major Bulwinkle of Loray Mill. To this was added wholesale arrests by the local police and the cavalry terror, the church and the local press. April 10th the cavalry was removed and 35 deputized American Legion men replaced them. In the meantime the National Textile Workers Union was doing its best to push ahead. Several hundred struck in Bessemer City several miles from Gastonia. The small force of organizers who had strike experience were pressed to handle this mass of determined but inexperienced workers.

The Strike in Full Swing

By April the 15th the strike was in full swing with the W.I.R., the I.L.D., and Communist youth handling the work. The use of police, militia, gunmen and press could be expected.

We did not have long to wait. On April 18, a bosses' mob, under police and deputy protection wrecked the union office in a well-planned fashion. The demolishing of the W.I.R. supplies and the continual wholesale evictions, arrests and intimidations of strikers through the rest of April and in May showed us that the bosses were gaining in the counter attack.

In this whole period from the strike to the mob terror the spirit of the strike rose and repulsed each attack with sacrifice and determination but without effective counter-offense, entirely confined to counter-defense. In this period of attack on the workers we could have answered in a more positive way, if our leading force had been handled right.

Half the time Beal and the other leading comrades were sent back and forth from Elizabethton to Lexington, etc. hundreds of miles with most of those in the Gastonia area handicapped and those in New York ordering these drives as though they were sending some one from New York City to Passaic. Such a broadening out activity and especially in relation to A.F.L. activity must be carried on but not at the expense of our base and Southern center and that only further played into the hands of a powerful enemy attacking us on all sides in the Gastonia area.

Added to this improper draining of the field center was the sending of comrades such as Crouch and Pershing, etc., who may be able to function some places under proper leadership but who only "messed things up" in the strike area with bombastic disconnected "radicalism".

This first mob action and police attacks were answered by rebuilding and continuing the work. Broken picket lines were reformed. Throughout the country the issue was raised for Gastonia and funds started to flow in to help. Mass meetings were held daily at the Union headquarters in Gastonia and workers for many miles around came in and asked for organizers for their mill towns. Hundreds were signed up into the Union from all parts of the area. The "unorganizable" were starting to organize.

The rebuilding and recruiting inspired the hope and the stubborn picket lines reformed ranks. The union planned to follow this drive with a new drive on July 1 to close the mill. This belated attack was known to the Committee of 100

before it materialized and the terror of the thugs increased with a plan of ending it all before the new drive would start.

The Company's plan, like the union's fell short with the murderous raid of Chief Aderholt and his death through the workers' self defense on June 7. The planned drive of the union was transformed into a counter attack of the law with the Committee of 100 to follow up and clean them out. The first part of this counter attack of the bosses' legal troops was transformed into their defeat by the heroic action of the striking textile workers. The bosses force followed up the June 7th raid with terror for a week, wholesale arrest, intimidation, searching of homes, beatings, attempted lynching of Beal and others who were jailed.

With the entire force of active strikers and leaders arrested, held without right of bail, the police closed the destroyed tent colony and union headquarters and reaction and terror rode the country.

In this atmosphere came the national representatives of the W.I.R. and I.L.D. and although at first arrested and intimidated the W.I.R. took the lead and opened a new tent colony with the I.L.D. preparing for legal aid. This force brought new hope to the shattered and scattered forces of

blacklisted, arrested, evicted and terrorized textile workers.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of our work brought to the surface by this period of reaction following June 7th was that all members recruited in the union were admitted through the Gastonia central office AND IN THIS WHOLE PERIOD NO MILL LOCALS HAD BEEN SET UP, yet we had plenty of material and time to do so. If a few mill locals had been set up the union would have been able to weather this storm in a far greater stable fashion and chaos would not have reigned. And instead of the auxiliary organizations reorganizing and laying a base they would have acted in a helpful secondary fashion and on the whole we would have been able to answer this with greater success.

The mill bosses through the control of Gaston County and the City of Gastonia government as well as the state government, lost no time and indicted 23 for murder—16 for first degree murder.

The fact that the union did not answer this attack and indictment and replace Beal at once, lost our forces valuable time that as far as the Loray strike was concerned could not be made up.

The new force sent in over a month after this terror, July 12th, inherited the strike of Loray and Bessemer that weeks before had been settled as far as life and immediate demands were concerned but a strike that was still officially on. On top of this they inherited the bombastic action of the fly by night organizers sent in, and add to this, the loss of records and chaotic conditions of the union forces after this month period.

The Sources of Manuilsky and Co.

Manuilsky is now drooling about the "Bonapartist" tendencies of Trotsky. The cheap Bohemia of the New Masses and other publication of the same type have also seized on this theme. For these people, Bonapartism is an individual feature of character and not a regime flowing from class relations, from the policy of veering between classes. Where must one's eyes be to discover at present Bonapartism in the Opposition when all the preparations for the Sixteenth Congress represent a repitition, a rehearsal of Bonapartism on the Party proscenium!

But we do not wish to raise here general questions, but to contribute some historical data on the source of the spiritual inspiration of Manuilsky and his American and other pupils.

In 1923 a book by Oskar Blum appeared in Germany giving the personal characteristics of the leaders of the revolution. This book was first to discover in Trotsky signs of the "new Corsican". Before we give a characterization of the book, however, it is necessary to say a few words about the author.

In the period of the first revolution, Oskar Blum was considered a social democrat and a Marxist, a partisan of Plekhanov. In the years of reaction he was suspected of connections with the gendarmerie. Arriving from Riga to Vienna, he addressed himself to Trotsky with a request to help him re-establish his revolutionary honor. On the basis of his own tales, Trotsky came to the conclusion that Blum could not be tolerated in the revolutionary ranks. After the revolution of 1917, documents were found which proved conclusively that Blum was in the employ of the gendarmerie of Riga. Blum was arrested and afterwards, through someone's thoughtlessness, he was freed from jail after which he fled abroad where he published the book about the leaders of the revolution. The general character of the book can be sufficiently determined by the character of its author: it is scurrilous libel.

A Plagiarist from Oskar Blum

A review of Blum's book was printed in the organ of the Bureau of Party History, *Proletarian Revolution*, in November, 1923, when the campaign of the epigones against Trotsky was already being widely diffused. Nevertheless, in that period, the brains of the Party and the Comintern were not yet piled up with the tons of gossip and slander and generally with all kinds of refuse, and the official publications had not yet gotten out of the habit of using the language they were writing in Lenin's time. The author of the article in the *Proletarian Revolution*, not knowing that Blum had sufficient personal reasons to be dissatisfied with Trotsky observed in bewilderment the particular viciousness of Blum with

regards to Trotsky.

"Therefore", it says in the review, "he let loose at Trotsky. Here the author puts into motion his whole baggage of the most impossible lies, slanders and charlatanism. In the face, the beard, the lips—in everything he anxiously looks for confirmation for his calumnious words. First of all—power. 'He (Trotsky) wanted the revolution,' it says there, 'because he wanted himself. Others spoke about the seizure of power because they considered the historical moment ripe for the transfer of power to the last powerless class. He spoke about the seizure of power because he considered himself ready to take possession of the power.' (Page 83.) In the building of 'Trotsky's ministry' exemplary order and cleanliness prevail. Aha! This is the secret of Trotsky's personal power. In Trotsky's military orders, military style is felt—Aha! There are the signs of the new Corsican. And the palace guard, and the body guard—true, not in gilded livery, but—in the orderly uniform of the Red Guard!... The pamphlet ends with a transparent insinuation: 'Material power is in his hands. What next?' (*Proletarian Revolution*, November 23, 1923, pages 247-248).

Now take Manuilsky's article on Trotsky's "Autobiography". Take the review of the *New Masses* and the rest of the reptile press: In what do they differ from Oskar Blum? In nothing. What have they added to his revelations? Nothing. Their writings are a direct plagiarism from the stipendiary of the Riga gendarmerie. Is it not because these gentlemen themselves have the psychology of stipendiaries, which is irreconcilable with the psychology of revolutionists?

Lenin on the Libellers of Trotsky

At any rate, the source of Manuilsky's inspiration is revealed very accurately. This, however is not the only incident. There is a more important one which, by the way, has already been quoted by the *Opposition*, but we will bring it to mind once more because it has incomparable conviction. It is known that the whole campaign against "Trotskyism" began with the question of the peasantry. Contrary to Lenin, Trotsky is supposed to have underestimated the peasantry in general and the middle peasant in particular. The epigones have forgotten the source of this legend. Nevertheless it is rooted in the agitation carried on by the White Guards among the peasants during the Civil War. Lenin, in his day, took advantage of the first suitable occasion in order to dispose of this legend. These are his own words:

"In the *Izvestia* of February 7th, there appeared a letter from the peasant G. Gulov, who asks about the relation of our Workers and Peasants gov-

The Lying Campaign

Some of our Jewish comrades may have read the account of the India demonstration given in the *Freiheit*. In the midst of overwhelming paragraphs describing the heroism of the workers in defending their demonstration, was a short reference to the part played by the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The *Freiheit* reported that we appeared, surrounded by a bodyguard of detectives. According to the reporter, our only purpose in attending the meeting was to advertise our organ, the *Militant*. Probably the reporter was too exhausted by his struggles to read the whole of the placard displayed by the Communist League of America (Opposition). Or perhaps it is more convenient to forget that our banner, as well as those of the Party, supported the Indian Revolution.

The comrades made short work of us "counter-revolutionaries" prevented our breaking up of the meeting, and destroyed our papers and leaflets, says the article. In spite of the confident report of the *Freiheit*, however, many of our members remarked the sympathy of the surrounding Party comrades. Most of them objected to, rather than helped in, the work of dispersing us. This in itself is a significant fact. It seems that they are beginning to realize that in a matter, such as the Indian demonstration, in which we are at one with the Party, to divide forces and fight among ourselves is the stupidest folly, and the best inducement to police intervention.

Having dubbed us "renegades", the program. In spite of the persistent lies, Party cannot reconcile this supposed character of the Left Opposition with our continued support of the correct part of its however, Party members are becoming more and more sympathetically inclined towards the Left Opposition.

—LILLIAN BORD

ernment to the middle peasantry, and speaks of rumors to the effect that Lenin and Trotsky are not in harmony, that there are big disagreements between them, and especially upon this subject of the middle peasant.

Comrade Trotsky has already given his answer in *Izvestia* for February 7. Comrade Trotsky says that the rumors of disagreement between him and me are a monstrous lie, propagated by the landlords and capitalists or their conscious or unconscious servitors. I, upon my part, fully confirm this statement of comrade Trotsky. There are no disagreements between him and me, and, in regard to the middle peasants there are no disagreements not only between Trotsky and me, but in general in the Communist Party of which we are both members.

Comrade Trotsky in his letter explained clearly and in detail why the Party of the Communists and the present workers and peasants government elected by the Soviets and members of that Party do not consider the middle peasants their enemies. I subscribe with both hands to everything Trotsky wrote." (*Lenin* Vol. XIV, pp. 28-29, *Pravda*, No. 35, February, 1919).

This is the way the epigones and their office-holders, among them also the so-called Friends of the Soviet Union, simply repeat for a number of years what Lenin in 1919 characterized as "lies spread by landowners, etc., or their conscious or unconscious servitors."

This is how sadly matters stand. And not by accident. Centrism is not very inventive. It is ideologically poor and possesses a short memory. When this intermediary, shaky, unprincipled current leads a struggle against the revolutionary wing, it must necessarily borrow conclusions from the Right wing. It has none of its own and by its very nature, it can not have. And because by the logic of the struggle, Centrism is compelled to deepen its accusations against "Trotskyism" it is by that itself compelled to look for all the more muddy sources of inspiration. On this road matters have reached plagiarism of Manuilsky and Co. from the agent of the Okhrana, Oskar Blum.

What next?

—D.

If the number on your wrapper is

52

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

THE YOUNG VANGUARD

The League's New «Plan of Action»

During the first weeks of the execution of the so-called Plan of Action adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, we predicted that it could not be successfully accomplished with the present false policies and opportunist regime. No doubt there were many members of the Y.C.L. who really believed that our prophecies were based on nothing but a malicious desire to see the Plan fail. But the facts of reality are daily demonstrating that the criticism of the Left Opposition is based on a thorough Marxian evaluation of the situation. The unvarnished fact of the matter is that June 30, the last day of the Plan, revealed an enormous disproportion between the figures on paper and the negligible gains actually made. Did the N.E.C. attempt to make an objective political analysis of the situation and initiate a discussion in the ranks on the basis of the experience of the last few months? To be sure not! For to do so would expose the complete bankruptcy of its false ultra-Left line. Instead there is much yelling that the membership of the Y.C.L. is not doing enough work, that they are substituting phrases for deeds, and that, forsooth, is a very crass expression for the «Left» danger itself.

The New «Shock Plan»

In order to evade drawing the balance of the so-called Plan of Action, it has been renovated, refurbished with a new name—Shock Plan—and extended for three months, to September 30. This however, will not prevent every sincere member of the Y.C.L. from putting the question squarely to himself (and honestly trying to discover the underlying cause of the whole unsavory situation).

Paper plans cannot be substituted for a correct line grounded on the actual situation among the young workers. Administrative decisions and bureaucratic commands and noise. The Shock Plan is a combination of all these negative qualities. It is a screen for all the recent failures, and an artificial attempt to make good all these reverses. An examination of its measures condemn it as an adventurist enterprise.

First, the Plan calls for a whole series of industrial youth conferences. These conferences are to be held in eight different industries—all by September 30. The industries are: textile, needle trades, mining, steel auto, metal mining, lumber and agriculture. The N.E.C. in all its recent resolutions and theses has recognized an unsatisfactory situation in the Y.C.L. But now, the Y.C.L. has acquired such immense strength and vitality, such resources, so many forces and organizers, that it can simultaneously in the period of a few months enter eight different industries of the United States, and can successfully carry on campaigns which will culminate in mass—mind you, the Plan says «mass»—youth conferences. Do the Steubens, Harveys, Greens, and the other marionettes, who place all these directives so easily on paper, understand the significance of these grandiose schemes? Is this not stupid and criminal adventurism? Can't these light-minded people realize that it would be far better to concentrate on some one or two industries—yes, we are modest and sensible enough to ask for only one or two—where the objective conditions are most favorable and really hold a successful mass youth conference? Whom are these bureaucrats trying to befuddle with their loud prattle?

Second, the Plan, as part of its recruitment quota, calls for the gaining of 500 young Negro workers for the Y.C.L. Here the inventors of the Shock Plan really become realistic. In order to win 500 young Negro workers it is necessary to do mass Negro work, you understand. This is actually stated in the Plan. So in addition to carrying on mass campaigns in eight industries, we are going to hold mass—nothing but mass, mind you—Negro youth conferences against lynching in seven League districts by August 15, and by September 30 we are going to have a mass (note well!—mass) Negro youth organization affiliated to the American Negro Labor Congress (another mass organization whose existence is grossly exaggerated). Presto! It is done.

And thirdly, in addition to waging mass

campaigns in eight industries and holding Negro youth conferences in seven districts by August 15 which must culminate in a mass youth organization affiliated to the A.N.L.C. by September 30, we are going to have, unquestionably, mass unemployment youth conferences and a National Youth Unemployment Day Demonstration on August 20. And of course it goes without saying that by September 30, we will

Scranton Police Seize Communist Workers

Five workers arrested last week in Scranton and charged with sedition are facing 20 years in prison. They were jailed when the anthracite mine owners and their flunkies in political office feared that a strike of 1,200 members of the United Mine Workers Union for equalization of work would develop into a militant struggle led by the National Miners Union. The strike however, was short-lived as the Lewis-Boylan machine ordered the men to return to work.

Those arrested, and held in jail for the Fall Grand Jury are: Dan Slinger, district organizer, National Miners Union; John Little, youth organizer, Trade Union Unity League; Sylvan A. Pollack, district organizer, International Labor Defense; Joe Tash, National Executive Board member, N.M.U.; and Phil Frankfeld, Communist Party organizer. Joe Tash was arrested when speaking at a mass meeting at Dunmore where he was exposing the Lewis machine. The others were taken into custody the following day when state troopers and deputy sheriffs raided the headquarters of the I.L.D. and N.M.U. in Scranton. Without a warrant they placed the workers

also transform the Labor Sports Union into a mass organization and win a mass circulation for the Young Worker, as well as double the League membership, create 48 shop nuclei, 85 shop bulletins, and recruit 10,000 young workers into the T.U.U.L. «That is what we, Bolsheviks, call a genuine attack.» (Stalin). This last quotation confirms the correct line of the Shock Plan.

On September 30, let every member of the Y.C.L. demand an accounting. Let him demand the truth and not be satisfied with specious figures. Then let him draw his own conclusions.

—GEORGE RAY

under arrest, confiscated all books, records and letters and took the organizers to the state police barracks where they were photographed and finger-printed. Only after being held 10 hours were they charged with sedition. Since the arrests several more raids have been made on the headquarters, a move to smash the militant labor movement being the apparent objective.

The International Labor Defense which is conducting the defense of the five workers must develop a broad united front movement for their liberation. Not only the N.M.U. locals which are very weak, but the rank and file of the U.M.W. must be appealed to and asked to participate in the campaign. This is an issue that can be used to strengthen the Left wing movement in the anthracite if properly handled. If a sectarian defense campaign is allowed to be conducted, conviction of the five workers is certain and the many class war prisoners in the United States will have new recruits. On the other hand, a real united front movement will not only be a step for the freedom of the arrested workers but a reservoir of strength for the Left wing movement in general and the N.M.U. in particular.

Eastman's Correspondence with Gold

(Continued from Page 4)

nounce thinking through a passion for «literature», do not necessarily renounce honorable and decent editorial conduct.

What is your real reason?

Either you backed down because you are too cowardly to print Trotsky's classification of you, or else you consulted your masters, the bureaucrats of the Workers Party, and they forbade you to print the letter.

Either position marks off your paper completely from The Masses, from which it borrowed its name. And yet I notice you have chosen just this moment to get out a new line of publicity giving what you call «the autobiography of the New Masses», in which you falsely pretend that it is a mere continuation of the Masses and The

Liberator. Have you forgotten that your publicity when you started the magazine was to the opposite effect? What is the reason for this change? Is this one more trick suggested by your bureaucratic masters for grabbing prestige at the expense both of sincere ideals and real facts? Did it not once occur to you while you were composing that sweet history, and using my name in advertising your magazine, that it might be honest to mention among those other charming incidents the fact that I resigned from the Executive Board of New Masses stating that I despised its sly pussy-footing policies and total lack of intellectual and moral courage?

Yours sincerely,

MAX EASTMAN

P. S. I offer this letter also for publication.

Camp Nitgedaiget in Boston

BOSTON—

Another Left wing organization is being «organized» under the leadership of a few Party members: the cooperative camp Nitgedaiget of Boston. When the camp was founded in 1927, individuals as well as organizations were approached to buy shares. One of its shareholders is John Reed Branch 718 of the Workmen's Circle, and like most shareholders participated in camp affairs and contributed toward its establishment.

To the opening of the camp this season, Branch 718 was formally invited as usual to the banquet and responded by sending a delegate with instructions to buy another share. The branch in turn felt that Camp Nitgedaiget is its home and applied for the camp grounds for its annual outing which was to take place on June 29.

The board of directors of the camp extended their welcome to Branch 718 and all was fine and dandy, until a few days before the outing was to take place a letter was received by the secretary of 718 stating the withdrawal of the invitation to the branch for its outing, due to the fact that the board of directors suddenly realized that the John Reed Branch is a Right wing organization.

Did not this realization come a bit late

in view of the fact that 718 was invited to the camp banquet not so long ago?

And now a question to the ex-manager of Camp Nitgedaiget who is now chairman of Branch 718: How does your own medicine taste, Mr. Robinson? We still remember last summer when the shoe workers of Boston were on strike and a committee came to camp with an effort to raise funds for the strikers. Mr. Robinson bitterly attacked the shoe workers' committee for coming on his ground to exploit his workers and was greatly in favor of putting the committee out of the camp.

It is interesting also to hear some of the members of 718 crying for a free platform for discussion when we recall an incident of about a year and a half ago when comrade Cannon was in Boston and our branch of the Communist League (Opposition) appealed for the platform and was rejected by these very members. It seems that it makes a difference into whose window the stone falls.

We hope that the camp board of directors will realize before it is too late the detrimental policy they are adopting in barring workers from the camp grounds while the members of 718 should, in the future, think for themselves and not be ruled by the iron hand of a clique. —C.D.

LENIN AND THE YOUTH

The Young Vanguard, beginning with this present issue will publish a number of important documents and statements by Lenin concerning the youth.

The importance of such publication is manifest although I, one were to judge by the neglect of this elementary educational work by the official Y.C.L., which wastes tons of paper on harmful drivel, one would not at all think so.

All young workers should read these fundamental documents.

In this first installment we publish the Resolution proposed by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democrats in 1903 on the attitude towards the student youth.

Previous to 1905, the various political parties of Russia obtained their propagandists and agitators from the students. This to a large extent included the working class party. With the clearing of the atmosphere that resulted from the storm of the 1905 revolution, and subsequent sharpening of the class war the situation changed and the intelligentsia of which the student youth is a section, gravitated toward their own petty bourgeois and bourgeois parties.—Eds.)

CONCERNING THE STUDENTS

Resolution moved by comrade Lenin on the attitude towards Students

(Passed at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party held in 1903, with the exception of that portion in parentheses.)

This Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party welcomes the revival of independent revolutionary activity among the student youth, calls upon all branches of the Party to render every possible aid to the youth in its strivings to organize and recommends to all groups and student circles: first, to make it their first duty to imbue their members with a complete philosophy and to get them to study Marxism seriously on the one hand, and Russian Narodnik-ism and West European opportunism on the other as the principle opposing groups within the modern fighting progressive tendencies. Secondly, to beware of the false friends of the youth who are distracting it from serious revolutionary education by rapid, revolutionary, idealistic phraseology and philistine chatter about the harm and superfluity of sharp controversy tendencies, for these false friends, as a matter of fact, cultivate merely lack of principle and a frivolous attitude towards revolutionary work, and thirdly) in taking up practical activity to strive to establish connection with social democratic organizations beforehand in order to be able to be guided by their instructions and to avoid as far as possible important errors in the very beginning of the work.

just out!

BULLETIN OF RUSSIAN OPPOSITION
Double No. 12—13 for June—July, 1930

Containing:

Towards the 16th Congress of the C. P. S. U.—The Revolution in India, by Trotsky—The Period between the 15th and 16th Congresses of the C. P. S. U., by Dingelstaedt—Notes of a Journalist, by Alfa—Numerous letters from the metropolises and centers of exile in the Soviet Union.—Two Conceptions, by Trotsky—Stalin and the Red Army by Markin—Letter to the Spanish Opposition, by Trotsky—What Is Centrism? by Trotsky—The German Situation, by Roman Well—The Jewish Movement in France, by Senine—The Opposition in South America, by Dvorin—Letter from Prague—Etc., etc. 25c a copy \$2.00 a year

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue New York

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III No. 28

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. | Saturday August 15 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Wage-Cutting Drive

What Green's Sellout to Hoover and the Bosses Really Means to the American Workers

What's Going On in China?

The **Daily Worker**, through its great Orientalist Doonping, announces that "the Chinese Revolution advances by leaps and bounds towards the establishment of a Soviet Republics" and that "the red armies grow like snowballs". (D.W. August 9). The stimulant to this latest effusion is the reported operation of the so-called "Communist armies" in the Yangtse Valley (Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsu and Fukien).

A couple of months ago, its pages plastered with maps and rhetoric, an issue of the **Daily Worker** appeared greeting the convocation of the "All-Chinese Congress of Soviets". Thereafter with the same startling legerdemain this all-Chinese Congress completely disappeared from the eyes of men, "sunk without a trace". Long, weary weeks afterwards, with the intelligence service of a great state at his disposal, Stalin vaguely referred to this "Soviet Congress" in such terms as "it is said" and "if it is true, it would not surprise us".

Sands of Illusion

The Communist International cannot be built on the shifting sands of illusion. Such scruples however play small part in the factional calculations to those for whom the rising of a Bolivian military clique is a social revolution, a tribal raid is a war against imperialism, five thousand in Union Square are fifty thousand, water turns into wine and the wafer into the body of Christ. Wishes are not facts and we do not propose to replace Marxism by journalistic ballyhoo. We adhere to Lenin's "old-fashioned" practise of calling a spade a spade, and a putsch a putsch. To avoid mere emotionalism, one must retain a clear picture of the character and the perspectives of the Chinese Revolution.

The theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern energetically warned against the danger of permitting petty-bourgeois democratic movements in the colonial countries to masquerade as Communist. What shall we say today when amorphous guerilla bands of socially uprooted soldiery and peasantry have only to use the insignia of the hammer and sickle to be proclaimed as the genuine Soviet emancipators of China? Yet in this confusion for which the Stalin bureaucracy is responsible there is a certain logic. Here is more testimony to the political consequences that flow from the reactionary idea that the next stage in the social development of China is the "democratic dictatorship", in theory the peasant democracy—in fact, the regime either of a Kerensky or Chiang Kai-Shek. Yesterday this famous "democratic dictatorship" was to be realized through the bourgeois Kuomintang; today it is slated to emanate from peasant guerilla warfare. But what of the industrial proletariat... and the Communist Party? In 1925-6-7, the Communist Party was turned into a mere appendage of the Chinese bourgeoisie; in 1930, the fragment of the Communist Party left after the massacres of Chiang Kai-Shek, has become a red-tinctured edition of the "green" peasant parties of Raditch and Stambulisky.

The Third Chinese revolution is inevitable—if its strategy is Marxist, if its leadership is actuated by the recognition of its real driving forces. Between opportunism and putschism the Stalin machine has shown that it can only retard and ruin revolutionary possibilities. In 1925-6-7 the

(Continued on Page 7)

Hardly had the stock market collapse and the mass unemployment that followed right on its heels had time to sink into the minds of the working class than that ever faithful footman of the American capitalist class William Green rushed to the Hoover employers' conference to pledge that he would do all in his power to prevent any strikes in the coming period.

America's industrialists winkingly assured Green, without smiling, that on their part they would not undertake to cut labor's wages.

Green Remains Loyal

Green has of course kept his part of the bargain. In accordance with the role he is paid to play, and has played for years, he has religiously sabotaged any movement of the American workers to fight against the growing impoverishment to which unemployment, speed-up and wage slashing condemn them. He motivates his incessant scabbing with a reference to the employers' "pledge" to "maintain the American wage standard". Here is how it is being maintained:

The National Cash Register Co. of Dayton, Ohio, has put through a 10 percent cut for 6,000 employees.

"Fifty hosiery mills in the United States have abolished extra rates for continuous operation services," says the Labor Bureau, "which amounts to actually decreasing wage earnings, while members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Tin Workers in the Youngstown, Ohio district, are to receive 25 cents a ton less as wages during May and June as a result of a decline in the average price of steel bars. Similarly, employees of copper producers in Arizona are to receive a preliminary wage reduction based on the average selling prices of copper during April. 'Average selling prices for May will, of course, be lower and hence another wage reduction will take place on June 1'."

Sixty Wage Cuts

The August bulletin of the Labor Bureau reports 60 distinct wage cuts by as many firms or industries since May. It adds: "The wage truce, supposed to have been agreed to by employers at the Hoover conference early last winter, has been violated by reductions in pay." (Honor to Bill Green who would not violate the gen-

tleman's agreement by organizing strikes against starvation wage cuts!)

These figures are but part of a much greater mass. And they relate only to those workers who have jobs. How about those that are jobless? The Labor Bureau publishes the following

Twelve-Month Comparison of Volume of Employment in percent

1928 to 1929		1929 to 1930	
July.....	7	January.....	5
August.....	5	February.....	7
September.....	5	March.....	9
October.....	3	April.....	10
November.....	1-2	May.....	12
December.....	4	June.....	13

These figures represent only the percentage changes in the number employed. No account is taken of part-time employment. It is pointed out that the number of man-hours worked would show an even more drastic downward curve.

The cold figures speak an eloquent language. They show as clear as day that the American capitalist class is working to issue out of its own, crisis by squeezing the last drop out of the working class. The less resistance that is offered the more arrogantly will the bosses proceed to carve deeper into the standards of life hitherto won by the workers. The need for a militant front to include every worker is now more imperative than ever.

For Social Insurance

And for the unemployed, whose fate is so closely linked with that of the worker with a job, the broadest campaign to alleviate their difficulties must be conducted. The costs of the crisis must be shifted to the shoulders of those who profited by the prosperity, the capitalists, and who now want the workers to suffer from the decline. The demand must be raised everywhere for recognition of the Soviet Union and long-term credits to it so that it can commence the purchase of machinery here on a large scale. The demand for social insurance to be paid by the state and the bosses, must be developed until the force behind it cannot be resisted.

The Camorra of Green and Co. has betrayed the workers. They must lead the fight against wage-cutting and unemployment themselves.

Our Class War Prisoners Must Be Freed!

In a few days the third anniversary of the cold-blooded murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will be reached. Their memory, ever green in the heart of the world proletariat, remains a burning appeal for the struggle against class justice and persecution.

While the workers everywhere gather to commemorate their judicial assassination the pledge must be renewed for the fight to release all the class war prisoners who continue to fill the penitentiaries of the bloated plutocracy of this country. At this very moment, a cynical, farcical "hearing" is being held again on the case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. The whole miserable edifice of perjury, falsehood and crime built up against them has crumbled long ago. What is left is the hideously naked body of the American frame-up system, the acme of our capitalist culture. At the hearings, the prosecutors boldly declare that irrespective of the evidence relating to the alleged crime proper, they favor the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings because they were labor agitators!

The real crime in the Mooney and Billings case remains, as before, the passivity of the workers who let their fighters rot in prison. Hearing or no hearing, we have learned the bitter lesson sufficiently that

no dependence can be put upon the capitalist system. The need of the moment is a broad protest movement to shake the country and liberate the two victims of Californian capitalism.

At the other end of the country, William Foster, Robert Minor, I. Amter and Harry Raymond remain imprisoned on Welfare (!) Island. The "magnanimous" Mayor Walker has kindly consented to have the first three released at the end of six months. Every additional day of their incarceration makes more crying the need for a defense movement that will release them and prevent others to come from taking their place.

In the fight for the release of these men, as for the defense of the Atlanta victims, the Centralia I.W.W., for the Italian Communist Serio, Malkin and others elsewhere, the Left wing must take the initiative and the leadership. Thus far it has failed signally. It is apparently too busy with phrase-mongering about the "Third Period" to carry out such "petty" work as defending the class war prisoners. It must nevertheless be done. And on a broad serious scale. Let the master class learn that they cannot murder and imprison our militants without hearing the reply of the working class!

Is Sylvia Bleeker to Be Expelled?

As we go to press, we are given the following important information:

Comrade Sylvia Bleeker, one of the well known leaders of the Left wing in the needle trades, was barred from attending the meeting of the Party needle trades fraction held in the Workers Center Friday night August 8. The Stalinist appointees in charge of the meeting informed her that she could not attend without a permit from the secretary of the Control Commission of the New York district.

The action is evidently the result of the meeting a week previously of the district Control Commission which comrade Bleeker was instructed to attend. There she was confronted with an anonymous accusation of being a "Trotskyist". In answer to a number of heresy-hunting questions, she replied that she was sympathetic towards the views of the Left Opposition. The Inquisition then demanded that she hand in a written statement of her views.

A Typical Case

The case of comrade Bleeker is undoubtedly typical of scores of other comrades in the Party, whom the ruinous course of the latter has set to thinking fundamentally on the situation in the Communist movement and the issues raised by the international Left Opposition. Comrade Bleeker is not only one of the most prominent militants in the needle trades, but an old devoted Party member. She joined the underground Communist Party in the United States in 1920 to which she had been transferred from the Russian Party, for which she had been carrying on responsible work in Poland during the most critical days of the Russian revolution. Since 1926, she was secretary of the milliners' local 43 of the Zaritsky union, and was one of the leaders in the Left wing fight. She was elected a vice-president and member of the General Executive Board of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union at its foundation, and still occupies the post of organizer of the Headwear Department of the organization. At the recent convention of the N.T.W.I.U., she was removed from the G.E.B. by Johnstone and Co. because of the militant defense of her views on the Party's trade union policies.

The question that now arises is this: is comrade Bleeker to be expelled from the Party by the Browders and their little Perillas because she, like so many others, dares to hold views, entirely Communist, that run counter to the momentarily official dogmas of the Stalinist clique? Thus far, it seems the question of her Party membership is pending. Her expulsion, like that of supporters of the Left Opposition in the past, would constitute a disgraceful act by the Stalinists and deepen the mark of bureaucracy with which their past acts have branded them.

The Aim of the Browders

There are many other in the Party like comrade Bleeker who allow themselves to think, to express their views and to demand the right to discuss the within the limits of Party democracy. Are they all to be expelled? Is the Party to be systematically cut down so that the membership is reduced to the apparatus crust at the top and blinded, gagged, devitalized yes-men at the bottom? Evidently, that is the ideal towards which the Browderian agglomeration is striving.

The National Miners' Union Passes

The National Miners Union has passed like a ghost in the night. After many long months of concentrated bluff in the official Party press about the thousands and tens of thousands of miners who were following the leadership of the N.M.U., about the strikes and demonstrations it was leading, the bubble of bluff has collapsed of internal vacuum. At the "convention" in Pittsburgh of a few dozen miners, representing very little more than themselves, the N.M.U. was quietly interred.

Characteristic of the whole policy of the swindlers now dominating the Party was the manner in which the affair was carried out. To this day, the *Daily Worker*, which mentioned the convention only casually, has not said a single word about the fact that the N.M.U. no longer exists. Its first and last report on the meeting (a few lines in one issue) says nothing about it. The whole procedure was typically bureaucratic, conducted behind the scenes, without the workers knowing what was going to be done, or, in this case, even being informed about what was done.

How the Retreat is Covered Up

Equally characteristic of the Party bureaucracy is the manner in which this mortifying retreat has been covered up so that it may be proclaimed as "another step forward for the T.U.U.L." In place of the quietly cremated N.M.U., a brand new (but no less weak) organization has been formed, in the same dark hour of the night at which the funeral took place: The Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Industrial Union!

We won't speak of the "mine workers" in this "new union". But where are the oil workers in it, or the smelter workers? The answer is that they are not in it, and assuming that the Browders and Bedachts continue to ruin the Party's trade union work, there are good grounds to add that they will not be in it. The M.O.S.W.I.U. was formed bureaucratically. No agitation for it among the workers was carried on; there was no preliminary preparation for it among them; there was no official announcement that the N.M.U. was dissolved, or the reasons for it given.

None of this however interests the collective Browders in the slightest. They organize and disorganize unions with the magician's wand of the "third period". What they bring to a tenuous life one day, they kill off the very next. That they discredit the Communist movement, and the movement for organizing the unorganized into new unions, in the process, is of even less concern to them.

There was no good reason for the debacle of the N.M.U. It started off with excellent prospects of growth and authority among the American coal miners. It was strangled by Stalinist arbitrariness and bluff. Capable Left wing and Communist workers who dared to disagree with the crudely false policies of the Stalinist clique running the Party and the N.M.U., were immediately removed from office and expelled from the union. The narrowest, most sectarian policy of isolation was foisted upon the union without ever asking the membership.

No serious attempt was made to organize the unorganized miners: talk and headlines in the *Daily Worker* were substituted for genuine activity. No serious attempt was made to approach and win over the workers in the Lewis or in the Fishwick-Howat unions: the former were simply labelled "fascist" and the latter "social-fascist", which was taken to mean that the N.M.U. was absolved from the need of working to win them over.

Bluff and Adventurism

In place of competent workers, incompetent and factional hacks were appointed from above—never selected by the miners. The official organ of the union was allowed to die, although the *Daily Worker* continued to speak without cease about the steady advances being made. Unprecedented bluff was made the order of the day, interspersed with light-hearted adventures like the ill-fated Illinois "mass strike".

A creeping paralysis seized the organization. A movement like the one that broke out in Pittston, with thousands of miners involved, passed by without the N.M.U. influencing it in the slightest (which

The big-hearted boss....



"Oh boys, I'm ruined."



"Business is something fierce."



"This year I've made only \$100,000."



"What in God's name can I do?"



"You see for yourselves I've got to cut down your wages!"

did not prevent the *Daily Worker* from publishing the most monstrous falsehoods about the "N.M.U. leading the miners in a strike against unemployment"). The policies of the Party entirely demoralized the already weakened trade union center at Pittsburgh, so that the whole last period passed by without a single union official working in the national office. While the bluff campaign about "advances" was going on in the official press, a young stenographer was the sole and single director of the fate of the N.M.U. in Pittsburgh!

The "convention" assembled with the hand of death already heavy on it. There was not a single Left wing miners' leader present even to make the report to the delegates: a new precedent was set by having W.F. Dunne, of the T.U.U.L., make the official report on the situation and the tasks of the union! The W.I.R. was more prominently in the fore in every phase of the work there than the N.M.U. as such.

Our Policy and Browder's Tested

When the Communist League (Opposition), in its statement on the problems of the Left wing in the mining industry, pro-

posed a serious, and not a fake, campaign of organizing the unorganized miners, and at the same time building a Left wing inside the Fishwick-Howat union in Illinois and the Lewis union in the anthracite, the Party leadership shouted themselves blue in the face with their dreary vilification of our group and its program. We warned the Communist and Left wing workers against the Stalinist policy in the miners' movement. The Stalinists confidently boasted of the correctness of their "line".

The latter has had its test. The test has cost the Left wing miners' movement many harsh blows. It has already killed the N.M.U.—nothing less. The wreck cannot be made whole again by the cheap, mechanical artifices of forming chemically pure "new" unions on paper for the edification of Moscow archivists. The evil must be cut down at the root. And at the root lies the malicious religion of "social fascism" and the "third period". The future will be replete with debacles similar to the one that just culminated in Pittsburgh until the Communist workers throw overboard these concepts and those who conceived them. —MARSH

Wherein Lies the Difference between Them?

The *Daily Worker* has been publishing a number of urgent calls to unemployed workers to resist evictions from their homes by landlords for non-payment of rent. What it says in this connection is entirely correct, and the calls should be heeded. The *Daily Worker* will probably be interested in a case of threatened eviction which is particularly flagrant. It can do a lot to remedy the situation for the workers involved. The landlord of one of the big apartment houses in the Bronx has sent a number of his tenants the following communication which we reproduce in full:

"You are hereby notified that unless you pay your rent on time, i. e., on the first of every month in advance and at least a part of your arrears every month, we shall be obliged to take legal action against you, i. e., to dispossess you."

"This is the last warning. Come to the office and make necessary payments. Phil. Amron. Manager"

The worthy landlord who signs this communication and is so ready to resort to legal action in capitalist courts is manager of the "famous" Bronx Cooperative Apartment Houses, controlled by the same

Stalinist clique that was recently so busy—on paper—eradicating petty bourgeois deviations in the cooperative movement! Most if not all of the tenants to whom this brutal communication is addressed are unemployed workers who have already contributed enormous sums towards the maintenance of a thoroughly corrupted group of bureaucratic Business-Communists.

We never had very much enthusiasm for these high pressure, high finance adventures sailing under the flag of "cooperative Bolshevism"; we have much less today. We despise the bloated landlords of the East side who evict their unemployed tenants who cannot pay their rent "on the first of every month in advance" and we heartily endorse the *Daily Worker* for urging these workers to resist evictions with every means at their command. We haven't much more use for the smug landlords who conceal their appeals to the bosses' courts behind a red Party card. Their unemployed tenants who cannot pay rent at the present moment, we also urge to resist evictions.

Do not the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*, which have so much influence with the manager of the Cooperative Apartments, think likewise? —J.

The Real Results of August First

The August First demonstrations this year were not only marked by a sobering-up of the official Party policy, but by a sharp decline in participation that indicated more than anything else that the class struggle cannot be arranged to fit the bureaucratic calendar markings of the official Stalinist clique.

No "General Strike"

There was nothing said this year, as it was last year, about "appropriating the political and military-technical experience of the struggle of the Berlin workers". Unlike last year, there was this time no irresponsible call issued for a "general political mass strike" on August First. Under pressure of hard facts and the relentless criticism of the Opposition, the bureaucracy in the Party was compelled to modify its adventurous course and drop some of its mystic "Third Period" jargon.

But changes made in a bureaucratic manner, without explanation, and over night, are not so lightly and quickly followed by the workers. The constant swinging between extremes in Party policy do not bring the workers along with it. And when in addition to this, there prevails a sectarian, isolationist course which steadily narrows the Party's base among the masses, results such as August First must be expected as natural.

All the shouting and beating of tom-toms cannot conceal the chagrin felt even by the Party leaders at the meagerness of the response to this year's demonstration. The reports from the principal cities in the country were significantly vague. The "hundreds of thousands" who, we were assured by the *Daily Worker*, took possession of the streets on March 6th, seemed to have dwindled amazingly to a few thousands five months later. This in spite of the fact that the objective conditions for the strengthening of the movement have improved rather than otherwise; in spite of the "fact" that the Party has again been "internally and externally consolidated". The cold truth of the matter is that the demonstrations were an almost universal failure. The *Daily Worker* which on August 4th, promised an "analysis" of the demonstrations by the C.E.C., of the "insufficiencies" and "shortcomings" (of the membership, of course, never of the leadership), has not presented the analysis yet. And for cause. Any serious analysis would have to reveal not only the incompetency of the Party leadership, capable only of producing defeats, but the falsity of its policies.

This holds not only for the United States, but for Europe as well, for the demonstrations there were small and resembled more a series of ordinary mass meetings than demonstrations in a "period of incessant and stormy upsurge".

The N. Y. Demonstration

New York was one of the cities where a clash between the demonstrators and the police occurred. The demonstration itself, with its 9-10,000 attendants, was a scandalous affair about which the Party comrades are still talking. It had the air of being nothing so much as a picnic on the streets. No attention was paid to the speakers. Everywhere here were little knots of comrades, conversing blithely and munching ice-cream sandwiches. Only a shooting gallery and side-show were lacking to complete the picture.

When the meeting had been adjourned, the police maneuvered a section of the crowd down a side street, and without warning, streamed down from a hall where a squad had been concealed and let loose their bestial fury upon the workers. The "good" police commissioner, Mulrooney, correctly says that the police had no clubs. But for that, every one of them carried a prominently "concealed" blackjack, which they were soon swinging brutally at the workers. The courageous cops even beat up a 16-year old girl.

An official "investigation", which tickles every good liberal, is now being conducted. Of course, it will change nothing in the attitude of the police. Their savage attacks on the workers will continue until the latter win the fight for freedom of speech and assembly, and learn to give these blue-coated thugs the proper reply.

The Persecution of the Russian Bolshevik Opposition

By N. MARKIN

Since the Spring of this year, the Stalinist leadership has again been compelled to pose as a task of the moment the question of the "extermination of the Opposition". This task arises out of the fact that, in spite of the boastings to the contrary by the members of the apparatus, the Opposition lives, works and will continue to work. It is enough to run through the Soviet papers to be convinced that rarely does a nucleus meeting or Party conference take place without Oppositionists or semi-Oppositionists taking the floor. The apparatus struggle against the Left Opposition is developed exclusively by means of repression. In connection with this Congress, the repression mounted frightfully. The rotten monolithism of the top is guaranteed by the coercion, the arrests, the banishments at the bottom. The Solitaries replace the discussion that should have preceded the Congress. That is how the Congress of the Party was prepared.

The aim of this article is to give the genuine facts, particularly on the "preparations" for the Congress. In January-February there was a strong wave of arrests of Oppositionists, of comrades who sympathized with them, and even of comrades simply suspected of sympathizing with them. According to an approximate reckoning more or less correct, 300 comrades were arrested in Moscow alone. A large number of comrades arrested in the provinces passed through Moscow to the Butirskaya prison, coming mainly from the Ukraine, and especially from the Donbas (the proletarian mining district).

Non-Party Workers Arrested

At Butirki, there were a few dozen non-Party workers of Moscow, arrested for the sympathy they expressed for the Opposition, who are now deported to Siberia. Among the prisoners, there was also a certain percentage of capitulators, mainly of those who repented under the influence of a momentary weakness, and who subsequently declared, almost openly, that they had made a mistake. Many of them are no longer just deported, but sent to the Solitaries. They now demand from the capitulators not only the complete and absolute disavowal of their convictions but also that they disclose all their connections. For refusal—there is the Solitary (Zabrovskaia, Blumenfeld, and dozens of others).

The lengths to which they will go in arrests and deportations can be seen by the fact that among those arrested there is a big percentage of people arrested by chance, "seized" for reasons of relationship or simply because of saying Hello to an Oppositionist. That is how dozens of people were arrested who have no connection with the Opposition (it frequently happens that they become real Oppositionists in prison or deportation!) During this period the Moscow comrades have distributed a leaflet and have assumed charge of a whole series of strikes which were provoked by the policy of the bureaucracy (in Serpuchov at Moscow, four factories of Mostriutaga and elsewhere). This has still further irritated the bureaucracy.

A wave of arrests that began at the end of the winter continued to rise up to the month of May. The number of persons arrested in this period is at least 500, without counting more than 100 arrested persons who were transported to the Solitaries. By this time the figure has further increased.

A remark must be made here. The Stalinist repression exercised against the Bolshevik-Leninists is distinguished from that practised against the Mensheviks and S.R.s. While the latter are simply isolated from the social life of the country, to hamper them in their counter-revolutionary action against the proletarian dictatorship for the Oppositionists who fight Centrism which upsets the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Stalinist course is directed toward their moral strangulation and their physical extermination.

Among the Oppositionists arrested in Winter were comrades Silov and Rabinovitch, who had unleashed against them the special hatred of the apparatus: they have been shot. How comrade Plunkin was shot before them—this crime is known to the whole world.

The repression has been sharpened against all the deportees. A regime of horrors has been established: they have lost the right to work, that is, the right to serve, and by that they have acquired the right to be hungry. The official aid a deportee receives has long ago been reduced to 15 rubles (\$7.50 a month) and

that means hunger, and cold in winter. Since they have no right to be members of the cooperatives, they can frequently buy nothing, even with these 15 rubles; they live in lodgings without fire, remaining for weeks without warm food, often without light. Especially painful is the situation of the deportees in Narym, one of the most terrible places of deportation in Siberia. The Narym deportees are literally condemned to death by hunger. Moreover at Narym which, by the harshness of living conditions, is similar to a Solitary, they transport the Bolsheviks originally deported elsewhere, in an ever growing number. It is a course deliberately directed towards the physical extermination of the Opposition.

Over and above the material privations, every deportee is exposed to innumerable "little" vexations, the fruit of the absolute arbitrariness and impunity of the local G.P.U. The already tiny aid is kept back (a case is cited where it was withheld for four months and where the only reply to the demand for it was mockery of this sort: "Go to Moscow!")—that is: Capitulat! In a similar situation a comrade reduced to despair asked that he be led to a Solitary, and that is not the only instance; people simply suspected of knowing a deported Oppositionist are arrested, thus sowing terror among the local population in order to cast the Oppositionists into absolute isolation.

Systematic raids are organized, in which not only political works are seized (from comrade L.S. Sosnovsky, in prison, his work on the agrarian policy of Centrism was seized; at comrade C.G. Rakovsky, his declaration to the Party was taken, etc.)—but also quotations from the works of Marx and Lenin. This is accompanied by a courier blockade so as to isolate the deportees politically. During the Congress, the G.P.U. did not let a single letter go through in order to prevent the elaboration of a collective declaration of the Opposition. But this did not succeed, and a declaration bearing the signatures of comrades Rakovsky, Meralov, Kasparova and Kossior, was presented (all the deportees joined with it). In deportation the receipt of a letter is an event! We are not speaking even of political, but of family letters.

All the deportees live under the constant threat of being transferred to a Solitary (and this threat exists for the smallest thing: for instance, a delay of five minutes for the compulsory registration at the G.P.U.) Often they do not even give formal reasons. The real aim is to shatter the revolutionary intransigence of the Oppositionist. At the same time with an open tendency to transfer the points of deportation to the harshest regions of the North, the Solitaries are filled up more and more. Their number is always growing because those that exist are already full. The regime in the prisons and Solitaries is incomparably worse than that of deportation. In the prisons there is rarely any light (the windows are covered with an opaque panel), the damp cells are occupied by two or three times as many prisoners as the rules provide for; place is lacking for sleep, not only on the cots, but even on the floor.

In the Solitaries

What the sanitary conditions are is not difficult to judge. In their cells, the Oppositionists, kept separate from each other, are mixed up with counter-revolutionaries and criminals who not only detest our comrades as the representatives of Bolshevism but hate and jeer at them, casting upon them all the hatred they nurture against the Soviet power. The system of the G.P.U.—holding Oppositionists in common cells with criminals—did not even exist in the prisons of czarism. This system is applied only to Oppositionists. The Mensheviks (at Butyrki, for instance) enjoy all the rights of political prisoners; they are kept separate from criminals, their cell doors are open; they have a small library at their disposal.

The cells of the Oppositionists are closed, nowhere is visiting allowed them, they have no rights to anything sent from the outside. And in addition to all this, they are treated coarsely and laughed at. Under such a regime, hunger strikes break out without end, and sometimes last until a mortal end (let us remember the heroic death of comrade Butov) To the hunger strikes, to the minimum demands of the prisoners, the prison direction replies by having them systematically beaten, by soak-

ing them with water in the bitter cold of winter, etc. Beatings are a system known in the prison of Kharkov, in the Verchne-Uralsk Solitary, in the Leningrad prison, and in a whole number of others. It was through blows that comrade Haenrichsen was killed in the Leningrad prison.

The colony of Oppositionists deported at Tomsk has gathered a great deal of information on the absolutely terrible crimes Stalin has perpetrated against our comrades. It has presented a document of protest to which all the other colonies of deportees have rallied. In this document it is learned that hunger prevails in all the places of deportation for Oppositionists; it is established that for Bolsheviks, the conditions of Stalinist deportation are incomparably worse than those of czarism. Many deportees have become invalids (there are dozens of them) for lack of any medical succor, at Narym and similar places elsewhere. The seriously ill are not even transported to the nearest inhabited regions where a doctor might be found. When it is decided to transport an ill comrade, it is only when he is in a hopeless state. This winter, many comrades had their limbs frozen, and some had to undergo amputations because no medical aid was given them in time.

Babies, right after their birth, have been taken from their mother, and the latter sent into Solitaries (comrade Yanovskaia among others). The same document informs us that a new shooting of Oppositionists took place at Solovsk; it is no rare thing for the G.P.U. now to pronounce sentences, not of 3 to 5 years, but of 10 years, in vengeance for the political conduct of a comrade. For instance, without any formal proof, comrade Golodni was condemned to 10 years in Solitary. In all the colonies of deportees, before the 16th Congress, comrades were arrested and sent to the Solitaries. We do not give here the names of the colonies nor the names of the comrades arrested; we will deal only with the most striking facts.

A Hunger Strike in Ichim

In May, at Ichim, the whole colony was arrested—9 comrades—as well as 15 inhabitants of the city who, according to the accusation of the G.P.U., had been propagandized by Oppositionists. All are now in terrible condition, our comrades write us—they are locked up in the Sverdolsk prison. Two of them are seriously ill, they do not receive the political prisoner's ration, they are locked up in different cells, and have been compelled to declare a hunger strike. How this hunger strike ended, and above all, what was subsequently the fate of the Ichim deportees, we do not know.

The comrades informing us, call this arrest together with 15 non-Oppositionists an "amalgam", which means an artificial liaison for the purpose of discrediting our comrades by means of people alien to the Opposition. The destruction of the colony and the creation of a Thermidorian amalgam are the work of a provocateur. The provocations practised against the Opposition recently have assumed Homeric proportions.

Not only are the Opposition groups still filled with provocateurs, but these "operate" also in the deportation and in prison. There, their task is to disclose the most intransigent, to provoke decomposition by leading comrades to capitulate, etc. A provocateur showing himself under the mask of a "capitulator" is now a current phenomenon in the deportation.

That is how the colony of deportees at Kaminsk was destroyed. Two comrades, Stolovsky and Densov, were transferred to the Tomsk prison, the others, to the furthest corners of Siberia. This colony was dispersed only because it didn't produce a single capitulator. In their declaration to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Kaminsk comrades showed how the cadres of the local Party organizations are recruited. Basing themselves on exact information, they name more than 30 members of the Party now occupying responsible posts who were agents of the White terror during the days of Kolchak and who shot Reds. These elements are leaders of this district to this very day. The Kolchakists are chiefly to be found in great numbers in the G.P.U. This fact throws a striking light on the question: who is carrying out the Stalinist policy which hounds the deported Bolsheviks, which aids in their extermination? Ex-Whites, and not accidentally!

At Rubtsevs, Siberia, without any ac-

cusation being formulated against them, four Oppositionists were arrested: Abramsky, Antokolsky, Veskresensky, Evingelstaedt. From the Rubtsevs prison, they sent a declaration to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on June 4, in which they said: "We can only consider this repressive act exercised against us only as a preparation by unusual means for the 16th Party Congress..." "The repression will not halt the struggle for the redressment of the Party, just as the damage done will not prevent the Party from returning to the positions of Leninism". What was subsequently the fate of the Rubtsevs comrades is not known to us. But there is no doubt that they will be imprisoned in the Solitaries.

A similar destruction took place at Kansk (comrades Kusminsky and Landau), at Alma-Ata (comrades Goldin and others), at Slavgorod, Chimkent, and many other places. Raids have taken place everywhere. The impudent raid upon comrade Rakovsky has been told everywhere and is well known. Upon him, as the leader of the Russian Opposition, the Stalinists are concentrating their hatred. Seriously ill (afflicted with heart trouble and malaria), comrade Rakovsky, far from being sent to a more clement climate (as the doctors ordered) has been transported from Astrakhan to Barnaul. Comrade Rakovsky, who is 57 years old, of which 40 have been devoted to the struggle for Communism, passed a very painful Winter, his sick organism having to undergo cold of 40 to 50 degrees. The isolation in which he is held is more rigorous than for anybody else. The game of Stalin is clear: slowly but surely to finish off Rakovsky.

Sosnovsky in Danger

It is in an even more painful situation that another eminent leader of the Opposition, an old Bolshevik, comrade L.S. Sosnovsky is to be found. He is incarcerated in the Tomsk prison, in a regime of isolation more severe than any known in the czarist prisons for those condemned to death. No correspondence is allowed him, no authorized mail, no relation with the other prisoners; he must take his walks in company with a special agent of the G.P.U. The state of health of comrade Sosnovsky is critical. A prolonged imprisonment under such conditions means the end for him. It is under similar conditions than another old Bolshevik, E.D. Eltsin, is to be found (in the Supdalsk Solitary) this comrade is afflicted by spinal meningitis.

That is how the 16th Congress was prepared on the back of the Left Opposition. By using the power of coercion of the apparatus for factional ends, the Stalinist leadership has set this apparatus against the Left proletarian wing of the Party. Fire to the Left! the more terrible this fire will be, the clearer will appear in the eyes of the proletarians the lamentable bankruptcy of Centrist policy.

By hunger, by cold, by the blockade, by outrages, by blows and by shootings, Centrism aims to squeeze out of the weakest ones a capitulation, and the strongest ones it condemns to ruin. Only the working class can thwart this Thermidorian plan. There is its duty, there is its task. By making an end of the Left wing, Stalin will make an end of the October revolution. That must be understood, that must be prevented, that must not be permitted.

* * * * *

We take this occasion to inform the foreign comrades that in reply to the greetings of the international conference in Paris to the deported and imprisoned Russian Oppositionists, there have arrived in the editorial Board of the *Bulletin of the Russian Oppositions* numerous greetings not only from the places of deportation but also from the Solitaries.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Danger of Fascism in Germany

By KURT LANDAU

The advance of Fascism has alarmed the proletariat. The results of the Saxony elections are thoroughly discussed in all the factories, at the registry offices, wherever workers gather.

But it is not the Saxony elections alone that have refuted the blinded leaders of our Party. This holds true to a still greater extent for the developments in Thuringia. On May 9, the *Rote Fahne* editorial took up the reactionary policy of Frick in Thuringia and the anti-labor attitude of the National Socialists (Fascists), and reached the conclusion:

"No wonder that all this affected the National Socialist worker elements like a cold douche. They are beginning to get enough of Hugenberg and Hitler... In the open country too, that is, where the land proletariat found a determined leader in the Communist Party, the advance of the *Hakenkreuzler* was brought to a standstill in recent months."

Two days later the elections took place in Gotha (Thuringia) with the result that the Fascists outstripped the Communist Party and increased—in spite of Frick!—its vote since December 1929 from 5192 to 6136.

What Are the Driving Forces of Fascism?

In 1927-28 we were able to establish a definite Leftward development of the masses. The number of strikes rose from 330 (1926) to 751 (1927) and 687 (1928), the number of strikers from 54,399 (1926) to 224, 131 (1927) to 271,473 (1928).

Simultaneously there began an influx of workers into the trade unions, whose membership rose from 3,977,309 (1926) to 4,150,160 (1927) and 4,653,581 (1928).

The rising activity in the proletariat was accompanied by a Leftward development of the masses in general. The reactionary policy of the bourgeois bloc government had an alarming effect. Enormous masses, swept along in tow behind the bourgeois parties, awakened and turned to reformism. In the Reichstag elections of 1928 the votes of the Socialist Party were jerked upwards from 7,881,000 (1924) to 9,151,100 and the C.P.G. won more than 500,000 new voters.

The accentuation of the economic crisis in the last year brought the masses in the bourgeois camp into a still stronger conflict to the old bourgeois parties. But one thing changed fundamentally: The expectations the masses put in reformism in 1928 were bitterly disappointed. That is how the direction of the departure of the masses from the old bourgeois parties had to change especially because the C.P.G. under its present leadership did not understand how to show these masses a concrete path in the struggle against their growing impoverishment.

The disappointment of the semi-proletarian and petty bourgeois sections, stirred up by the policy of the trust bourgeoisie, with the betrayal of reformism and embitterment with the incapacity of the C.P.G. leadership to help them—that is the real driving force of Fascism.

At the present time, the semi-proletarian, petty bourgeois masses, who formerly followed the bourgeois parties, especially the German National and the German People's Party, are in large part gathering in the camp of Fascism: officials, coupon-clippers, intellectuals, former officers, primarily the petty bourgeois, nationalist youth. But there is no doubt that Fascism has already begun to hammer a breach in proletarian fortresses, especially in Saxony, Thuringia and Northern Bavaria.

Fascism is already exercising a palpable and dangerous influence upon large sections of the proletariat that are politically strange to it. There arises among many workers a feeling of impotence towards the stormy rise of Fascism; a fatalistic attitude becomes noticeable.

It is precisely these phenomena in the proletariat that are especially dangerous; precisely this influence is required by Fascism in order to triumph.

The Party leadership also approaches this attitude when it attributes the growth of Fascism to "a series of objective causes".

These "objective causes"—the impoverishment of the mass, its despair of the old bourgeois parties, its disappointment with reformism, its search for a radical solution—all these causes should have led primarily to an enormous growth of the Communist movement, providing there was a correct strategy of our Party.

But that is just what is not the case,

either so far as numbers are concerned, or ardor, activity and impetus of our Party.

The Weakness of Communist Leadership--the Strength of Fascism

In the days that Fascism utilized to prepare a mighty advance, the period of the coalition government, in this period the Central Committee of our Party did not see the growth of Fascism at all, but intoxicated itself with its own, slowly crumbling strength. On January 21, 1930, the *Rote Fahne* proclaimed:

"The German proletariat is marching to the attack with the slogan: Dictatorship of the Proletariat!"

Ten days later, on February 1, the full weakness of the Party showed itself, which did not prevent the *Rote Fahne* from pathetically proclaiming:

"That is how things stand: Everything the Communists want to do, they do."

This reckless self-intoxication, combined with the block-headed theory of "social-fascism", crippled the Party. It has now already sunk into oblivion that only a short time ago the beginning of Fascist rule was announced with the words:

"The gorged priests, the cursed secretaries and functionaries of the social fascist Party apparatus want civil war and a blood bath that will surpass all the previous misdeeds of Noske and Zoergiebel. This is no longer the preparation, but rather the beginning of Fascist rule in Germany, erected with the bloody hands of the social democratic party" (*Rote Fahne*, January 15, 1930.)

It is hardly possible to imagine a more insane disregard for the difference between Fascism and reformism.

Insofar as Fascism was noticed at all by the Party leadership, the struggle was exhausted in the slogan: "Beat the Fascists wherever you meet them!" or in the memorable proclamation: "We want a revolutionary state power that lets no Fascist live..." (*Rote Fahne*, January 28, 1930.)

How was Fascism not to grow when the revolutionary Party is beaten over the head like this by its leadership!

When Fascism proceeded more and more to combine the propaganda for its "third empire" with refined, demagogic slogans, to build up its nucleus system in the factories, the Party leadership sought to beat Fascism by "Bolshevizing" the Fascist "leader cult"; and when the *Voelkische Beobachter* wrote of the "great leader Hitler", the *Rote Fahne* replied with the "greater leader Thaelmann". Is it to be wondered at that Fascism could become, unhindered, a mass movement?

Differentiation within Fascism

The possibility for a counter-offensive by the Party against Fascism is favorable right now, since a noticeable differentiation is now proceeding in the camp of Fascism. The influx of great masses from the bourgeois camp has had a strong effect on the tactics of Fascism. Hundreds of thousands of bourgeois voters, former adherents to the German National and the German People's Party who turned to Fascism, are not satisfied with the outlook for the "national revolution", with the promises of the coming "third empire", but demand immediate measures in their interest, above all customs policy, tax and similar advantages.

Under the pressure of these sections, Hitler has for the time being decided in favor of the bloc with the other bourgeois parties and for participation in the government. Against this new line, viewed by Hitler as a transitional stage until the Fascist mass movement is sufficiently strengthened—above all among the proletariat—to accomplish the overthrow, the Berlin Fascists (Strasser group) have launched an assault. The Berlin Fascists know the mood of the Berlin workers, 50 percent of whom—by vote—are in the camp of the C.P.G. (see the communal elections of November 27, 1929). They rightly fear that the Fascist government policy as proposed for Saxony by Hitler and Goebbels and already applied in Thuringia, will drive away the proletarian masses.

Besides these tactical differences, which are of the greatest significance in the Fascist struggle for the workers, there are still others.

The orientation in foreign politics, for

instance. While Hitler demands foreign political support of Italy and England, the Berlin Fascists stand on the line of Graf Reventlow of 1923, that is, support of Russia.

These differences have now led to a split of the National Socialists (Fascists); the relatively small Berlin group around Dr. Strasser has now formed the "Kampfgemeinschaft revolutionärer Nationalsozialisten" which sees its task in the absorption of the elements dissatisfied with the bourgeois bloc policy of Fascism, and in maintaining Fascism through more radical "socialist" and "anti-capitalist" phrases.

A «1923» Upside Down

Up to now the Fascists have timidly avoided placing themselves openly on the side of the employer in labor struggles. The sharpening of the class struggle in Germany will render this maneuvering of Fascism very difficult. Precisely now when it has become a mass movement, which also possesses positions in the factories, Fascism will have to take a concrete position in the labor struggles that are breaking out. The "creative" capital of the Rhine-Wesphalian industrial lords, which the Fascists even recognize in theory and contrast with bank capital, although the interweaving of industrial and bank capital into modern finance capital is well known to them—this "national" capital is now arming for decisive battles against the proletariat. Will the money-bags of Fascism, the lords of the Rhine and the Ruhr, the wealthy manufacturers and industrial kings, allow themselves the luxury of abandoning political support to their Fascist mercenaries? All signs indicate that the National Socialists will assume the role in these struggles of battering ram against the free trade unions. They will endeavor to transform the deep dissatisfaction of the workers with the bureaucracy into an assault upon the trade unions in general.

Should it come, however, to a conflict between the masses, who use and want to defend their trade unions as fighting organs and Fascism, then a revolutionary situation can arise rapidly and directly that requires all the maneuvering capacity and boldness of the revolutionary Party in order to drive this struggle forward to a decisive one between revolution and counter-revolution.

Such a perspective has nothing in common with the theory of the "revolutionary upsurge", which has been rising, as is known, "stormily and incessantly" since 1928, as the Manuilskys, Molotovs and Thaelmanns contend.

Such a perspective has nothing to do, either, with the superficial analogy with 1923, which is now the style of the Party, and which, as is known, led to regarding the Mueller government as the "Kerensky period".

If one wishes to compare the present development with 1923, then the present situation can be characterized as a 1923 upside down. If the determining feature of 1923 was the growth by leaps and bounds of the revolutionary forces if 1923 stood under the sign of an elementary upsurge of activity in the proletariat, of the assembling of the petty bourgeois masses for the day of the revolution—then 1930 is precisely the opposite. In 1923, Fascism collected behind the back of the mounting revolution; yet the tempo of its development stood no comparison with that of the revolution.

If in 1930, despite the catastrophic mistakes in recent years, our Party has remained a class Party, when it apparently grows—that is a sign that the proletariat hopes and endeavors with all its power to fashion an effective weapon out of its Party. Upon the road the Party trods in this serious situation will depend the fate of the German proletariat in the next years. Out of a 1923 upside down, situations may arise in which the question of power is posed more sharply, concretely and lively than ever since 1923.

Hitler stands before the gates of the proletarian fortresses. His shop nuclei raise their heads in the factories. His agitators rove through the registry offices, his hands penetrate into the proletarian poverty quarters. The decisive struggle between Communism and Fascism is maturing. The aim of the struggle is now the reformist worker. Either our Party will succeed, by a change of its policy up to now to tear down the walls between Communist and reformist masses, to draw into the struggles the masses that still follow

reformism today, then, smashing the social democratic leadership, it will crush Fascism at the head of the working class. Or, the Party leadership will continue further with its policy of ultra-Leftist opportunism. Then Fascism will draw to itself large sections that still follow reformism today, neutralize and drive into passivity larger sections and bloodily crush the Communist vanguard in order, after this triumph, to forge the fetters around the whole working class.

Decisive struggles are approaching. The dangers with which the working class is confronted are enormous. But is far from too late. Everything now depends on whether our Party becomes conscious of its tasks. In the struggles of the next period it can become the real leader of the masses. To become leader of the masses means not increasing its vote, but to win such confidence among the masses that the word of the Party in the masses finds the mightiest echo, that its call to strike, to demonstration, to revolutionary mass struggle is heeded by the proletariat.

What is needed is a return from the flights into the realms of adventurism. The Party has for years been made drunk with phrases and deception. It is time it awakened and regarded the abyss before which it stands.

We of the Left wing, howled at by a blind and incapable leadership as "Party enemies" and "renegades", we are the ones who are now planfully counteracting the internal collapse of the Party, who spring into the breach wherever the Party breaks down, who serve the Party in the manner that the leadership should serve it.

Just as in the war the small revolutionary groups around Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Mehring, just as Spartakus remained true to the banner of the proletarian revolution—so does the Left Opposition in a period when the Party leadership vacillates and breaks down. Only one thing distinguishes our time fundamentally from that of the war: The old workers' party collapsed on August 4, 1914. Spartakus had to unfurl again the bedraggled banners of the revolution, had to assemble the masses of the betrayed proletariat on a new foundation—against the Party of treason, of social imperialism, of war.

The banners of our Party are not bedraggled, our Party, burdened with heavy mistakes, violated by an incapable and conscienceless bureaucracy, has remained the Party of the working class, the Communist Party. It is our duty to guard the Party from collapse, to burn the rottenness out of it, to make the Party capable of fighting, of conquering.

That we must fulfill this duty as persecuted and hounded ones in part as expelled, that is one of those contradictions in the development of our Party in which its history is not poor.

Inseparably bound up with the Party, from whose proletarian core the ruling apparatus cannot tear us away, the Left wing continues to fight unswervingly to fashion a Party of Lenin out of the Party of Thaelmann.

Φ

A Letter on Michael Gold

Dear Max:

The last issue, containing Trotsky's letter on the *New Masses* and Max Eastman's correspondence with its editors, created quite a stir. I've heard many of the boys condemn Gold's craven buckling to the Union Square priests; others stutter shame-faced apologies. As for Gold himself, I hope none of you fellows have any illusions about his position in the Party—if he is still a Party member. His mind is on higher things. He's the boy who wants to make good where, he imagines, it means something. He has his eye on Broadway, and he's working much harder on getting a play produced along the bright alley than he is even in slaughtering Trotskyism. You may have noticed the recurring motif in his work: He changed his name to GOLD. He wrote "120 MILLION". He wrote "Jews Without MONEY". It's one thing, apparently, to write about not having any; its another not to have much yourself. So when he gets through being a respectable and successful Broadway playwright under the benevolent aegis of the noble Kahn, he'll probably make his confused, liberal colleague, Barbusse look like a burnished Bolshevik. Speed the day!

Yours,

—R.

NOTES of a JOURNALIST (Who Is Responsible for the «Turns», Yakovlev's General Line) by ALFA

The Responsibility for the Turns Lies with... Trotskyism

It is known that the Opposition is pulling to the "Right", that it is against socialism and collectivization. It is no less known that the Opposition is for compulsory collectivization. And being that the selection and training of the apparatus, as is further well known, were in the past years in the hands of the Opposition, then with it, naturally, lies the responsibility for the turns. At any rate this is all they talk about in *Pravda*. If you do not like it, do not listen, but do not interfere with the "general line".

In the preceding issue we quoted the official Platform of the Opposition published in 1927 in regards to collectivization. But let us go way back of 1927, to the period of military Communism when civil war and famine necessitated a rigorous policy of bread requisitions. How did the Bolsheviks in those severe years paint the perspective of collectivization? In a speech devoted to the peasant uprisings on the ground of the requisitioning of bread, comrade Trotsky spoke on April 6, 1919:

"These uprisings gave us the possibility to realize our greatest ideological and organizational strength. But alongside of this, it is understood, the uprisings were also a sign of our weakness, because they drew into their wake not only the Kulaks but also—we must not deceive ourselves on this score—a certain part of the middle and intermediate peasantry. This can be explained by the general reasons which have been depicted by me—by the backwardness of the peasantry itself. We must not however, blame everything on the backwardness. Marx said on one occasion that a peasant not only has prejudice but also judgement, and one can appeal from the prejudice of the peasant to his judgement, to lead him towards a new order on the basis of experience. The peasantry should feel by deeds that in the working class, in its Party, in its Soviet apparatus, it has a leader, a defender; the peasant should understand the requisitions to which we were forced, should accept them as something unavoidable; he should know that we are entering into the internal life of the village, that we examine for whom it is easier, for whom it is more difficult, that we make an internal differentiation and seek the closest friendly bonds with the middle peasants.

"This we need first of all because as long as in Western Europe the working class has not gained power, as long as our Left flank cannot lean on the proletarian dictatorship of Germany, France and other countries, so long as we are compelled to lean our Right flank on the Russian middle peasant. But not only in this period, no, also after the decisive, inevitable and historically pre-determined victory of the working class throughout Europe, for us, in our country, there will remain the important enormous task of the **socialization of our agricultural economy**, transforming it from a scattered, backward, peasant economy into a new, collective group, Communist economy. Can this greatest transition in world history be in any way completed **against** the desires of the peasantry? In no way. Not measures of violence will be needed here, not measures of compulsion, but educational measures, measures of influencing, of support, of good example, of encouragement—these are the methods by which the organized and enlightened working class speaks to the middle peasant." (L. Trotsky, Vol. XVII, pages 119-120).

Yakovlev's «General Line»

Every self-respecting bureaucrat has his "general line", sometime full of the unexpected. The "general line" of Yakovlev has always consisted of serving the command but winking to the Opposition. He ceased his winking when he understood that it is a serious matter, and for a responsible post the command demands not only the hands but the heart as well. Yakovlev has become people's commissar of agriculture. In this capacity he presented the Sixteenth Congress with a thesis on the collectivization movement. One of the basic reasons for the rise of agricultural economy, the thesis declares, is the "crushing of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". It will therefore not hurt to recall how the present leader of the collectivization put the question of agricultur-

al economy in the very recent past, and in the struggle against that same Trotskyism.

Characterizing the dispersal and backwardness of peasant economy, Yakovlev wrote at the end of 1927: "These data are quite sufficient to characterize the drama of the small and tiniest economy. On the cultural and organizational level of peasant economy as inherited by us from czarism we will in no way succeed in advancing in the sphere of socialist development in our country with the necessary speed." (On the Question of Socialist Reconstruction of Agricultural Economy, edited by Yakovlev, page xxiv).

Two years ago when 75 percent of the collectives were as yet made up of the poor, the present commissar of agriculture, Yakovlev, evaluated their socialist character in the following manner:

"The question of the growth in the collectives of the communal and not individual elements of capital, even at the present time, perhaps particularly at the present time—is still a question of struggle; in many instances private individual accumulation hides under the communal form, etc." (Ibid, page xxxvii).

Defending against the Opposition the right of the Kulak to live and breath, Yakovlev wrote:

"The quintessence of the tasks is the socialist transformation of peasant economy into a cooperative socialist economy . . . precisely this small and tiny economy which middle peasant economy is at bottom. This is our basic and most difficult task. While solving this task we may in passing, by measures of economic and general policy, solve the task of limiting the growth of

Kulak exploiting elements—the task of an offensive against the Kulak." (Ibid p.xlvi.)

Consequently, even the possibility of limiting the growth of the Kulak elements was made dependent by Yakovlev upon the solution "of the basic and most difficult task": the socialist transformation of peasant economy. As for the liquidation of the Kulak as a class. Yakovlev did not even raise the question. All this was two years ago.

Speaking of the necessity for the gradual transition from commercial cooperation to productive cooperation, that is, to collective farms, Yakovlev wrote: "This is the only road of cooperative development which really secures—naturally, not in one-two-three years, maybe not in one decade—the socialist reconstruction of all of peasant economy." (Ibid, page xii). Let us notice carefully: "not in one-two-three years, maybe not in one decade."

"Collective farms and communes," Yakovlev wrote in the same work, "are at the present time and will for a long time yet undoubtedly be only islets in the sea of peasant economy, since a pre-condition for their vitality is first of all a tremendous rise of culture." (Ibid, page xxxvii, our emphasis).

Finally, in order to present the basis for the perspective of decades, Yakovlev emphasized that:

"The creation of a mighty, rationally organized industry, capable of producing not only the means of consumption but also the means of production, which are imperative for national economy—this is the pre-condition for a real cooperative socialist plan." (Ibid, page xliii).

This is how matters appeared in re-

cent times when Yakovlev, in the capacity of a member of the Central Control Commission, exiled the Opposition to the East for an assault upon the rights of the Kulak and the bureaucracy, and for the endeavor to accelerate collectivization. In the struggle for the official course of that time, the course towards the "strong peasant", against the conscienceless and spiteful criticism on the part of the Opposition—the actual words in the article mentioned—Yakovlev considered that the collective farms "will for a long time yet undoubtedly be only islets"—not even islands, but islets!—"in the sea of peasant economy", for the socialist reconstruction of which "more than once decade will be needed. If two years ago, Yakovlev proclaimed, in contrast to the Opposition, that even the simple limitation of the Kulak can only be a passing result of socialist reconstruction of all of peasant economy in the course of a series of decades—then today, in the capacity of people's commissar of agriculture, he undertakes "to liquidate the Kulak as a class" in the course of two or three sowing campaigns. By the way—this was yesterday: today Yakovlev expresses himself in theses much more enigmatically... and this sort of gentleman which is incapable of thinking anything through seriously, still less capable of foreseeing anything, accuses the Opposition of... "consciencelessness", and on the basis of this accusation arrest, exile and even shoot. Two years ago—because the Opposition pushed them on to the road of collectivization and industrialization; today—because it restrains the collectivizers from adventurism.

Here it is, the pure culture of bureaucratic adventurism.

The Right Wing Moves Closer to Social Democracy

Since the formation of organized Right wing groups in the Communist movement, we of the Left Opposition have contended that an independent existence for any length of time of a current in the labor movement that swings between Communism and social democracy is out of the question. We pointed out that the Right wing groups (Brandler, Lovestone, Sellier, Hais, etc.) were developing to a logical conclusion the theory of Stalin-Bucharin according to which a socialist society could be constructed on a national scale. We warned that all theoretical thought and historical experiences spoke for the idea that these Right wing groups must necessarily go the whole way to the organized social democracy, return to the Stalinist camp,—or so far as the workers in it are concerned—find in the program of the Left Opposition the only revolutionary solution of the crisis in our movement.

To dispute this at the present time is to turn one's back deliberately upon events and established facts. The recent period has produced a quantity of additional evidence to confirm our analysis.

A Heavy Defeat for Brandlerism

In Germany, the Right wing led by Brandler and Thalheimer has just suffered a crushing defeat in the Saxony elections. While the comrades of the Left Opposition—reserving their duty of criticism—carried on a campaign to have the Saxon workers vote for the Communist list, the Brandler group again sought to split the revolutionary ranks by setting up their own candidates. The result was that after weeks of boasting, the Brandlerites lost one-third of the votes cast for them at the 1928 Landtag elections. The demoralization subsequently created in the ranks of the Right wing is evident from a reading of the Brandler press itself. The Right wing workers, captivated by the fantastic ideas of Brandler and Thalheimer that the masses of Communist workers would swing along, were left speechless by the Saxony results.

The upshot is a thoroughgoing "revaluation of values" in the Brandler group. More outspoken voices are being heard for a second Party, or for unity with the Left social democratic splitters chipped off the parent body. The path adopted by the Brandlerites of moving away from the official Party—and from Communism—leads logically to the "advanced" step already taken by their French allies (Sellier, Dunois, Gelis & Co.), and further.

In France, as we have already reported, the Right wing has broken completely with

Communism. The Sellier group has organized a purely parliamentary "Workers and Peasants Party", adopting "legitimately" the Stalinist theories of such parties for the Orient. The absence of the very word "Communist" in their name is simply symbolic of the whole character of this movement. The policy of vacillating between the Communists and socialists, however, is very short-lived in France. Already, one of the leading members of the W.P.P. in France, Amedee Dunois, has formally joined the Socialist Party. That this new draft of Frossards will yield up many more than one Dunois to the S.P. is manifest to anybody that reads its journal, *Ca Ira*.

The Czech Right Wing Travels Fast

But the most striking instance of the flight to social democracy by the international Right wing is furnished by its Czechoslovakian section, one flank of which has formally joined the socialist party bag and baggage. We refer to the so-called "Brunn Opposition" led by Dr. Ecer and Kovanda. These eminent companions of Lovestone and Brandler have now "gone to the masses" in precisely the manner we foretold some time ago.

That is not all. The second partner in the Czech Right wing the trade unions led by Josef Hais which split away from the R.I.L.U. have now been formally brought into the Czech national reformist trade union federation, i. e., the Amsterdam International. Lovestone is not a bit put out by this open capitulation; on the contrary,

he greets it by writing (*Revolutionary Age*, No. 18):

"The campaign for trade union unity in Czechoslovakia has taken another step forward under the driving force of the Communist Opposition movement."

But why was this "unity" not realized with the Red trade unions, still containing some 50-60,000 members and affiliated with the R.I.L.U.? Since when must unity be achieved by capitulation to the yellow banner of Jouhaux and Co? No answer to this from Lovestone. The fact remains that confronted with the choice of unity with the revolutionary trade union center or with the Amsterdam center, Hais chose Amsterdam.

The international Right wing hails this as an achievement for their policy of trade union unity. And it is. Their policy of unity for its own sake results in practise in capitulation to reformism instead of the realization of the revolutionary united front. It is interesting to note, parenthetically, that Hais' treachery is too much for the stomach of at least one Right wing leader, Neurath, who does not deceive himself that the "unity" is a great step forward, but writes, in a bitter letter of reproach to Hais: "An unconditional amalgamation with the C.O.S. (reformist federation) would have the practical significance of the heaviest blow against the revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia."

As for the third, "pure Opposition" group of the Right wing in Czechoslovakia, it has also contributed its quota to the social democratic party in the form of two of its leaders who, at the recent conference of the former, announced their formal retirement from Communism and return to the old, "solid", love-

Who Is Disintegrating and How?

Our reader will recall the announcement by Lovestone—made all the more vociferously because there were no facts to base it on—that "the Trotskyists are disintegrating". The events of recent months speak eloquently. They show who is really disintegrating, and where the particles are going. The Right wing is either capitulating to Stalin, as in Russia, or to the social democracy. The Left Opposition, denounced by Lovestone as "counter-revolutionaries"; "disintegrated Trotskyists" to which Lovestone now addresses hypocritical, humble and public appeals for a united front (and not-so-public appeals to and capitulatory negotiations with Musteite leaders), marches forward with renewed strength towards revolutionary unity.

—S—n.

A Saslavsky Doesn't Change

One of the most loyal pillars of the Stalinist regime is the feature writer of *Pravda*, Saslavsky. When one reads how and what Saslavsky writes about counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, memories of 1917 rise to confront one. In those days Saslavsky wrote articles too, in fact quite similar ones, almost with the same words. Only not in *Pravda*. "Against the German agent, Lenin" was Saslavsky's motto then. Lenin demanded at that time that the masses be told of the kind of "knaves" the "Milukovs and Hessens. Saslavskys and Dans" are! Yes, Saslavsky has remained his old self. But what a threatening symptom that the hounding of Bolshevism can now be carried on by the same Saslavsky in the columns of *Pravda* only because he now writes "Trotsky" instead of "Lenin" and instead of "Bolshevism"—"Trotskyism"!

Group vs. Branch Banking

A Struggle of Interests in the Ranks of the Capitalist Class

The capitalist class of the United States and its government are now debating branch and group banking while the consolidation and merger of bank capital is proceeding fast and already has the material base for executing the needs of the dominating group in law, etc. Financial capitalism dates back to the beginning of the century and this phase has been more marked since the world war.

The crisis of 1893 to 1900 and the Spanish-American War witnessed a new stage of the ushering in of financial capitalism with America playing an important role. The industrial consolidation most marked after the crisis of 1873 was at the beginning of the century transformed into a consolidation of a higher stage, of the fusion of bank capital and industry. The monopolies, trust and consolidations "organized" capitalism on a higher plane, intensifying and enlarging the basic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

The period following this, culminating in the crisis of 1914, followed by war and revolutions saw the process of consolidation in the world and especially in the United States move at an accelerated pace in all branches of industry toward the pivot point of financial capitalism. "Thus is competition transformed into monopolies. We see before us the giant process of socialization of production. Particularly is the process of technical inventions and improvements also being socialized." *

The controversy of the different groups of capitalists and their Washington office boys is hidden behind the discussion of branch vs. group banking. The Federal Reserve Act strengthening the financial control over the country but not an eliminator or remedy for economic cycles as claimed before the depression of 1921 and 1930, and the McFadden Bill of 1927 which sanctioned branch banking by Congress as the first step—is now being followed by more acts for the benefit of the financial groups.

The great number of bank failures in the last decade, over 5,000 mainly in the South and West, where the agrarian crisis reached its deepest points has accelerated the consolidation movement as the natural outgrowth in reorganization when the big fish eat the little. The chain bank has the outward appearance of the ordinary unit, the "independent" bank of the country, but one bank controls the major stock of the chain. The group bank is controlled by the owners of the majority stock who organize a corporation or holding company and control the resources of the group in a given area. The branch bank is the highest stage of the consolidation movement in the vertical extension.

The majority of leading banking authorities admits that the present stage of the consolidation movement in the country is only in a transition stage. Long ago a few leading banks, Chase, etc., already had control of the majority of the resources and are in a world commanding position. The branch banking system of other imperialist nations, due to their economic unit difference, developed at a faster rate than in America. Such countries as England, France and Germany with large colonial possessions before the war gave this movement impetus but the different form taken in different countries, adapted to local conditions does not alter in the least the content of the transformation to financial capitalism in these countries.

In this country with the Federal Reserve System, the higher development of the consolidation and the branch banking system will alter and create a new role for the system to cope with the changing forces. "Too many banks in the country," is the note of the financier, and "consolidate and survive" is the remedy advocated now for banks as it was the remedy after the crisis of 1873 for too many manufacturing establishments. The McFadden Bill of 1927 was to "protect" the unit bank just like the Anti-Trust Law of the '90's was to protect the lesser industrial units. Both laws proved to be stepping stones for further consolidation and now the financiers are ready for the next step.

The dominating financier and his office boys favor branch banking while the lesser financial groups of the agriculture and industrial areas favor group banking. Some of the large industrialists favor group

banking while the small fry and the petty-bourgeois elements are fighting to prevent any kind of consolidation and retain the unit bank affiliated with the Federal Reserve System or with "safe" charters.

The Comptroller of Currency, Pole, who was the first to advocate branch banking is an outstanding advocate of all measures to hurry the process. Governor Young of the Federal Reserve Board also favors branch banking. The hearing in the House Banking and Currency Committee had the following representatives favoring branch banking: Luce of Mass., Stevens of S. C., Seiberling of Ohio, Dunbar of Indiana. Branch of Georgia and Beedy of Maine favor branch banking but want trade area limitations.

E.W.Decker, Pres. N.W.Bancorporation and L.T.Wakefield, Vice-Pres., First Bank and Stock Corp., both of Minneapolis, Minn., favor group banking and say they will fight branch banking in the Minnesota territory. Robert O. Lord, Pres., Guardian Detroit Union Group, Inc., and Geo. F. Rand, Marine Midland Corp. of Buffalo, also favor group banking in opposition to branch banking. These four leaders in their areas are head of group banks and fear the further logical step of financial capitalism in consolidations.

Several of the largest banks of the country, dealing in international loans, are reaping big profits in their present role in world exploitation and although not openly leading the movement are, nevertheless, playing their usual sly game. The Chase National Bank is the largest in the world. The December 31, 1929 report gives the following figures: Total Deposits, \$2,673,645,000. Total resources, \$2,814,536,000. Capital surplus and undivided profits, \$368,000,000. Their control, industrially and politically in the deciding affairs, combined with the other financiers is being questioned less each day.

Lenin, in "Imperialism", says, "Monopoly is an outgrowth of banks. From modest intermediaries they have been transformed into monopolies of finance capital. Some three to five of the largest banks of any of the most developed capitalist nations have realized a 'personal union' between industrial and banking capital; they have concentrated into their hands the control of many billions, which make up the greatest part of capital and money of the whole nation. A financial oligarchy spreads a thick network of dependencies over the economic and political institutions of modern capitalist society without exception—this is the most glaring consequence of monopoly."

Branch or group banking gives the financier greater industrial and political control in the areas. These sectional groups will have their inner-class struggle for the spoils but unity on all issues against the industrialists, the farmers and petty-bourgeoisie is assured when determining factors are at stake. And unity against the proletariat cannot be questioned.

The number of banks in the United States have diminished with consolidation but we still have 24,695 banks. 21,824 are unit banks and 6,353 are branch or group banks. According to these figures the unit bank is still far in the lead but according to control of the resources the unit bank is already a back number. Gov. Young of the Federal Reserve Board informs us, "that all the banks had total loans and investments of \$58,500,000,000, of which the group and branch system held \$30,000,000,000 or more than half."** This small group controlling over half of the resources is further narrowed when we consider that 269 groups with 1,922 banks have \$15,285,100,000 resources considering the period of October 1929 to June 1930 and this is further narrowed when we consider the several large banks of the nation showing concentration of the majority of wealth in the hands of a few.

The process is at work in all nations and especially since the beginning of the century. Lenin, in Imperialism giving Shilder's figures, says, "In 1904 England had 50 colonial banks with 2,279 branches (in 1910—72 colonial banks with 5,449 branches); France had 20 colonial banks with 136 branches; Holland 16, with 68 branches; Germany 'only' 13 with 70 branches."

Today, the "Big Five" in England, Midland Bank, Lloyds Bank, Barclay Bank, Westminster Bank and National Provincial Bank control almost 10 billions in assets and have over 8,000 branches. Prof.F.E.Lee of the University of Illinois says, *** "Between 1880-1924 the Midland Bank absorbed 31 other banks many of which were virtually banking systems in themselves with numerous branches." Between 1900 and 1922, moreover, many additional absorptions took place which have raised this bank (Barclay—Ed.) with more than 2,000 branches in England and Wales to the position in point of view of resources among the "Big Five". Each of these banks (Big Five—Ed.) for the last four years have maintained profits well exceeding £2,000,000 (appr. \$10,000,000) per year, which serves to furnish conclusive evidence of their importance in the banking world."

The strong position the United States financier holds on the international market will enable him to organize his home base as fast as the changes seem necessary. No matter how capable they are in organizing their financial structure, the bourgeois theory, that it will eliminate the economic cycles has already been disproven by life itself. These theories will take new form with the ebb and flows but the transformation of these conjunctural crises to revolutionary crises will sweep the material foundation away, and consequently the stack of cards built upon it. —H.

*** Am. Banker, April, 1930

Where Does the Italian Opposition Stand?

Writing about the crisis in the Italian Communist Party, the last issue of *Revolutionary Age* declares: "Not only has comrade Amadeo Bordiga been expelled as a Trotskyite but there is a new wave of the so-called 'right opposition' which was supposed to have been destroyed with the expulsion of comrade Serra (Tasca). The emergence of this Communist Opposition is one of the most hopeful signs in the Italian Communist movement." The rest of the article continues in the same vein, that is, it deliberately attempts to create the impression that the new Opposition in the Italian C.P. is of a piece with the international Right wing of Brandler, Lovestone, Hais and Co.

Nothing could be further from the truth, as is quite well known to the editors of *Revolutionary Age*! The comrades of the new Italian Opposition, as Lovestone is well aware from the foreign press, have constantly fought against the opportunist policies of the expelled head (and body, one might add) of the Italian Right wing, Tasca. In an Open Letter to the members of the Italian Party recently issued for the Opposition by comrades Santini, Elasco and Feroci expelled from the Political Bureau and the Party, and Teresa R. of the Central Committee, we read:

"Our Opposition, developing to its consequences the criticism it had undertaken under the pressure of events in Italy and internationally, when we wanted to trace the complex international questions, as is the task of every proletarian current, was bound to orientate itself towards the international Left Opposition which has for many years been conducting a campaign of clarification and orientation with which our Opposition emphasizes its accord... All the facts that have been proved within the International and Soviet Russia have confirmed that the international Left Opposition is the only one that saw correctly, that posed and solved in a Bolshevik manner the problems of the revolution in the course of these last years, and struggled with great energy against the errors of the International, on the theory of socialism in one country, and the industrialization plan of Soviet Russia as well as on the Communist policy towards the peasants, or the questions of the revolution in Orient, and all the fundamental questions of the international movement."

This hardly looks like accord with Lovestone and his international allies! It seems that the latter, who so systematically lose their troops to the social democracy, are continuing desperately to show a good front of strength, even if it has to be manufactured out of the growing ranks of the international Left Opposition! But though Lovestone is an old hand at fabrications against "Trotskyism", his game is becoming ever more transparent.

Stalinists Lose Their Heads in Boston

The Party is breaking up the New International Hall; it is hard to say whether they are doing it consciously or unconsciously. The N.I.H. is one of the finest institutions in the country. It belonged to the Left wing movement. The building was bought when the Left wing movement began to develop in this country. The two branches, the John Reed Branch, 718, Workmen's Circle, and Branch 18, Independent Workmen's Circle were the two largest branches in Boston, and also the stronghold of the Left wing movement. These two branches with a membership of 400 bought many shares and certificates, and practically all the income for the New International Hall came from them. The New International Hall was not only the center of the Left wing, but it was also considered more as a home for the working class.

New Crimes on Stalinism's Law Books

The first crime of the John Reed branch, 718, Workmen's Circle, was that with a majority of the branch membership they decided to invite comrade Cannon to speak at their meeting, and then the branch did not obey the orders of the Party to leave the Workmen's Circle. (Seems that the branch did not believe in the 3rd period.) For their crimes they were thrown out of their own building and became, by the new vocabulary, counter-revolutionists, Trotskyites, enemies of the Soviet Union, etc.

Now comes Branch 18, Independent Workmen's Circle which committed similar "crimes": 1. Branch 18, I.W.C., did not obey the splitting policy of the Stalinists and remained in the I.W.C. 2. The branch invited the following "counter-revolutionists" to speak at their meetings: A.F. Konikov, one of the founders of the C.P. and well known as an active member of the Communist League of Boston. Also the Party feels especially rotten because comrade Shachtman was invited to speak at the branch while he was in Boston.

The handful of Stalinists decided to throw out Branch 18, I.W.C., also. They first tried the diplomatic way of raising their rent; but when they found that this maneuver would not work, they called a meeting of their own boys and "unanimously" voted that Branch 18, I.W.C. also be expelled as a member of the Institute. Accordingly notice was sent to Branch 18, I.W.C. to move from the N.I.H. not later than August 1, 1930 (The registered letter was received, Monday, July 7, 1930). It should be especially interesting to read the following paragraph of the letter which shows how low the Stalinist sank:

"Also Branch 18, I.W.C. invites speakers that are openly against the policy of the Workingmen's Educational Institute and against the Left wing labor movement in general to speak, lecture and slander the principles that this institute stands for; speakers like Dr. A. F. Konikov, and M. Shachtman, etc., whose policy is to attack the Soviet and to disrupt the activity of the workingclass movement."

Splitters of the Left wing movement, you are not ashamed to state that the policies of comrades Shachtman and Konikov, etc., are to attack the Soviet Union and to disrupt the activity of the workingclass movement! The workers in Boston do not believe you any more!

The Party's Progress...

Yes, the Party in Boston is making progress.... Let us state the last victory, which concerns the Chelsea Labor Lyceum. The Labor Lyceum was in the hands of the Left wing movement, but since the Party began the discrimination of the Left wingers to their rotten policies, the Right wing controls the Labor Lyceum. Now the New International Hall is in a deficit of \$3,000. If the Party will continue its rotten policy the N.I.H. will swing over to the mortgagers.

We are calling upon the Left wingers not to let the Stalinists break up the New of Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, etc., International Hall as they have done with the Chelsea Labor Lyceum. These two institutions have a Communist history. For the consequences they will afterwards blame the Trotskyites, renegades, counter-revolutionists, etc....

This is the 3rd period! Long live Stalin! We are progressing! We gain one victory after another.

But a few more victories like these will be more than even the Party can stand.

—L. SCHLOSSBERG

* Lenin, Imperialism.

** Am. Banker, June, 1930

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

(9) By the time the new forces had arrived, July 12th, Dunne, Wagenknecht, Drew, Martin and others had started the work of reorganizing and preparing the ground for the defense of our leaders in jail. The worst of the reaction had subsided and the new cycle was well on its way. This followed the indictments and called for organization around this issue. Our main office had been moved to Charlotte, a larger town some thirty miles from Gastonia. We collected the scattered forces, issued dues cards to new members and started collecting initiation from new members and dues from old ones. The Bessemer City and Gastonia meetings were enlarged and spread over the entire area to every mill town, step by step in an organized fashion. Organizational work of establishing mill locals was started. Our first objective was a conference at Bessemer City July 28, a day before the opening of the trial.

(j) We readily realized that the technical situation of the N.T.W.U. was a handicap, that our National Office was in a bad shape—a reflection already of the new line of mechanical swing from the reactionary unions to new unions. According to our constitution all applications must be sent to N.Y. from the South and they made out dues cards and mailed them back. In stable, well-functioning locals this may work—but not in company mill towns where all mail is the first pick of the bosses and, more important, when we were in the middle of a drive, recruiting new members by the hundreds, who prized the dues book more than anything and a drive among new recruits to union organization of any kind. Why the force before us allowed this method to continue and hamper their work I do not understand. We found over 500 dues books piled up at our Charlotte office and hundreds of disgusted workers because they waited so long for a book and did not get any. In normal times the delay would be too much for such drives. We soon put an end to this method. The Bessemer City Conference rolled around and showed:

1. We had the textile workers of the whole area behind us with a couple of hundred delegates, mainly from the Gastonia area and over 1,500 workers attending.

2. The delegation, all American born workers accepted our program unanimously through policy and not mechanical control.

(k) The Southern fraction failed to obtain any Negro delegates to the convention, even after some were elected.

The parade in Gastonia that the center informed us to call off for fear of a riot was agreed to by us, but I had been the last one to accept it and as far as my knowledge goes the prisoners were the first to protest the idea of the parade.

Following the Bessemer City successful conference came a change of venue to Charlotte for August 26th. The Bessemer conference had instructed all members to be present in court Monday morning and the hot day found our forces well represented in Gastonia that whole day and a packed courtroom mostly of textile workers in their working clothes.

The unions and other organizations cooperating intensified our work in the coming weeks and the union picnic of August 25th at Mt. Holly was jointly with the preliminary I.L.D. conference a day before the second trial. We progressed in the following activity. Plans were well under way for the Charlotte October 12-13 convention of the newly organized district as the outgrowth of the Bessemer conference. Our literature covered the whole field and the South. The *Labor Defender* and the *Daily Worker* played an invaluable role. The youth organizers from the North were pressed into union work to such a degree that their own field was neglected. They made excellent fighters. Mass union meeting and local union meetings, closed and open were held in all mill towns, we had three to four in progress each night. The number of mill locals increased with our work.

(l) By this time the slogan of frame-up was changed to self-defense and I supported Dunne on this. In the field, covering meetings every day, meetings of determined workers who were only able to hold these meetings each time we first organized a force strong enough to let the boss know he had better not attack us; and with defense committees organized around each meeting I was carried away with the con-

crete situation as others of the Southern fraction were.

The right of self-defense was a living reality with us and without it our organizers were the dead force. However, the situation in the field and the slogan as a national one to rally broad masses of all shades of political beliefs in the workers' camp for the one big issue was against this frame up and the self-defense issue should have nationally been a secondary issue regardless of what the reality of our concrete meetings were. This is not an excuse for me—just facts—but does not justify the position. More harmful than this was the I.L.D. "united front" campaign we will deal with later.

The Mt. Holly picnic was a huge success and the second trial ended with a mistrial. A retrospection will show we followed up the attacks of the bosses' first degree charge with not one victory but a series of victories and consolidated our forces in this area and extended agitationally in many other centers of the South.

(10) By the end of August the leading field fraction committee could feel increased action and plans against us, a preparation of the bosses for a drive on us. Our feeling was based on daily observation and reports from the field. The full fraction was put on a military base to the dislike and protest of several of the fraction members who joked about it. We prepared according to conditions and on September 9th, Saturday afternoon a mob of several hundred, overseers, bosses and part of the committee of 100 included with the "law's" protection, with rifles, clubs and blackjacks assembled at a meeting place in South Gastonia, chased all comers away and attacked a speaker's car and beat up the occupants. It was the beginning of the open drive on us. The speakers were lucky to get out with such little damage.

This brought home a warning and the reality of the situation to the rest of the comrades. We prepared to answer this with a mass meeting there, our regular Saturday one the next week and with a week's mobilization for it. Monday the mistrial brought the second trial to an end and that night the black hundreds rode led by Bulwinkle and Solicitor Carpenter, swept three counties, raided three offices, looked everywhere for all organizers they could lay hand on, destroyed records they could find and kidnapped Wells, Saylor and Lell and were not fortunate in obtaining the others or our main records due mainly to

our early preparations and possibly to luck.

Our mass meetings were stopped except in Charlotte where the first one held after the raids shows the workers 100 per cent behind us and a good defense corps ready for anything. While the black hundreds had free reign for the following period we were daily going to mill locals in the area and setting up an underground apparatus. The fact that we had over two dozen mill locals, functioning well for such workers new at organization saved the day and laid the basis for our comeback and also prevented the black hundreds from driving us out of the whole area. The secret mill local meetings were the reasons for the mob follow up in small bands. They aimed to stop them, to get the speakers and organizers, break up the work for October 12-13 and defeat our work for the next trial. They succeeded in taking Cleo Tessener, our King Mt. organizer out on the night of September 18.

Fair progress under these difficult conditions was being made for the Saturday counter-attack of our forces. Each night textile workers from locals in the area took turns and sacrificed the night as guards near the jail in Charlotte where our comrades were prisoners to prevent another attempt to lynch them. The action of the police in the immediate preceding period proved not to us, who were already convinced) but to the textile workers, that they could not be depended upon and this law was the bosses' law and not our law.

Our progress for Saturday received a big set back on September 12 when the Charlotte police raided our organizers' house one block from the jail, took our weapons and ammunition of defense, arrested comrade Saul, Martin and five others and charged them with "attempt to overthrow the government of N.C." This charge did not get to first base but it had its desired effect of disorganizing our force and taking our defense weapons while the black hundreds were arming everyday for Saturday.

From the governor to the policeman the "law and order" program was a policy of hands off the bosses' black hundreds and search and seizure of the textile workers old rusty hunting guns. The policy was in well oiled shape Saturday when the bands of the bosses black hundreds of overseers, foremen, hired gunmen and reactionary organization forces rode every road in and around Gastonia in high powered cars with guns held high. In every mill town they dispersed the textile workers headed for So. Gastonia when possible. This culminated in the murder of Ella May, a murder committed by the mill owners, their police, the Governor's force and their thugs to carry out the work. The other organizers who took part in the Saturday attempt to get to So. Gastonia ended with their narrow escape.

What's Going On in China?

Continued from Page 1)

conditions in China cried out for independent Communist leadership, for the arming of the workers and peasants, for the unleashing the forces of revolt in the cities and the countryside against both the Chinese and the foreign bourgeoisie. In the name of the "democratic dictatorship" which "could not be skipped" and the bloc of all classes, the Stalin-Bucharin regime worked hand in hand with the Chiang Kai-Sheks and Wang Chin Weis to stifle the mass movement. To the extent that the Stalin regime is responsible for the leadership of the present "Communist armies" ("Communist" today and with Feng or Chiang tomorrow) it is guilty of hindering the real mobilization of the masses for the class struggle.

The Correctness of the Opposition

There is deep discontent and acute suffering in the country. How great the revolutionary tidal wave was when the Russian Opposition wrote its platform, and how correct was its prognosis is evidenced by the fact that three years after the crushing of the Canton insurrection and the industrial proletariat, the movement of 1925-6-7 still finds a belated echo on the countryside. But the peasantry is no independent social force. Its liberation from landlordism and feudal elements, the nationalization of the land and its redistribution can be achieved as the Russian revolution demonstrated, neither in alliance with the bourgeoisie nor by its own independent action, but in alliance with and under the leadership of the industrial proletariat. The democratic revolution, the essence of which is the agrarian revolution, can, in other words, be realized only by the socialist dictatorship, which nationalizes the basic in-

dustries and establishes worker's control. The agrarian revolution by itself cannot solve the problems of the Chinese revolution. It can only be one phase of the struggle against world imperialism. The national unification of China and its customs independence—that it the monopoly of foreign trade, will be ushered in under the dynamic action of the proletariat.

There is no "short cut" to the revolution. The "easy" ways of opportunism and putschism prove in the end the longest ways. The need of the hour in China is to rally the masses against the counter-revolutionary ruling bourgeois cliques. The Communist Party must root itself again in the industrial proletariat, cement its alliance with the poor peasantry, and organize the great masses around a program of partial demands with the Constituent Assembly as the focal point. And the struggle against foreign imperialist intervention, a hindrance to any revolutionary progress, must be taken up in earnest.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

KLORKEIT No. 4

Note that the fourth number of Klorkeit, organ of the Jewish Left Opposition group in France, has arrived. It contains among other articles the fourth installment of comrade Trotsky's "The Third Period of the Mistakes of the Comintern."

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue

New York, N. Y.

Strong-Arm Stalinism Defeated in N. Y.

The corner of 125th Street and 5th Ave., a working class section, has been occupied every Saturday night by speakers of the Communist League of America (Opposition), New York branch, for two summers. Every week, from two to four hundred workers have gathered regularly to hear our point of view on current questions. The neighborhood being well populated by Russian White emigres also, our speakers have constantly been confronted with their hecklers who attempt to influence the workers against Communism and the Russian workers' republic. Their attacks were always easily met by our comrades, although the White guards persist, and recently have begun to throw water-bags and tomatoes from the roofs and windows.

At the last few meetings, however, the White guard scum has found an unexpected ally in the attempt to break up our meetings. That ally consists of a couple of hooligans, parading under the name of the official Comfunist party, who try to break up the meetings by violence. On July 26th, when only four of our comrades were present at the meeting a gang of 30-40 Stalinist hoodlums commenced a concentrated fire of shouting, booing, heckling and disturbance while comrades Jane and Max Rose were speaking in defense of the Soviets which were being calumniated by the Whites. Towards the end of the meeting, they made a rush for the platform, one or two of them mounted it to shout a few of the stock "slogans against Trotskyism" they learned from Browder, and then disappeared into the night.

The following week, August 2, another group of Party members, accompanied by the same drunken individual who had led the assault the week before, appeared at the meeting while comrade Max Shachtman was speaking to some 400 workers. For over an hour, this young bully carried on a disgraceful shouting down of the speaker, who was explaining the reasons for the Fish Committee "investigation" of Communism. He was evidently trying to whip the Party members present into a frenzy, preparatory to rushing the platform again, but his conduct was so scandalous that when Shachtman asked the other Party members if they agreed with his actions, they answered publicly in the negative!

The White Guards assisted the Stalinist hooligan by continuing to throw water-bags and vegetables from concealed spots, until the workers in the audience, outraged by the arrogance of the disrupter, helped our comrades remove him from the scene.

Other Party members remained, and together with non-Party workers, asked numerous questions in a comradely manner. They realized that the conduct of the disrupter only discredited Communism and the C. P. in the eyes of the workers. The tactics of some Stalinists, inspired by their leaders, of roving the streets in search of workers' meetings to break up only ends, as it must, in alienating every honest worker from the Party.

The Opposition, of course, will continue to hold its meetings in public, to defend them against White Guard Russians' and even against Stalinists when that is necessary.

Φ

A CORRECTION ON CHINA

The Militant is glad to correct a false impression it left in a previous issue concerning the groupings within the Chinese Communist movement. Our attention was called to it by comrade Niel-Sih who wrote us from Shanghai: "By the way, a mistake is made by you in saying that the Chinese Left Opposition published the organ *The Proletarian*. In fact, it is the Right Opposition group, led by Chen Du-Siu (former secretary of the C.P.) who publishes *The Proletarian*. The *Our Word* group which wrote to you that they would publish the *Proletarian* never realized its plan until this name was adopted by the Right Opposition group which is now masking itself in Left Opposition phrases. The three chief currents in the Opposition movement in China are the ultra-Left *Our Word*, the Left *October* group, and the Right *Proletarian*."

If the number on your wrapper is

53

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Stalin and his Agabekov

The White Guard emigration is celebrating a new victory of which we have already spoken in the Militant. A new Soviet agent, Agabekov, has just passed into its camp; he is under the special protection of the agents of Tardieu. The triumph of the Whites is not without grounds: a responsible collaborator of the G.P.U. has passed over to their camp. He is preparing or has already prepared a book in which he reveals the activity of the G.P.U. in the East. The model for this type of book has been furnished by Bessedovsky: the secrets and the clandestine affairs which are inevitably bound up with the class struggle of the workers' government against the imperialist foes are intermingled by these gentlemen of invention and calumny, according to the taste of their masters.

Who Agabekov Is

The White press has already given a lively account of the great services rendered by yesterday's Stalinist, Bessedovsky, to the Rumanian Siguranza by his revelations on the Soviet government. Agabekov begins by giving directly the address of the secret agency abroad. At his work of denunciation, he passed the last few months in Constantinople where he arrived directly from Moscow. So it is not a matter of an official who passed a few years abroad without leaving and who "broke away" from his country. No, it is a matter of a man tested in a long-lasting work at Moscow itself, named quite recently to a new post. He is a man doubly tested, that is, from the point of view of his work and from the point of view of the Party line. Had he not been, Agabekov would not have been named for a post still fresh from the death of Blumkin. For such is the irony of the fate of Stalin: having killed Blumkin he found nobody to replace him with than Agabekov.

Now we receive first-hand confirmation: Agabekov has stated to journalists that Blumkin was shot for his "Trotskyism", and that he, Agabekov, was called to Moscow as an unbending supporter of the general line. He was initiated into the whole situation, from the angle of his special work as well as of "Trotskyism". Experts of Stalinism like Menzhinsky, Iagoda, Trilisser (didn't they take Yaroslavsky into this thing as a partner?) did not find the slightest blemish on the political face of Agabekov.

After an examination, and an authorized instruction, he was sent to Constantinople to replace Blumkin, shot a while before by Stalin. And immediately after his arrival, Agabekov began to write a book, or rather a report to the agents of world imperialism on the secret work of the G.P.U. and the Comintern in the East. The book finished, he went with it to Paris and immediately placed himself under the protections of Tardieu's agents.

The trustworthy diplomat of Stalin, Bessedovsky, before leaping over the Embassy wall to render his services to the Rumanian Siguranza, disposed of all the affairs and the documents belonging to Rakovsky. That is not all. Bessedovsky participated directly in the expulsion of Rakovsky from the Party. Christian Georgevitch Rakovsky was not "trustworthy" enough: in the first place, he did not admit that a genuine Russian socialism could be constructed with the Kulak, and then he denied that the Kulak could be suppressed in two years by means of the G.P.U. And, "untrustworthy" and "inconsistent" element that he was, Rakovsky was placed under conditions that prevent him from continuing his revolutionary work, uninterrupted for forty years, and which expose him to physical ruin. Death for Rakovsky! The open road for the Bessedovskys!

The Breach in Stalin's Monolithism

Beginning with 1924, a rule was established in the G.P.U., then in the army, by virtue of which Communists not only have to fulfill their duty towards the Party, but they must also think every minute like the Central Committee. Subsequently, the rule was extended to the whole Party and rounded out with another: the Central Committee must think like Stalin. After this, Stalinist monolithism seemed to be 100 percent guaranteed. But now a breach is opened; not having the right to think, to doubt, or to reason, the monolithic Stalinists have begun to jump directly from the heights of their responsible posts to the French, British and Rumanian Secret

Service. In full battle array of Stalin-Eucharin against the Trotskyists, the Centrists drag behind them an immense reactionary tail which beats them over the head. The Bessedovskys, the Agabekovs are a part of this heavy tail. Debauched Thermidorians have completely revealed themselves abroad, for there there is only a wall to separate them from their real master. And in the U.S.S.R.? How many are there like Bessedovsky and Agabekov in every institution, in every region, in every district? Who could count them, when they are themselves to be counted? Who will purge the Party of them, when it is they who purge it of others? Who will perceive their "hesitations", when they ne-

A Slanderer Answered

Who and Where Are the Real Deserters?

The most revolting collection of slanders yet produced in the "struggle against Trotskyism" appeared in the *Daily Worker* on July 29, 1930. The individual best fitted by nature for this scavenger's job is, of course, Earl Browder. In this article, Browder sinks to a depth we had previously imagined nobody in the Communist movement could reach.

The "Final" Merger

That he repeats for the hundredth time, like a creature whose mind is wandering, that we have "finally" merged with the Lovestone group is of little consequence, for the workers in the movement know he is lying as he lied on previous occasions. Party comrades now know that this Stalinist floor-walker speaks so incessantly about the Trotsky-Lovestone "unity" in order to make them forget the real Browder-Lovestone united front which expelled the Left Opposition from the Party, burglarized us, and used gangsters to break up our meetings.

Nor will any serious person be impressed when Browder writes: "They act as stool-pigeons and provocateurs in the class struggle in the United States". For does not every Communist know that it is Browder's international faction—not ours—which has produced Chiang Kai-Shek, Purcells, Bessedovskys and Agabekovs without number?

It is when this paid employee of the Stalin clique speaks of "desertions" that he deserves his proper reply. This person who hides away comfortably in an obscure office writes of the two noted fighters who have recently adhered to our platform: ..

"Hugo Oehler deserted his post in the South at a difficult moment, without notice, and simply disappeared. When discovered later in Chicago, he was found in a pathological condition suffering from hallucinations, which was the only factor saving him then from expulsion from the Party. He is suffering from a serious case of paranoia. His 'conversion' to Trotskyism is a by-product of his mental breakdown. The case of George Saul differs somewhat; he ran away from a six months' sentence on the chain-gang in Carolina, covering up his desertion by leaving the Party and announcing himself as a Trotskyite."

Repelling as it is even to write about this garbage a few facts as well known to Browder as they are to us, must nevertheless be established. The unblemished records of comrades Oehler and Saul need no defense. It is sufficient to remind our readers that they fought for Communism and the textile workers in the South, under the daily threat of lynchings while their present detractors directed them from the safe vantage point of New York. That the "paranoid" Oehler (Phillip Scheidemann used to say exactly that about Karl Liebknecht!) after his "desertion" from the South was offered the post of national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union and other responsible Party posts in New York and Chicago. That comrade Saul, after his "desertion", was made organizer for the International Labor Defense. That James Allander Party trade union director in Denver, wrote comrade Saul, under date of July 4, 1930, (after the "desertion"): "I was instructed by the Central Committee to take up with you, your coming into Denver to take the position of district organizer for our new district", etc., etc. That comrade Saul, now working in the Western wheat fields, has repeatedly written to the I.L.D. about get-

ting back to the South on his case without receiving the slightest reply.

ver hesitate until they have completely betrayed?

The International Opposition would not be worthy of its name if it were not capable of drawing all the necessary conclusions from the Agabekov affair and of explaining them to the Communist workers. Every member of the C.I. must be obliged to examine fundamentally the fact that Blumkin, the irreproachable soldier of the revolution, was shot by Stalin for "Trotskyism". In place of Blumkin was put the loyal Stalinist, Agabekov who passed over immediately to the service of the imperialist police.

The Agabekovs constitute an enormous layer of the Stalinist bureaucracy: they are a legitimate product of the Stalinist regime. Functionaries can close their eyes to these facts. The revolutionary worker must discern the grave peril from these symptoms.

But since Browder has spoken about "desertions", let us ask a few really pertinent questions:

Karl Reeve put on his hat and coat in Charlotte when the Party fraudster decided to go into Gastonia, and said, before he left to catch the train to New York: "You people can go down there and get lynched But I'm going home!" Is this not the same Reeve who was rewarded for his courage by being made Party district organizer in Minnesota by this same Browder?

Where is John Owen who left the South without permission? Where is Otto Hall who refused to go to Gastonia or any other part of the strike area? Where is J. W. Johnstone who refused to participate in the strike, saying: "I am not going to be made a fool of." Where is the president of the N.T.W., Jim Reid, who always refused to go to the South, was finally taken there almost by force, and then disappeared from Charlotte, turning up in New York and explaining his presence by the need to pay taxes on his Rhode Island properties!?

Where is George Pershing, who left the Bessemer City strike at the most critical moment without permission or notice and skipped North?

Is the Sroka who is still organizer for the N.T.W. the same Sroka who left the Pinevill strike without permission, so that the picket line collapsed and the strike was lost?

Is the Murdoch whom Browder just made secretary of the N.T.W. the same Murdoch who refused to heed the instructions to go to Elizabethton?

We could speak about more notorious cases, some of which will yet be heard from. But not being stool-pigeons, we do not furnish the state prosecutors with information as to who skips bail or who runs away from sentences—even when there are such cases. This contemptible work we leave to the Browders who are so skilful at it

Why is Browder so recklessly venomous against the Opposition and its supporters? For two reasons. The first is a quite personal one. The Militant has already exposed this "revolutionist" as the banqueting campaigner in China of the butcher of Canton's Communists, General Li Ti Sin. Browder dared not and could not deny this, and it sticks in his craw.

The second reason for his bile is the growth of the Opposition in the face of all his attacks, both "literary" and gangsterist. The step taken by comrades Saul, Oehler and others recently has been additional proof that the truth of the Opposition continues to penetrate into the ranks of the Party, convincing its best workers. Naturally this enrages the Browders who have no ideological weapons with which to combat the Opposition, but only falsehood, calumny and thuggery. Their rage conceals their fear. The victory of the Marxist Opposition means an end to the Browders. Their spirit is incompatible with revolutionary movement.

As long as we still have capitalism and socialism, we cannot live peacefully—either one or the other will be the victor in the end. The obituary will have to be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic.—LENIN

Comrade A. C. Miller Suspended

At its recent meeting, the national committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) adopted a decision to suspend comrade A.C. Miller, of Williston, No. Dakota, from the organization for a period of three months. The decision was caused by the failure of comrade Miller to acknowledge the correctness of the League's position in condemning the action he took in the recent North Dakota primaries. It was his position that since there was no Communist Party organization in the field, nor even a farmer-labor party or non-partisan league, he was justified in running for the nomination to office on the primaries of the Republican Party so long as he announced himself as a Communist and advocated a Communist policy.

The national committee of the League took a categorically opposite stand to this action, which flies in the face of all the teachings of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, of decades of experience, and more directly, of the platform of the Opposition. To run, even as a Communist, on a Republican primary or list is to sow illusion and confusion in the minds of the workers and poor farmers. To take such an action is to create the illusion in their minds that the machinery of the bourgeois parties can be utilized to any extent by the toilers. In this particular instance, it was a repetition on a small scale of Townleyism (Non-Partisan League), against which revolutionists must conduct the most merciless struggle. The aim of the Communists is to separate the masses from the bourgeois parties, not to attach them.

Comrade Miller's position in the movement, and his years of devotion to the cause, convinced the national committee that the error arose out of an unclear understanding of the principles involved rather than a conscious departure from Communism. The three-months' suspension was therefore decided upon, as well as an attempt by correspondence to change the opinion of comrade Miller. In addition, it was decided, that should comrade Miller fail to acknowledge the complete incorrectness of his position at the end of the suspension period, his expulsion will follow automatically. It is the desire and hope of the national committee that this step can be avoided and comrade Miller return to his active functioning in the organization.

The Epoch of Stalin

Three years ago a certain Xenophon discovered that besides the epochs of Marx and Lenin there was still another: the epoch of Stalin.

At the 13th Convention of the Communist Party of White Russia that just took place it remained for Manuilsky to prove that this epoch puts that of Lenin in the shade. Manuilsky stated:

"Comrades, I ask you: when was the Party, even in the period when it stood under the gifted leadership of Ilitch, so consolidated, iron a power as today?"

From this deification of the Stalinist regime, which throttles every opinion in the Party, to a disguised accusation against Lenin, who, as is known, "undermined the iron power" of the present Party by the methods of inner-Party democracy—is only a short step.

At about the same time, *Pravda* publishes in a leader a brief outline of the history of the Moscow Party generation. Main content: The struggle against "Trotskyism".

And most remarkable: the history of the Moscow organization is begun with the year 1923! What was there up to 1923? What was there under Lenin? Why does the history of the Moscow Party begin only with the date of Lenin's illness?

The answer is clear. It is with 1923 that the new epoch of the Stalin regime begins, the "highest perfection of Party development" —VALENTIN OLBERG

Φ

If it is at all possible, to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only after the conquest of power but also "prior" to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the C.P. of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so.

—TROTSKY

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III, No. 29

NEW YORK, N. Y. | September 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Military Revolt in Peru

The constant struggle between British and North American financial interests, is clearly discernable in the present military revolt in Peru. Following close on the heels of the fall of the Siles dictatorship in Bolivia, Augusto B. Leguia, director Peru, has been forced to resign the government of that country into the hands of a military committee.

For eleven years, Leguia has served Wall Street well as its Peruvian "viceroy", being ever ready to support the American imperialist interests against their British rivals as well as against the masses of native peons and workers. The various movements which have attempted to struggle in one form or another against the existing regime have been suppressed arbitrarily and in the most ruthless fashion. Consequently the prisons are filled with political prisoners ranging from the liberal bourgeois elements around Haya de la Torre in the A.P.R.A., which under the veil of the anti-imperialist struggle covers up its services to British capitalism, to the workers' and peasants' leaders who have dared to organize the masses against the imperialist exploitation.

A few years ago considerable attention was called in the revolutionary and even in the bourgeois press to the system of forced labor existing in the mines and highways of Peru, the peasants and Indians of certain regions being forced to work for a nominal wage and at times for nothing at all for a certain number of days yearly as a sort of "patriotic contribution" to the country's progress.

Peru is one of Wall Street's most productive colonies, being especially rich in oil, copper, vanadium and molybdenum. The interests of British imperialism are also large, amounting to \$140,897,897 on January 1, 1929 as against \$150,889,000 for the United States at the same date. Prior to Leguia's administration British investments greatly exceeded those of the United States bankers, but the war, together with the control by Wall Street of the political machine headed by Leguia, gave American interests the opportunity to expand and to outstrip the British interests. So far as can be judged by the information available up to now Leguia's downfall, while heralded throughout the world and especially throughout Latin America as a blow to "absolutism" is recognized on the New York stock exchange as a blow to the American investors. This is seen by the sudden drop taken by stocks of the Vanadium Corporation, the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, and by the government bonds and sharp fall of the Peruvian currency. Calvin Coolidge expressed the feelings of his master when he stated in his daily gangle that "the reports of a revolution making headway in Peru are disquieting and discouraging."

On the other hand we cannot refrain from cautioning the editors of the *Daily Worker* against going into ecstasies over the "attempt of the Peruvian masses to seize power". They made the mistake of so analyzing the Bolivian military coup d'Etat of a few weeks ago. Unfortunately the organization and fighting abilities of the Peruvian proletariat, as well as of the Bolivian, are at too low an ebb to make possible at the present moment an effective utilization of these family quarrels among the imperialists and their lackeys.

—RUSSELL BLACKWELL.

Vote Communist!

Against the Parties of Unemployment and Wage-Cuts, and the «Socialist» Reformers

The election campaign is well under way. The capitalist class has put up dummies who execute its orders in the city, state and national legislatures, and the sham battles between the two openly capitalist parties have begun with the usual attacks—entirely correct—upon each other's integrity, malfeasance and corruption in office, dishonesty and graft. The bankruptcy of the Republican and Democratic parties has rarely been brought out in such bold relief.

Capitalist Bankruptcy

The apostle of "permanent prosperity", Hoover, has been neither desirous nor capable of stemming the tide of misery and suffering that has inundated millions of unemployed workers and those at work whose standards are being brutally lowered. Hoover's Democratic critics, who are making the most of the political capital with which his incapacity serves them, shout all the more loudly against their Republican brothers-under-the-skin because they must themselves conceal their total failure to alleviate the indescribable conditions of the workers in those localities where there are Democratic administrations (New York City New York state, throughout the South, etc., etc.).

The truth is that the capitalist politicians, who represent the system which produces unemployment, child labor, prostitution, wars and misery, are cynically unconcerned about the sufferings of the workers except insofar as it gives them arguments against those in office and for those who want to get at the trough.

The third party of the bourgeoisie, the so-called Socialist Party, is still in the field with its petty shop-keeper's reforms. It has become a pure and simple election apparatus, with no more fixed membership

than Tammany Hall, with candidates whose chief aim is to attract votes and not to advance the class interests of the workers. The party of Debs has become the party of Norman Thomas, with his quack reforms, and Heywood Brown, the idol of the liberal intellectuals.

The "Bulwark against Bolshevism"

The American Socialist party is the spiritual and material brother of the British Labor Party, under whose administration unemployment in England has grown and flourished like the green bay tree, under whose knout, saber and machine gun the Indian workers and peasants are being massacred. The Socialist Party is the political machine of the corrupt labor bureaucracy in the needle trades and elsewhere, the parasites who work hand in hand with the bosses against the cruelly exploited workers. The Socialist Party is a vote catching machine that constitutes a safe deposit for the discontentment of the workers. It is a "bulwark against Bolshevism"—as the more enlightened capitalist papers perceive—that is, a bulwark against the advance of the working class in struggle against their oppressors.

The workers are confronted—not only on election day but all through the year—by a dictatorship of the capitalist class, by that group of James W. Gerard's multimillionaires who REALLY run the country, a dictatorship that can be abolished only by a dictatorship of the workers, that is, of the overwhelming majority of the people, a dictatorship that would be a thousand times more democratic than any capitalist "democracy". The whole election system is a monstrous fraud of capitalism, a fraud which creates the illusion that the workers can seriously improve their lot or take control of industry by throwing enough bits

of paper into the ballot box to "elect the right men"

The control of government, of industry, of power are never decided on the floors of congress, but on the battlefield of the class struggle. The elections give the workers the opportunity of testing their strength, their mood for struggle. The elections give the workers the opportunity of transforming the fraudulent paper battle around the ballot box into a genuine struggle for their demands: a struggle in the form of demonstrations and strikes that break through the hypocritical veil of spurious "democratic" elections.

The Main Issue

The principal issue of the day is unemployment, and the wage cuts, evictions, and starvation that accompany it. The Communist Party has properly focused the attention of the working class on this point. This party is the only one in the field that represents not only the immediate but also the final aim of the proletariat.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) has many disagreements with the policy of the Communist Party. We warn against the Party's tendency to make the social insurance bill the focal point in the election campaign. It is not through bills in Congress that the unemployed will obtain relief, the evicted a rent moratorium, the workers an end to wage cuts. To cause the workers to believe otherwise would be to sow the most destructive illusions among them. It is not Congress that can and will aid the unemployed by adopting a social insurance plan; it is not a bill that will aid the jobless in some dim, distant future (if ever under capitalism). It is the living, genuine struggle of the unemployed and the starving for food—of which there is plenty; of the homeless and evicted for roofs over their heads and against the grasping landlords—and homes there are enough—in short, it is only by their own struggles every day (and not around a ballot box) that workers can obtain relief.

The Communist League is also opposed to the appeal the Communist Party is making to the farmers—an appeal that does not unite the interests of the workers of the city with the workers in the fields and the poorest section of the farmers, but sets the interests of the farmers in general against those of the city working class.

Where We Stand

But the Communist Party nevertheless remains OUR PARTY. Its errors and shortcomings are the errors and shortcomings of a temporary leadership violently imposed upon it. The Communist League has appealed to the Party for united action in support of the Communist campaign. The faction agents who run the Party by grace of appointment have rejected this appeal. We will continue in spite of that to support the Communist Party campaign with all our strength.

The Communist Party is the only Party of the working class. It embraces the main elements in the revolutionary movement. Despite its incompetent leadership and their destructive policies, the Party remains the only one that workers conscious of their class interests can support. A vote to the Democratic, Republican or Socialist parties is a vote thrown away to the class enemies of the workers and their loyal assistants and moderators. A vote for the Communist Party is a vote for working class power.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

—S—n

Blumkin Dead-Is Rakovsky Next?

Every day brings news of intensified measures of repression against the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. Stalin is taking new steps forward. In order to apply the "law" with even greater cynicism, he constantly extends the meaning of the accusations against our comrades. "Counter-revolutionist" addressed to them is not an insulting and lying epithet, it is an accusation involving five and ten years in prison. Comrade Trotsky has been expelled from the U.S.S.R. with the accusation of organizing "counter-revolutionary" movements—that is of organizing the Bolshevik, proletarian resistance to the pressure of class enemies whom the Stalinist apparatus fights in words.

At one time Yaroslavsky invented the police conspiracy of the "Wrangel officer"—of a so-called collusion with an agent provocateur, former Wrangel officer sent into the Opposition's ranks by the G.P.U.—in order to compromise our comrades in some infamous plot. Stalin continues to create "amalgams" of this kind at every occasion. But he no longer needs such complicated fables. He directly "amalgamates" the Oppositionists with the laws that punish counter-revolutionary activity of White Guards, capitalists and speculators. Hundreds of militants, revolutionary workers, have been sent into places of deportation, then into prisons and solitary confinement under the lying accusation of "counter-revolutionary" activity.

Now we learn that a new system of

accusations has been set going by the Stalinist apparatus. Our comrades are accused of **espionage in the interests of the counter-revolution** when their relations with **Opposition Communists outside the U.S.S.R.** are discovered. This monstrosity was disclosed by an accusation of espionage brought against a comrade imprisoned at Chimkent under the pretext that he was corresponding with comrade Trotsky. This is no isolated fact but a system. We learn that comrade Pestov, at Slavianskoye Selo, was accused in the same sense at the moment of his arrest "of entertaining relations with the counter-revolution abroad". Similar accusations are brought against other comrades.

The aim of this new and abominable invention is clear. The accusation of belonging to the counter-revolution "in general" is not sufficient to attain the aim sought, which is the physical extermination of the **Left Opposition!** To be able to lock up revolutionists for ten years in solitary confinement prison, to exterminate the best groups of the Opposition by shooting them at will, they have invented "espionage" and "relations with the counter-revolution abroad". The mechanics of Stalin are obvious. It is this blind and murderous mechanics that had Blumkin shot, who followed Eutov and others to their death. Stalin is trying to generalize his activities—which are genuinely counter-revolutionary.

Stalin is persecuting the very best.

(Continued on Page 5)

Carolina Demands Its Pound of Flesh

The hue and cry has been raised. The posses are out for their victims. The North Carolina supreme court has upheld the decision of the lower court in the case of the seven militants convicted for their activities in the recent Gastonia strike, and the authorities are demanding the surrender of the defendants out on bail. But the defendants are not surrendering and they are not to be found. It is even said that some are on their way to the Soviet Union or have already arrived there. And the chivalrous southern lynchers of Negroes and women are in an uncontrollable rage. Their victims are beyond their grasp. They have no intention of serving twenty of their best years in the murder holes that serve as Carolina's prisons.

The fury of the textile kings' legal footmen is boundless. Here they went to the expense of staging an elaborate frame-up in court, of producing their prejudiced witnesses, of paying god-fearing jurors, in order to send the active Gastonia Reds to prison for terms that mean life. And after the trial, and after the appeal, the cells prepared for the workers are just as empty as when it all began, and they promise to remain empty.

The hyenas have been cheated of their prey; the courts of their victims; the bloated textile manufacturers of their vengeance. And the people who murdered Ella May in cold blood are shouting about "honor", the people who raided and smashed tent colonies and relief stores, who kidnapped and tortured union organizers, who brutally assaulted picket lines, who organized hooded terror bands, are shouting about "the processes of law". The bullies who attack women and children, who lynch Negroes when they outnumber them a hundred to one, who are immune from reprisals by the mighty powers of the state and its courts and police forces, are shouting about "cowards who run away"!

The respectable and "impartial" capitalist press of the North has joined in the hue and cry for surrendering the seven. The New York **Telegraph**, with its pseudo-liberalism that melts away at every touch of the class struggle, also presumes to speak of the missing defendants as "cowards". Its editors probably got the tip from the miserable article in the **Daily Worker** recently by Earl Browder, who accused comrade George Saul of cowardice for having "run away from a six-month chain gang sentence". This creature of Stalin, without convictions of his own or the courage of the convictions allotted to him by his employer, maintains a deep lence on the Gastonia defendants now, not having the courage to defend their refusal to walk into the life-long dungeons the Southern Bourbons have prepared for them.

For our part, the prison cells of Southern reaction may continue to be empty. The executioners of capitalist class justice have already taken more than enough toll in the wracked and tortured bodies of thousands of labor's best sons. Let the assassins of Haymarket, of Little and Hill, of Sacco and Vanzetti, cynical jailors of Mooney and Billings, the Centralia men, the Communists throughout the country—let these Shylocks demand their pound of flesh of the Gastonia militants. Their howls leave the class conscious working class cold . . . and firmer in its determination to release the class war prisoners who are still inside.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

'Third Period' Bluff

Bessemer City Strikes Again

On May 18, over 800 workers of the American Mills, No. 1 and 2 of Bessemer City, N.C., went out on strike against a 20 to 30 percent wage cut and the ruinous pace at which they are driven by the mill bosses. In flaming headlines, the **Daily Worker** immediately announced this defensive struggle as being "under the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union". The next issue of the **Worker** however, meekly and obscurely informed us that "there is a danger of a repetition of the form of betrayal made famous in the Flint automobile strike, with misleaders seeking to betray the strike by waging an attack on the T.U.U.L. organization which has outlined a policy of struggle and spreading the strike." On the third day, the **Daily Worker** declared even more humbly and more obscurely, that "it is not true, as previously stated that the N.T.W.U. is leading the strike."

Leadership of strikes and other struggles is not won overnight, nor do betrayals take place with such startling and mechanical suddenness. Betrayals come "like lightning" only as culminating points of actions and tactics over a period of time, prepared in advance in a manner obvious to the militant elements (at least they should be obvious), and this is precisely what the **Worker** tries to cover up. To make it clear would be to expose the results of the official Party's policy.

A Year Ago and Now

One year ago, we led the strike in Bessemer City at the same time that we led the Gastonia strike, and although the strike committee had misleaders and stool pigeons on it, our forces with correct tactics, were able to isolate them and gain the leadership of the strike. The Bessemer City strike, it is true, had largely been foreshadowed by the Gastonia strike but it was our tactics that carried us forward, and the July 28 Bessemer City conference, with a couple of hundred delegates and over 1,500 workers present demonstrated our progress. We had a union hall in Bessemer, held regular meetings, had two mill locals and two other groups in the first stages of mill locals. Bessemer City supported us through the overwhelming majority of the textile workers and the police were friendly just to the degree that they were former textile workers themselves and felt our strength and the solidarity of the workers. (Bessemer City, by the way, was the home town of the martyred Ella May.)

From a condition of hegemony and undisputed leadership and with the possibilities greater and favorable objective factors, only one year passes for us to reach a point where our leadership is not only rejected, but organizers sent into the town are beaten up and almost lynched by hostile elements, who, consciously or not, play the game of the bosses and the Black Hundreds. Last year, when the Black Hundreds rode Gaston County we were able to hold our own in Bessemer City (which is six miles from Gastonia); today the tables are turned.

Not all of the bombastic phrase-mongering, and the self-praise so disgraceful in a revolutionist, not all the cheap journalistic talk about "Our Party being the only revolutionary leader of the mass struggles of the American workers", can successfully conceal the lamentable failure of the Party bureaucrats and their policies. The Bessemer City strike, like the Flint, Michigan and Pittston strikes before it reveal the fact that the Party leadership, substituting phrases and ever-changing theses for solid, every day preparatory work, is usually caught entirely unawares by struggles in precisely those

localities and industries where it should have been decisively in the forefront and leadership.

Instead of this "difficult" work of persistent (and sometimes slow) foundation laying, the Party leaders follow the policy of making the membership drunk with intoxicating phrases about the "masses following our leadership by the million", about "the crisis in American capitalism is finally breaking it down", and similar blubber.

Result of Phrase Mongering

The result is that when a struggle does break out, the Party and the Left wing are frequently on the outside, estranged from the workers. This was true in the anthracite movement; and to cover up its own bankruptcy, the leadership followed its usual course of monstrous bluff to the effect that the "N. M. U. was leading thousands of miners in a strike against unemployment". The same thing held true in Flint. No preparations of a substantial, solid nature. The strike broke out. The customary concealment of impotence by loud shouting and bluff to the effect that the "Auto Workers Industrial Union is leading the Flint stikers"—until the ease with which the bosses' agent, Comstock, sold out the workers put an end to the pitiful fairy tales of the **Daily Worker**. And now the Bessemer City strike in the heart of the Party's former strength in the South, without the slightest Communist or Left wing influence on it. Here the attempt to bluff about "N.T.W.U. leadership" collapsed in two days, and the shamefaced denial had to be recorded quietly in the Party press.

The Party is entirely correct in pointing out that a leadership which rejects class struggle unionism and direction, and Communist participation will run the strike to ground. The Party is similarly correct in fighting against the element in control of the strike and attempting to win the strikers to the National Textile Workers Union. But the Party methods are wrong and it is these that have given birth to the very forces they are fighting. To miss opportunities and fight with false exaggerated policies, is to play into the hands of the reactionary element who can then demagogically influence the workers against a proletarian outlook and method of struggle.

It must be repeated that Bessemer City is in the very heart of the Party's most sensational struggle, of its fortresses in the South. That it is now entirely out of the N.T.W.U.'s hand is an alarm signal for the Communist workers. The "third period" and its philosophy have already witnessed several strikes in this country: Illinois, Flint, Imperial Valley, Pittston, and now Bessemer City. They were indications of the better objective situation for the movement, and the incapacity of the Party leadership. The dumping of the "third period" and its philosophers is the preliminary condition to the progress of the revolutionary movement. Bessemer City shows us why.

—HUGO OEHLER

—HUGO OEHLER

ACT NOW!

The Militant, Room 4
25 Third Avenue, New York City
Enclosed find \$2.00 for one year's
subscription to the Militant. Please
send me at once a copy of Trotsky's
book on the Draft Program.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITYSTATE.....

News from Southern California

LOS ANGELES—

Trials! Every week another one! With the exception of March 6, the demonstrations of February 26, March 20 (Paris Commune), May 1 and August 1, were only attempts at demonstrations but in this reactionary town of L.A. comrades are being arrested for "attempting" as well as for holding a meeting.

At the head of the Red Squad is, none other than Wm. F. Hynes, who boasts of having belonged to the Workers' Party for nine months. At its organization, who boasts of leading a strike in San Pedro—this working class traitor and boiler of little children (for he actually punished children that way) arrests 28 at one meeting, 16 at another, 10 at a third, puts them behind bars, beats them, and then sentences them to long months of imprisonment. There is not a Communist in Los Angeles Party member or not, Y.C.L. member or Pioneer, who hasn't got a jail sentence waiting for him.

Of all the demonstrations, March 6 was the exception, due to the newspaper publicity that the "Communists are going to capture the City Hall". The streets were packed with great crowds who came to see the big show. Where were the masses on May 1 and August 1? They were not to be seen in spite of the fact that 100,000 leaflets were mimeographed and distributed for May 1 and 35,000 for August 1. The "Red" Plaza was empty on both occasions. The Communists were not allowed to enter the Plaza on May 1", and so a few hundred comrades who gathered "demonstrated" on the sidewalks near the Plaza, led by the Pioneers. On August 1, the 50 comrades present witnessed the following demonstration": the Y.C.L. members and Pioneers hired a truck with high sides, hid within it, and entered the Plaza in the truck from which the singing of the "International" aroused the police and 28 were arrested. Of course the papers played it up. "Reds Riot on the Plaza" is their favorite headline.

For the first time in L.A. the jury disagreed in the last two trials. Frank Specator and Carl Sklar, sentenced to 42 years in Folsom and San Quentin were brought handcuffed from the California Bastilles to these trials. Of course, dates for the new trials have already been set. California justice cannot afford to let its victims loose. One woman juror was reprimanded by the judge for reading the **Daily Worker** while on the jury. She replied that the other jurors read the labor-hating Los Angeles Times.

* * *

Organizers in the Party in L.A. change like hot cakes on a Childs' frying pan. Bureaucrat Begler is gone, charged with "criminal neglect of duty". Mobil suddenly disappeared. Clark is in jail. So a 20-year old girl, hardly capable of holding a position, was appointed, for the job.

* * *

The Friends of the Soviet Union held an enthusiastic meeting with Dan Donovan of the American Labor delegation to the Soviet Union. The hall was crowded with a thousand people who listened attentively and applauded heartily, for the story of the Soviet Union is the only one that can fill a hall for the C.P. in Los Angeles. Of course, Donovan did not mention the persecutions undergone by Oppositionists. No questions were asked due to the lateness of the hour, and the pictures shown did not show the prisons and places of exile where Rakovsky and his comrades are suffering under the Stalinist regime.

—B.B.

Φ

To defeat the great, centralized bourgeoisie is a thousand times easier than to "defeat" millions and millions of small owners (bosses) who in their daily, imperceptible intangible but demoralizing activities achieve the very results desired by the bourgeoisie, which restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever in the least weakens the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), aid in fact the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

—LENIN

—LENIN

After the A. C. W. Convention

It is three months since the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was held in Toronto. Are the clothing workers better off today than before the convention? The answer of the workers will be, No! The conditions of the workers are becoming worse day after day.

Let us analyze for a moment what happened at the convention. The writer, in a series of articles in the Militant last May, foretold not to expect anything from the convention, because the rank and file were not represented there.

Convention Accomplishment

What did the convention accomplish except banqueting and boozing? The convention was opened with "God Save the King" and the "Star Spangled Banner." Then came greetings and praise from the chiefs of the organization for not having a militant Left wing opposition present. There was not a single delegate at this convention who had the guts to take the floor and challenge the present administration for the deplorable conditions of the workers. Everything at this convention was decided unanimously.

There were two cliques at the convention, which fought for control of the New York organization: the Forward Beckerman clique and the Hillman clique. Both fought to keep the workers in submission. When the question of the New York organization came before the convention, Beckerman took the floor and made a speech. He showed how the workers in N.Y. suffer, and that the organization is in a critical condition. There was no one to laugh at him, and it would be proper were not the conditions of the tailors so tragic. This is the man responsible for most of the evils in the N.Y. organization, such as the introduction of piece work systems, reductions in wages every season, throwing workers off the job, blackjacking them, etc., and he was the one to oppose the administration. This was merely a political maneuver. Beckerman's speech proved one thing; he was compelled to admit that the workers in New York suffer and work under the most inhuman conditions.

It did not take the shrewd politician, Hillman, long to patch things up and make peace between the two cliques and divide the spoils among them. With this the opposition came to an end.

The convention went on record for life insurance, which means the protection of the workers when they are dead, not when they are alive. The convention also went on record for the 40-hour week, an organizational campaign in every center, and the strengthening of the New York organization. Has Hillman made any attempt to carry through these decisions? No!

The New York Lock-out

In the New York organization, a serious situation developed. Three branches of the industry were locked-out: canvas makers, kneepants makers and children's jacket makers. The employers asked a reduction in wages from the already meager earnings of the workers. Hillman, instead of mobilizing the workers for a strike and demanding the 40-hour week, the abolition of piece work, production standards and reduction of wages, is doing everything in his power with the aid of his paid agents to send the workers back to work with reductions in wages.

Who is responsible for the lock-out of the jacket makers? Max Kaplan, the manager of the contractors' association. This man was expelled years ago from local 12 for being a scab agent and breaking a strike of the Journeymen's Tailors' Union. He was exposed in Hillman's office and Hillman has been dealing with him for the past few years (see *Fortschritt*, official A.C.W. organ of August 11, 1916, page 3.) The Amalgamated fought a lockout for 26 weeks in 1920-21 and Hillman refused to negotiate with the manufacturers' association until lawyer Gordon was withdrawn. For the past few years now Hillman has been dealing with a scab agent.

Is it to be wondered at that the workers have to yield reductions and production and starve under such a bunch of parasites that call themselves union officers? What have the pen-slaves and professional boosters to say about this?

Were Hillman sincere and interested in the suffering of the workers he would declare a general strike and help improve the workers' conditions. But Hillman's union is kept up with the aid of the employers. How can he proceed against the interests of the employers? Although the last three conventions have gone on record for the 40-hour week, Hillman has never made any effort to carry the decision through.

Hillman, you know, is a democrat, a wise statesman, an intelligent leader, a respectable banker. He doesn't believe in calling strikes. We in the Amalgamated are better off than the workers in the other needle trades. We only work 20 and 30 hours a week due to Hillman's efficiency and speed-up system. In reality, the workers in the contracting shops work 46 and 47 hours a week, and the officers of the Joint Board know about it.

The "Organizational Campaign"

What about the organizational campaign? Hillman will surely show wonders, just as he did in Philadelphia where the workers were forced to give a reduction of from 20 to 40 percent under the union agreement. We reproduce here a letter from the Toronto firm of Wm. H. Leishman and Co., signed by president John I. Mills, and dated May 6:

"From investigation, it appears that quite a number of our group are desirous that our shop be a Preferential Union Shop. We have given a good deal of thought to this proposition and have come to the conclusion that to avoid serious disturbance, it is advisable that we carry out your suggestion by entering into an agreement with the Union and subscribe to the Market Agreement now in force with the greater majority of the Toronto manufacturers....

"We have arranged with the Union that the reduced rates offered our Group will be available to any or all of our employees who wish to join them at this time. You will realize that in order to be employed

be a member.

"If there is any information that you require, Mr. Black (the vice-president of the firm) will be glad to have any of you come to his office and discuss any matter that you are not clear on."

Years ago the workers were fired for joining a union; today, the employers urge their workers to join the Amalgamated. Isn't this in the nature of a miracle? I am sure "comrade" J. B. S. Hardman-Salutsky will write an editorial for his boss to prove that the Amalgamated is still a militant union, as he has done on many occasions when the union officialdom forced reductions in wages upon the workers and introduced the piece work system.

Where is the Left Wing?

Who is to be blamed, essentially, for not having a strong Left wing militant group in the Amalgamated? The peanut politicians of the "third period" who, instead of mobilizing the workers and preparing them for a fight inside the union, are calling upon the workers to join the Industrial Union—which simply doesn't work under the present relationship of forces. This policy will only cause a few more victims to lose their jobs and that is the end again. The next day they tell the workers to participate in elections which is advocated by the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

The Left wing must mobilize the workers inside the Amalgamated and fight for policies of the class struggle, as we have pointed out in the Militant a number of times. The Left wing's zig-zag policy of praising Hillman to the skies one day and pulling isolated members out of the union the next day—that is what Hillman and his machine want. This will keep the machine in power and the workers will be left the prey of Hillman, Salutsky and Beckerman. Let us unite our forces inside the organization and do away with the Hillman machine as we once did away with Tom Rickert of the United Garment Workers.

—A. SCHNEIDER

(This article was written during the recent lockout of a few branches of the New York men's clothing workers.—Ed.)

Maurice Malkin Stands with the Opposition!

Maurice Malkin, now serving a sentence in Comstock prison for his activities in the furriers' strike of a few years ago, was the first rank and file worker to rally to the banner of the Left Opposition upon its expulsion from the Party. His incessant agitation and general activity for our movement was a source of permanent irritation to the Party bureaucrats. They tried to end his activities by gangster methods, but without success. It was only after comrade Malkin was sentenced and had already begun to serve his term that the Stalinist clique began to exert a different kind of pressure upon him.

In October, 1929, the *Daily Worker* triumphantly published a statement allegedly written in prison by comrade Malkin, in which he was to have repudiated the Opposition and returned to the Stalinist camp. We wrote at that time, in the face of this "repudiation" that Malkin had been an Opposition fighter and would remain one; that when the whole story of this "statement" was made known it would expose the Party and I.L.D. bureaucracy in a disgraceful light. We are now in a position to make the truth known, and that on the basis of comrade Malkin's own letter to us.

The statement printed in the *Daily Worker* last year was obtained in a manner which set a precedent—and a despicable one—in the labor and revolutionary movement.

"That statement was not made by me," writes comrade Malkin, "but by some of Lovestone's agents in the D.W. office or one of the Stalinist leaders in the national office of the Party. I challenge the Party officials to publish the original statement with the one printed in October which was extorted from me and then falsified so that as soon as I read it in the *Worker* I immediately wrote Wm. Z. Foster demanding that the original be printed. It had been squeezed out of me under threats and pressure from the I.L.D. and Party leadership to the effect that they would stop my defense and economic support of my parents unless I made a statement."

Comrade Malkin's parents are of course so advanced in years that they are totally

incapable of fending for themselves, and relied upon their son. The threat to withdraw the financial aid of the I.L.D. would have condemned them to virtual starvation. Never in the history of our movement, so far as we are aware, was financial pressure exerted upon a class war prisoner by a defense organization to compel him to change his political opinions. It remained for the cynical hacks appointed to run and ruin the I.L.D. and the Party to use this monstrous method of "ideological enlightenment".

Understanding as we do the circumstances under which comrade Malkin was compelled to make his statement, we do not make an apology for it here. But there are no words too sharp to condemn the criminal procedure of the Stalinists in this case. Their boasts of Malkin's "capitulation" are groundless. He remains with the Opposition. In his letter to us, he says:

"I deem it necessary to make this statement to clarify my position. I was one of the first in the C.P. of A. to align myself with the Leninist Opposition, the group that defends the teachings of Lenin and Marx, and I will remain with this group which is led by Lenin's co-worker and collaborator, L. D. Trotsky, until the day the Russian and the international working class has removed the leadership of Stalin, Molotov and Co., and the International Opposition is returned from prison and exile to their rightful posts.

"Only then will we be able to realize, not the building of socialism in one country—according to the reactionary theory of Stalin and Co.—but a real Leninist International and a world Communist society.

"Long live the Leninist Opposition!" "Long live Leninism and its leading defender, Trotsky!"

"Long live Rakovsky and the other Oppositionists exiled and imprisoned by the present anti-Leninist regime led by Stalin!"

—MAURICE L. MALKIN

Comrade Malkin's re-adherence to the ranks of the Opposition is an index, added to the many that have appeared recently, of the growing strength and vitality of our movement. We welcome him again into our ranks.

James McInerney

The news of the death in Walla Walla, Wash. penitentiary of James McInerney has come as a shock to every class conscious worker in the country. McInerney was one of the famous Centralia I.W.W. defendants sentenced by a bosses' court to from 20 years to life imprisonment for having defended their hall and lives, weapons in hand, against a mob of uniformed American Legion gunmen who raided it on Armistice day, 1919, with murder in their eyes. Wesley Everest, one of the I.W.W. members, was lynched by the mob after having been unspeakably tortured and finally castrated by the masked cowards.

McInerney, one of the finest types of revolutionary workers in the country, was himself tortured bestially. With the bullet wound received in the famous Verona battle, the tortures in Centralia, and the destructive regime in prison the last ten years, even his usually robust health was undermined. He died of tuberculosis and spinal meningitis—his blood on the hands and head of the lumber barons, their Legionaries and their corrupted courts.

Upon receipt of the tragic news, the I.W.W. throughout the country organized memorial demonstrations. In New York over a thousand workers gathered on two days notice at 14th Street and University. Speakers representing the Lovestone group, the Lore organization, the Socialist party, the Proletarian party, the anarchists, spoke from the platform. Max Shachtman spoke for the Communist League (Opposition) and Herbert Mahler, the chairman, and W.I. Fisher spoke for the I.W.W. The leaders of the Communist Party and the "non-partisan" I.L.D. refused to participate or send a speaker on the grounds that they would not occupy the same platform "with Trotskyists and Lovestoneites"! This act of spiteful and criminal sabotage did not raise the prestige of the Party among the sympathetic workers; it was only greeted with bitter indignation.

In the meantime the balance of the Centralia men are still imprisoned, all of them under the threat of McInerney's martyr death. They are among the men that have created one of the sturdiest traditions of the American labor and revolutionary movement. Their continued imprisonment remains a rebuke to the workers—particularly the militants among them. The untimely death of McInerney is a startling reminder of the obligations the working class, for whom these fighters worked so loyally, has toward them.

Are our prisoners to die in their cells, like trapped rats? Shall the hand of death alone release them from imprisonment, or shall it be the linked arms of labor battering down the steel and stone that holds them?

CASE OF COLD FEET

KANSAS CITY—

N. Sorenson, D.O. of K.C. was advertised to speak August 1st at 15th and The Paseo. When time came to call the meeting N. Sorenson, the D.O. fails to appear.

Comrade Jenne Rovinsky, who remains a loyal (but honest) Stalinite, gets up on the box and addresses the 40 or more workers who turned out to hear the D.O. of Kansas City.

How Jennie Rovinsky who is a sincere and courageous fighter can have any confidence in these bluffers like N. Sorenson and the Browders is a mystery.

N. Sorenson shows up August 2nd and says he was held by the police. Fear of exposure made him change to county officials. We have found on investigation that no N. Sorenson (or alias) was held by city police or county officials on August 1st. Sorenson will have a hard time to explain his actions to the comrades here in K.C.

"N. Sorenson, D.O. of K.C. has left the city and put E. Peterson in charge as acting D. O."

E. Peterson two years ago defied the D.O. and District Committee—when asked to make a financial report as District Literature Agent. When pressed later on he admitted he was short over \$100.00 in his account. He has been looking for a Party job for over four years now. At last temporarily he is a big job holder.

Faking, bluffing and misappropriating Party funds is not going to build a Communist Party in the U.S.A.

—A. A. BUEHLER

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

The provisional character of the Congress is displayed more crudely than the most imaginative Oppositionist might have conceived it. What is the single episode of Uglanov worth? This bully, audacious when he is the apparatus, but a rag when he is outside of it, repented for the second time by unreservedly recognizing all the "rhythms" and all the "periods". Does that look as it were enough? They laughed at him. Is that what he was asked? Are you a little child? Then acknowledge that Stalin is a born leader and countersign it.

Evidently, Uglanov acknowledged it and, of course, he countersigned it. Everything is now reduced to that. The five year plans may vary; yesterday the growth was still 9 percent; today it is 30 percent. The five year plans may become four or three year plans and, for collectivization, even two year plans. But that is not the question. Acknowledge Stalin. The assembling does not take place on a program, nor on ideas, nor on methods, but on a person. Stalin surrounds himself with a Central Committee, the Central Committee with District Committees, and the District Committees select a Party. The Congress assembles only for the purpose of demonstrating for things settled in advance. Taken as a whole, it is a preparation for Bonapartism within the framework of the Party. It takes a pitiful blind man or a tired official not to see it and not to understand it. But to see and understand it, and to keep still, is possible only for scoundrels. There are not a few of them among the capitulators.

The ten hours Stalin—what emptiness of bureaucratic thought!

Stalin's Figures

The figures of success are not presented to instruct, but to dazzle and deceive the Party. The successes are incontestable—it is not we who deny it; we foresaw them and we fought for them at a time when the motto of the Party was to be satisfied with the "slow growth", at a time when all the Kaganovitches shrieked at us while defending the five year plan at 9 percent: "Where will you get the means, demagogues?" At a time when all the Yaroslavskys, in reply to criticism of the shameful minimalism of the original five year plan, threw volumes of control figures at the heads of the speakers; at a time when the Molotovs jeered at the very idea of the possibility of a 20 percent increase after the end of the reconstruction period. The successes are undeniable. We foresaw and fought for them a long time.

Already in the first control figures of the state plan of 1925, very imperfect and very timid, we discerned "the music of socialism in construction". What sarcasm this expression aroused among the philistines, the ignoramuses, the dunces, the talentless geniuses of the all-powerful apparatus. Now that all the immense possibilities contained in the October revolution have blazed a way through the most stubborn difficulty—the narrow conservative spirit of the bureaucracy—the latter parades in its Congress:

"The October revolution: that is us! Socialism: that is us! And everything else: that is us also! For the State, is us!" After which Stalin appears and explains: "The workers' State, that is I; and all of them, they are still I." And since they have destroyed and trampled down the control of the masses, they need an arbitrary power, a chief, the coronation of the hierarchy, the first among all: Stalin. That is why they rise and proclaim in chorus: "Yes. We are he." That is the music of the Sixteenth Congress.

The economic successes are considerable. But the difficulties and the contradictions are still greater. On that point Stalin said nothing. Or rather, he merely said just what was needed to conceal the difficulties and attenuate the contradictions.

Nothing but figures to characterize the rhythm of growth! Not a figure to characterize the quality of production! It is as though to describe the constitution of a man, one gave his height without giving his breadth. This also applies to the question of net costs. The whole economic system, and above all, its management, is

tested by the output of labor and the tributary economic forms of the market, the output of labor is measured by the production costs or the net costs. To avoid this question is to declare a man healthy by looking at his face without either listening to him or taking his pulse.

The inter-dependence of the city and the country is regulated among us by the exchange: money is not yet a thing of the past. Stalin said nothing about the dangers of inflation.

The problem of the relation of taxed prices of agricultural products and retail prices of manufactured commodities is one of the central problems not only of economy but of the whole social and political system based on the October revolution. Are the "scissors" of the price of manufactured objects and agricultural products closing or widening, the "scissors" of which one blade represents the worker and the other the peasant. Not a word about that in the report.

On the contrary, one finds there the affirmation of the dilemma: "Who will prevail?", is now settled and conclusively. This conclusion is drawn from the incontestable weakening of capitalist forces in the internal market. But this weakening does not decide the question. The village has not yet said its final word. The contradictions of the country are being brought into the frame-work of the collective farms, but they have not yet disappeared. They will reveal themselves. A good harvest will revive their acuteness. The drivers and numskulls will surely say that we are against a good harvest. All the Rudzutaks have Mikoyaned, all the Mikoyans have Rudzutaked on this theme for many years until, in their ardor, they ran their heads against the Kulaks' barns. That is when they proclaimed in Pravda that, as a result of two good harvests, the Kulak had attracted the middle peasant and taught him to conduct the grain strike against the Workers' State. The less the leadership is capable of foresight, the more the process of differentiation pursues its fatal course. It will pass through all the collective farms and develop the differentiation between the various farms and within them. And that is when the leadership, which is strong for forecast after the event, will convince itself that the framework of the collective farms, lacking solid material and cultural foundations are exposed to all the contradictions of merchant economy. The majority of the bureaucratically created collective farms will become the arena of the class struggle. That means that the dilemma: "Who will prevail?" will arise anew in all its amplitude, raised to a higher degree.

The World Market

But the struggle will not stop there. The internal forces of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. draw their importance and significance from the forces of world capitalism. But Mikoyan—this infant prodigy—will probably have to convince himself that there really is "this world market to which we are subordinate, to which we are bound, from which we cannot escape," (Lenin at the 11th Congress.) The dilemma: "Who will prevail?" is in the last analysis the question of the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and world capitalism. This problem is not solved but only posed by history. The internal successes are of great importance because they give the possibility of consolidation, of progress, and when it is necessary to wait, of holding on. But no more. The internal economic struggles are vanguard battles with an enemy the bulk of whose forces is beyond the border. The dilemma: "Who will prevail?", not only on the military field, not only on the political field, but primarily on the economic field, is posed before us on a world scale—or more precisely, it circumscribes us.

Military intervention is dangerous. Economic intervention by low-priced products is incomparably more dangerous. The question of economic power and of political stability leads in the last analysis to

the question of labor productivity. In merchant economy, labor productivity is expressed by the net cost and sales price. The "scissors" between home prices and the prices of the world market constitute the most important measure of the relation of forces between growing socialism and its capitalist encirclement. What has become of these "scissors" in the course of the last two and a half years? On this essential question, no reply. Stalin gives no seriously studied comparative coefficient, no Marxist formula to define the dynamic interdependence of home and world economy. The engineer who runs an electric station must have before him a chart of the control apparatus by means of which he ceaselessly follows all the fundamental processes of production and the distribution of energy. In the same way, the economic direction of the Soviet State must have on its "chart" the constant system of coefficients which characterize—not only the absolute growth of industry—but also the curve of net costs, the purchasing power of the tchervonetz, the home and foreign "scissors". If not, the leadership is compelled to react blindly to economic disorder, until the safety apparatus explode one after the other, fire breaks out, and the consumers lose themselves in the night.

The emptiness of ten hours of bureaucratic thought will teach the Party nothing and prepare it for nothing. Quite the contrary it can only lull it with the disgraceful melody of "national socialism".

The Party Regime

At all events, the most threatening danger is not constituted today by the "scissors" between home and foreign prices. The most threatening danger is the "scissors" between the Party bureaucracy and the working class, with the complete impotence and the decomposition of the Party. The monstrous parade of "monolithism" is crowned by a small, a very small circumstance; but a very menacing one: this "monolithism" of two millions cannot tolerate the slightest criticism of the leadership. In the thirteenth anniversary of the dictatorship, after all the economic and cultural successes, after the question "Who will prevail?" is pronounced finally settled and when, consequently, the Party regime should become incomparably freer than at the time of the civil war—the ruling Party, that is, the bureaucracy, does not tolerate a single critical remark by a worker, a single timid question by the student: "Is not the Central Committee responsible for the deviations?" The whole press, unleashing its standardized rage, denounces the remark of the worker or the question of the student as the most direct and most threatening danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bureaucracy of the G.P.U. does not let itself be surpassed by the Party bureaucracy, with its Yagodas and under-Yagodas grown ripe under the Stalinist sun. The Agabekovs watch vigilantly over the monolithism up to the moment when they pass over to the class enemy.

One of the deported Oppositionists is hunted down by virtue of the statute on espionage for having corresponded with Trotsky. This idea undoubtedly comes from the Master himself. For his whole mastery consists only of such ideas. In his speech to the Congress, Stalin said that the Left Opposition serves information to the press of the world bourgeoisie. What information? The verbose speaker said nothing about that. However, from the information that the bourgeoisie gets from our publications it can draw but one conclusion: that in spite of the Thermidorian lies of Stalin's agents, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, constitute an inseparable part of the Soviet Republic, its devoted soldiers, ready to defend it to the very end and at the same time, the Left wing of the international proletarian vanguard. The world bourgeoisie and the social democracy understand this very well. That is why they enclose us in a hostile blockade, for which the Dovgalevskys, the Bessedovskys, and the

Cachins join with Tardieu, the Krestinskys come to understandings with the ministers of Hindenburg, and the Sokolnikovs conspire with the Hendersons. There is the real distribution of men on the great chess-board.

As for ourselves, we ask what information is needed by the world bourgeoisie, after what is furnished it by the official Stalinist press agency, and primarily by Stalin himself. The president of the Soviet of Commissars is spoken of as a saboteur Yesterday's leaders of the Comintern are branded as the "agents of the bourgeoisie". For the amusement of children, they exhibit yesterday's guides of the trade unions and of the Moscow organization who purged it of "Trotskyism" for many years. On top of this, the official press publishes information on the passage of "Trotskyists" from the ranks of the Red Army into the ranks of Chiang Kai-Shek. Is all this a joke? The world bourgeoisie knows the history of the Red Army well enough to ask itself: "If this is true, then what does it mean?" At the same time, irreproachable Bolsheviks, unshakable revolutionists are persecuted for having corresponded with Trotsky. Do not these facts, furnished every day and every hour by the Stalinist apparatus—which tramples under foot and drags into the mud the whole past of the Party and the revolution solely for the purpose of forging a falsified biography for the provisional chief—do not these facts suffice for the world bourgeoisie?

And if that is not enough, the Stalinist informers appear in their second edition: Bessedovsky, Krukov, Agabekov who have ceaselessly combatted Trotskyism for seven years, who yesterday—literally yesterday—directed the purging of the nuclei, and who pass directly into the camp of the class enemy furnishing the Secret Services of imperialism with all the secrets of the Soviet government which were confided to them or which they were aware of. What information does the bourgeoisie still need after what they are constantly furnished with by the Stalinists of today and the Stalinists of yesterday, who supplement one another?

Stalin's Repressions

After the shooting of Blumkin, Stalin replaced him with Agabekov. There is a fact which sums up the policy that Stalin carries out in the Party. At the same time, the Agabekovs persecute the revolutionists who correspond with Trotsky by virtue of the statute which is supposed to permit Stalin to perpetrate new assassinations. He who does not understand the symptomatic and threatening import of this fact is a miserable idiot. He who understands and keeps quiet is a scoundrel.

Neither the repression nor the threats will silence us. The stake of this struggle is too grave: it is the fate of the Party of Lenin and the October revolution. Not only of the C.P. of the S.U. but of the international Party of Lenin, which has adjutant fallen under the direction of the adjutant Flick under the pseudonym of Molotov. It is a question of the preservation of world Communism. The struggle between Leninism and Stalinism is still open. And here the question "Who will prevail?" assumes its full amplitude.

Repression will not cause us to deviate from our path. The bloodiest and most envenomed violence of Stalin will not separate us from the Party and will not oppose us to the Party that Stalin holds at the throat. But we will redouble, and treble and multiply tenfold the energy of our struggle. Today we continue to serve the aims that we served in the 1905 revolution, during the imperialist slaughter, in the 1917 revolution, the civil war, the first period of economic construction, the foundation of the Comintern, the struggles against the cowardice of the philistine epigones, for a bold rhythm of socialist construction, against national socialism, for the international revolution!

—THE BULLETIN OF THE OPPOSITION (BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

Where Is the British Party?

Nine years ago the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed. The delegates at that unity convention in 1921, representing over 5,000 members, had visions that at last a united revolutionary party had become a reality.

It would be quite true to state that every delegate present honestly believed that with the elimination of sectional differences, which would from then onwards be settled within the party, a rapid advance would be made.

A Nine Years' Balance

Nine years have passed and what are the results? Have we built up that strong revolutionary party rooted in the masses? Has our membership gone up in leaps and bounds? Has our influence spread into every section of working class life? The answer to these questions is unfortunately, No. In fact, we haven't even held our own. The reverse is the case.

Our membership has decreased by fifty percent. Our influence is of a negligible quality and as for being rooted in the masses, we are scarcely in touch.

Many reasons can be given and many excuses made. The writer puts forward his reasons as to why.

A revolutionary party in an industrial country like Britain must have leaders that continue to be in close touch with industry. Our leaders, with few exceptions, have never been industrial workers or else they left industry with the formation of the party. If a mass meeting is to be held with three or four of our leading executive members as speakers, we can advertise and boost it as we like but the net result would be at the outside perhaps two or three hundred people and two-thirds would be our own members. This refers to a London meeting.

The experiences of our Russian comrades have been accepted and applied too literally. To transplant into Britain tactics, methods and so on, just because they happened elsewhere, is the height of folly, and to insist that this is the only correct line in spite of adverse experiences is suicidal.

Robotizing the Party

Whilst recognizing that discipline within a revolutionary party is a necessity, to instill fear into every member that a thought, word or deed which wobbles a hair's breadth of the straight and narrow path, means expulsion—makes it not a party of intelligent working class fighters that is being built, but a party of robots. Our party might well shrink by half.

Can a party really have a healthy growth when the financial responsibilities are matters considered outside the jurisdiction of the membership? The experience of the British party is emphatically, No. A subsidized party sows the seeds of its own destruction.

Thousands of members have left the British party in disgust. Where we had locals of fifty to a hundred strong, we have small groups and in many places only contacts. There are industrial cities by the score without a single party member.

This weakness reflects itself in other directions. The Y.C.L. is practically defunct. To state that they have a hundred and fifty members would be putting it high. A hundred would be nearer the mark.

The Minority Movement is in a similar position. Following any strikes where their members have taken a leading part, the *Worker* (organ of the M.M.) devotes pages for weeks afterwards to our mistakes. Always mistakes and defeats, never victories or good generalship.

The Minority Movement

A recent issue of the *Worker* devotes more than half a page to a meeting of the executive committee and if the brief and incomplete statements of the E.C. members are anything to go by, it appears fairly obvious that a general state of dissatisfaction exists.

In view of the fact that the army of unemployed has reached the two million mark, and the workers have thrown off the apathy that followed the general strike of 1926, and are now fighting every inch against all schemes of capitalist rationalization, a continual decline of a revolution-

ary party shows something must be wrong. The above is not a pleasant picture to paint, and it certainly would not be correct to state that all hope has been abandoned. Recently there have been signs of an awakening. The mesmeric influence is weakening.

Just what will happen when certain of the sleepers awake is hard to state, but it sure will be interesting. Future developments within the British party are worth watching.

—“BLACK DIAMOND”

London, August 6, 1930

Rakovsky in Danger!

(Continued from page 1)

A third raid and search has just been made at Rakovsky's. The ring draws more tightly around him. Rakovsky is in danger.

The Left Opposition calls to every Party comrade, to every member of the Left wing and its unions, of the I.L.D. and the Friends of the Soviet Union: Comrades, it is the best Bolsheviks that are being exterminated. The bourgeoisie is following this work of extermination with a silent joy. It is pursuing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat by every means, including the external and internal corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Remember this: Stalin replaces the Rakovskys with Bessedovskys. He unites with Purcell and Chiang Kai-Shek but has only the most brutal methods against Trotsky. He assassinates Blumkin and puts Agabekov in his place. These changes are an inexorable law of Stalinism.

To defend the U.S.S.R., the dictatorship of the proletariat means primarily to save the Left wing of the Bolshevik party, the Oppositionists. You must act with energy in the revolutionary organizations. In the Party, in the T.U.U.L., in the I.L.D.—raise these questions to the irresponsible bureaucrats: What are you doing with the deportees? What is the situation in the solitary confinement prisons? Why was Blumkin killed?

To Browder, Bedacht, Hathaway and Co., the triumphant leaders of every defeat and setback to our Party, we ask:

What are you doing to our deported comrades? What are you doing now with Rakovsky?

The Fight of the New York Plumbers Helpers

“Every trade man a union man is a slogan never omitted from the journals of the A. F. of L., but there is an abyss between their words and their deeds. One of the strongholds of the A. F. of L. is the building trades, but the industry is far from being organized. “Patronize the union labor,” “do not work with a scab” and other slogans like it are the favorites of unionism as proclaimed by various A. F. of L. organizations, but after these many years the potential scab on the building construction job remains ignored.

The plumber's helper is a building trades worker who is not only exploited by the boss but also the goat of the industry. In all the days of “prosperity”, when wages ranged from \$12.00 to \$15.00 a day and \$8.00 to \$11.00 for apprentices, the plumber's helper received a meager \$4.00 a day. The cost of living rose with the wage increases, but the helpers wage remained the same.

Many attempts have been made by the workers in the trade to organize into a union to better their working conditions and in general, to gain the benefits of organized labor. Many were the lessons taught these young workers that the officialdom of the A. F. of L. would not organize them. They not only discourage organization, but continue to hinder its slightest progress.

The year 1927 was rich with such experiences. The American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, with more than 3,500 members, was welded together in greater New York, fighting for recognition from the United Association of Plumbers, Steam-

Self-Determination

The Problem of Mobilizing the Negroes in the Class Struggle

The Communist International has issued the slogan of Self-Determination for the American Negro. The 7th Convention Thesis of the American Party says, “The Party must organize the most intense struggle around the demand of social and political equality for Negroes, which is still the main demand of our party in its work among Negroes. At the same time the Party openly and unreservedly fights for the right of the Negroes for national self-determination in the South, where the Negroes comprise a majority of the population. Self-determination for the Negro masses is the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights (social equality).”

Is Slogan Correct?

There can be no argument among Communists regarding social and political equality for the Negro masses. The question is, does the slogan of self-determination mean “the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights” for the Negro of the United States?

Either class, capitalist or proletariat, can use the slogan of self-determination to their advantage in concrete situations. The proletarian vanguard uses it against the imperialist in the colonial struggle for freedom. The capitalists use the slogan too, and a good example is its use against the defeated nations and the Soviet Union as a two-edged sword in the Balkans and Central Europe at the close of the last world war. Self-determination under a Soviet power is a concession and transitory measure in our development toward Communism. Such a concession in the south may be necessary but the conditions of the Negroes, interwoven in the whole economic structure with decisive sections in the industrial centers indicates that such will not be needed.

Self-determination for a colonial people or subjected national unit with cultural and language differences is a blow against the enemy forces and a step toward our hegemony. But self-determination for the American Negro can only be accomplished by the establishment of a Soviet power and such a measure then would not be a stepping stone.

Self-determination at that stage instead of a Soviet class emphasis means subordinating the class issue to the race

issue because all indications are that such a stepping stone or concession is not necessary. Cuba, India, Manchuria or Ireland constitute economic units with language and cultural differences, etc., and such slogans at certain stages can be used by the proletariat against the imperialists but this slogan for the American Negro who does not constitute such a unit only blurs the class issue of the struggle in America.

The Garvey Movement

The Garvey movement rallied a considerable mass for the slogan of self-determination as a petty-bourgeois movement directing their energies away from the class struggle. The Party says we are turning this right side up. In the case of Garveyism the slogan was right reformism and in our case it is only shifted to left reformism. The change from Garveyism to the Party is a change in form but not in content. The change from Africa (Garveyism) to the South (Stalinism) may be far in miles but it is quite close in content. The Negro business man who is a watchdog for imperialism must not be confused with the petty-bourgeois element and ideology of the Negro, just like the A.F.L. leaders as imperialist watchdogs must not be confused with the liberals and petty-bourgeoisie even though all these unite on many issues. The petty bourgeois section will join our bandwagon, not as a back seat driver but as the real driver because the slogan takes the class content out of the struggle for the United States.

Self-determination within a national unit must imply more than double exploitation, racial difference or a majority in a backward section, to be used as a slogan. The Negro race has the same language, are part of the same economic unit and do not have marked cultural differences. The Mexican in the southwest faces the same conditions the Negro does and in addition has language and cultural differences. If the slogan means anything it must include him where he is the majority.

The Party says self-determination in the south where the Negro comprises the majority of the population but the Party uses the slogan mainly in the north and in the industrial centers.

The distinction drawn between the north and the south as to where the condition of self-determination is to be carried out leaves the impression on many Negro workers that we want them to leave the north and the industrial centers and go back south. On the other hand it implies that the southern agrarian Negro is the decisive section of our ally. We know that the industrial Negro (including such centres as Birmingham) are the decisive section of the Negro race. The industrial and urban Negro and the Negro in the north does not want self-determination if he must move south. What the Negroes want is social and political equality where they are. The white worker must put the main emphasis on this side of the question.

Racial and Economic Oppression

Racial oppression is economic oppression and the class struggle in this case takes on racial forms. But as Marxists our aim is not to enlarge the racial form or any other distorted form but on the contrary, to direct our slogans, tactics and strategy to transform this racial form toward the real content of the class struggle. The class issue must dominate and especially the proletarian Negro where we are using this slogan the most.

The slogan also shows confusion of the problem of imperialism and the colonial oppressed. The Negro of the United States cannot be classified as an oppressed national group as was the case of peoples under Czarism with national cultural and language differences. The decisive section of the American Negro is interwoven through the whole economic unit, just like the oppressed Jewish people are interwoven through the whole capitalist system. The Negro of the United States demands social and political equality where he is. The decisive section of the Negro race is scattered through the whole economic unit and the Soviet power with proletarian democracy can easily remedy the situation in the south. “Against white chauvinism and for social and political equality for the Negro masses!” —H.

Too much confidence was placed in the A. F. of L. local leadership in applying for recognition. Jobs that it was possible to strike and hold until recognition from the boss plumber, were left alone. The failure to strike the job for job control was one of the prime causes for the dwindling of the organization. And an additional factor hindering the work in the organization was the reflection of the factional strife among the executive board members imputed into it by the ruling Party clique which was more interested in factional advantage than in advancing the cause of the workers.

—J SPRAGUE

(Another article on the problems of the plumbers' helpers will appear in our next issue.)

A Statement of Views on Some Disputed Questions

By ALBERT WEISBORD

... 4. With the world war and the revolutionary wave that followed its wake, the epoch of imperialism entered a new stage qualitatively different from the one existing before (from 1900 to 1914). Distinctive of this new stage are the following: (a) the proletarian revolution is victorious in the U.S.S.R. (b) Post-war capitalism, with all its force, cannot get back to pre-war stability. The decline of capitalism cannot be stopped. All the attempts at "stabilization" become desperate efforts merely to slacken the tempo of the international revolution. This can be seen by the fact that, during this time, while some revolutionary situations are liquidated by the forces of international capitalism, yet some revolutionary situations cannot be liquidated and new ones constantly and repeatedly arise; concurrently a whole host of other situations begin to take on a revolutionary character. (Germany 1923, Bulgaria 1924, Estonia 1924, China 1925-27, England 1926, Austria 1928, India, China, Indo-China, besides Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Porto Rico, Finland, etc.).

Situation Before and After War

Before the war, neither revolutionary situations nor actual revolutions could have been created by the activity of the socialist, revolutionary parties throughout the world. No matter how well or tirelessly these parties worked the bourgeoisie was too strong, the level of activity of the masses, generally speaking, too low, to cause a given situation to become a revolutionary one. Basically, these revolutionary situations had to develop by themselves from the objective contradictions arising in capitalist society. When, during and after the war, these objective contradictions did cause revolutionary situations to arise, by that time the subjective factor had become so powerful as to be able to mature such revolutionary situations in a number of countries, into actual revolutions. Today imperialism has become so much weaker, today, so close is the situation in a number of countries to a revolutionary one, that it is possible for an international Communist movement, PROVIDED IT HAS A LENINIST POLICY, and especially now when it controls a state backed by 150,000,000 workers and peasants, to develop situations otherwise still non-revolutionary into revolutionary situations, in DIFFERENT countries at DIFFERENT times. (This does not mean that a C.I. can "order" a revolutionary situation in ANY country at ANY time). It is a fact that today, with the correct policy, it is far easier in many countries to disintegrate the capitalist armies, to ruin the prestige of the ruling classes, to expose the petty bourgeoisie, and to activate the masses to an extraordinary degree than before.

Every worker knows that, under some conditions, the activity of a Communist group can "develop" a strike situation, where without this Communist group, no such situation would have been "developed". Today the Communist Party (under some circumstances and with a Leninist policy) can be the decisive force both in stimulating the exploited and oppressed masses with the understanding of the impossibility of living in the old way and in helping to make the ruling class unable to govern as of old. Since the war the old power and might of the ruling classes have been irretrievably broken. Further, the experiences of 1918-23 weigh mightily on the memory of the masses—the ruling classes in many countries were unable to govern once before. Finally, the Soviet Union with its tremendous economic and political weight will be able to throw this weight at times so as to help break the economic and political power of different sections of the international bourgeoisie at critical moments.

5. What must be the cornerstone of Communist international strategy is the recognition of this qualitative change in imperialism. Today it is possible to have "sudden" changes to revolutionary situations, "sudden" revolutions. Today there has been raised to hitherto unheard of degree the decisive importance of revolutionary organizations, first as factors maturing ("creating") revolutionary situations and second, as factors changing revolutionary situations to actual revolutions (insurrections).

The fatal error in the Communist "Majority Group" (Lovestone) is that it fails

to see this fundamental feature of the present stage, and to make this feature an integral part of any American analysis.

Errors of Party Leadership

The fatal error of the C.I. and its U.S. "leadership", is that it caricatures and distorts this basic conception, not understanding it and indeed transforming it into a theory justifying putchism, making of the party a sect more and more isolated from the masses, more and more stifled by an absolutely sterile bureaucratic machine. The official C.P. "leaders" in the United States fail to see that an insurrection can come only after the development of a revolutionary situation and fail to understand that to develop this revolutionary situation

(NOTE: We print here the essential sections of a speech delivered by comrade Albert Weisbord at the recent plenum of the Lovestone group. The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has decided to publish the speech in the Militant. The second and last part of it will appear in the next issue of the paper, at which time the National Committee will append a statement of its views on the document of comrade Weisbord. The latter, as most readers are aware, was expelled from the Party a while ago for divergent views, and joined neither the Left nor the Right Opposition. The document below represents his views on the problems of the movement arrived at after a period of study and consideration.—Ed.)

one must follow a Leninist line of mass work, united front, work in reactionary unions, profound economic analysis, the understanding of the true relationship of American to international capitalist society, and the peculiarities of capitalist America; and that an end must be put to guesswork, phrase-mongering, to the fakery and lying in the leadership, to the theory of "fascism" and "social-fascism" to the bureaucracy and violence, to the Trotsky deportations and Blumkin murders, an end to the theory of socialism in one country, to Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affairs, and Chiang Kai Shek mergers, etc.

7. Secondly, an analysis of the present situation shows that the contradictions are sharpening and the tempo of international revolution is rising (that is, the "partial and temporary stabilization" of capitalism is becoming weaker than before). The original position of the Communist "Majority" Group is here too unsound; while on the other hand, the very putchist distortion of this by the official Party leadership tends to hinder the process of the cracking of "stabilization" now taking place and to weaken the revolutionary forces. Far from stimulating the masses, the false policy of the C.I. actually acts as a brake on the masses.

Section B. 8. The situation in America exposes in even clearer light the errors of the different Communist groups. The American section of Lozovsky-Stalin apparatus-men has never yet given up its "apex theory" and all that follows logically from it—namely, that American capitalism is on the decline, has reached its basic crisis with a general deep-going and widespread radicalization of the masses. To this has now been added the special twist that all members of the A.F. of L. are now full blown fascists and that all those expelled by the Stalin machine at once become secret police agents for the boss. To some extent the "Communist League (Opposition)" in America has limped uncritically after the Party (without, however, the added special twists). Though this opposition group gave up the "apex theory" yet it did so without having thoroughly exposed the errors inherent in it. And even today it still talks of "growing radicalization", "deep-going process of radicalization" quite uncritically.

On the other hand, the "Majority" Group merely sees in fact "deep discontent". With this group the present economic crisis is IN ESSENCE a mere cyclical one, (it seems as if latterly a section of the Party too is violently swinging to the point of view) and the dogmatic statement is made, with no appreciation of its rashness, that not only will American capitalism weather the present economic storm, but that it

will rise to new peaks only to fall to new lows.

The true situation is that with the qualitative changes of post war imperialism, with the weakening of world "stabilization", with the sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, there can be no "mere cyclical crisis", no "mere discontent" but what we have to reckon with is a tenseness of relations, a restiveness of the masses which can enable a Communist Party WITH THE CORRECT POLICY to lead masses into such activity as to radicalize the masses. There is great POTENTIALITY NOT ACTUALITY of masses becoming radicalized generally and relatively quickly. But the foolish policy of the party only drives the masses further away from radicalization.

The American Crisis

9. The dogmatic statements—1. That American capitalism will weather the present economic crisis and 2. That it will rise to new peaks, utterly fails to take into account the international situation. It may be that due above all to the criminal policies of the C.I., this eventuality MAY OCCUR, but it is impossible to state so now as the sole solution. The "Majority" group fails IN REALITY to see that the economic crisis in the United States means economic crisis in many countries (for this group does not make such a view a VITAL part of its living work in America); that in some of these countries such a crisis if prolonged will lead to a real revolutionary situation, that a revolution breaking out in Europe may not only deepen the American crisis but will usher in a new and higher stage of the world revolution. Is such an alternative (or a number of similar alternatives which result in the ushering of a world crisis) impossible? Quite the contrary! For Communists, the whole perspective for the United States must constantly and intimately be permeated with this view.

11. Only by a Leninist policy are the Communists enabled to radicalize the masses in the United States. This policy means "To the Masses", mass work in all its forms, formation of independent mass organizations where possible and necessary, the united front, work in reactionary trade unions and similar bodies, Labor Party, etc. To accomplish such mass work it is necessary to Leninize the Party, namely to base the Party on the most exploited sections of the masses, to wipe out the bureaucracy (the liars and fakers) in the Party, to demand as an absolute condition and prerequisite to leadership 1. The tested ability to carry out mass work in a Communist manner. 2. The liquidation of the mountain of vulgar Marxism and syndicalist-liberal conceptions and a real study of the basic works of the founders of Communism. 3. Profound honesty, integrity and courage.

To all this the present "theories" of "Fascism" and "Social-Fascism" give a death blow. These "theories" wiping out as they do all the Marxian-Leninist distinctions between fascism and regular bourgeois democracy mean 1. The reactionary unions are to be destroyed from now on, the workers in the A.F. of L. being hopeless fascists, enemies of the working class. 2. The socialist and progressive workers being "social-fascists" are only secret agents of the fascists. These two must be destroyed. 3. The Communist opposition groups become not only full grown Mensheviks but worse, police agents, having no place in unions or other working class organizations. Any action against them up to complete physical extermination is justified. 4. The line between Communism and fascism theoretically becomes very thin for overnight; no matter how tested and loyal before, any Communist can become a police-agent Menshevik or fascist. Therefore the greatest violence and terror is theoretically justified not only against the "open police-agent Mensheviks" but against the members of the party, the possible police-agent Mensheviks of the future. 5. Since every tested member tomorrow can be a police-agent Menshevik, revolutionary behaviour in mass work is no longer a test for leadership. Any faker or apparatus follower can be a leader. Leaders are cheap and easily made. Distrust for the leadership follows. Cynicism not revolutionary idealism pervades the party. Double-book-keeping (see the hypocrisy of those who

put forth the C.I. Address of 1929) becomes the rule. Correspondingly a contempt for the membership grows. Political sterility increases. No policies except those printed in Moscow with a militarization and robotization (Stalinization) of the Party. In this connection the quotation from the recently adopted "C.P. Thesis" which declares "The need of the hour is clarity of instructions and promptness of executions" is illuminating of the process now going on within the party.

There can be no doubt but that the conscious holders of these theories, (Erowder, Johnstone, Dunne and the rest of the Company) if they carry these theories to the logical conclusions and practices inevitably flowing from them, must degenerate to become the real renegades from Communism, indeed the real fascists of tomorrow!

(Concluded in Next Issue)

Slander Won't Win

BOSTON—

At an outing of the Needle Trades Industrial Union that was held the week-end of July 4 at Boston Camp Nitgedaiget, we had a mass meeting with Ben Gold. We all expected to hear him speak on trade union problems which are so vital to us, but instead he took up a discussion on the Trotskyists. He tried to prove that the Trotskyists bring poison and splits into the union and naturally this hinders the good work.

Let us see who does more damage. All the comrades in the union in Boston (and Gold, too), know that comrade Eva Weiner and myself were among the first to build the N.T.W.I.U. The workers trust us, know that we are always on the job to carry out all decisions which are passed by the members. Gold knows that the Communist League (Opposition) is for a Left wing policy. We never brought in any other kind of policies and always demanded from our leaders that they carry out a real Left wing fight.

So what is Gold's motive in bringing this question up and saying that we don't build the Left wing union? To discredit us among the workers. Everyone knows that this is false and that it will not do any good for the union. We must draw in all active workers who are honestly carrying out our policy and helping to build the Industrial Union.

No one can split the union more than tactics like Gold's. If he wants to prove that we did any harm to the union, let him call an open forum and invite the Trotskyists. Let him prove that we are doing harm because we are Trotskyists. He said that we were dead. Then how can we do any harm? Dead ones do not do anything. If the Trotskyists are dead everywhere why do the Stalinists come and break up their meetings like they did in Cleveland? What are they afraid of?

You will not be able, comrade Gold, to kill our prestige among the Boston workers because they know we always work for a good Left wing policy and will do everything to build the N.T.W.I.U. as we have in the past.

—J.CHIPLOWITZ

Φ

A Revolutionary «Social Fascist»

A few days ago, the *Daily Worker* went into positively frantic ecstasies over an anti-Heywood Brown-S.P. cartoon by Ryan Walker. It hailed Walker as a noble revolutionist who was revolted by the scoundrelism of the Socialist Party. The *Daily* became so maudlin in its enthusiasm that toward the end of the article it was literally slobbering over Walker. It appears however, that Walker is the staff cartoonist of the Illinois *Miner*, official organ of the Howat-Fishwick-Germer miners' union, which as even a casual reader of the *Daily Worker* knows is a pure and simple "social fascist" organization, covered with a Left phrase or two, but "social fascist" nevertheless. Walker, according to the third period jargon, is therefore a paid agent of "social fascism". Or rather he was, for after the praise with which the *Worker* greeted him he most probably falls into a new category, the "Revolutionary Social Fascist". Personally, we advise the *Worker* to stick to Jake Burck.

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

(11) With the black hundreds in the saddle and our activity shifted to holding and reorganizing our forces for a comeback we started our new work. Secret work in the Gastonia area through mill locals and increased open work all over the South to hem in Gastonia and to narrow the circle and close in. All that was needed in the outer area was organization, for the sentiment for us was there in masses and our organizers and colonizers from the outer area all sent letters telling us they are behind us and to keep up the good work. Many new contacts were gained and work toward October 13 went ahead.

The newspapers predicted that our convention would now be a failure and the bosses openly declared that it would not be held. We decided it had to be held even if we had to move out of this area but a survey of our forces convinced us we could hold it in Charlotte as originally planned. The third trial was on and while the legal end was taking care of the trial the organizers were as busy as hell with the union work in the two Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia. Campaign after campaign was launched against us, one on the heel of the other so fast that it seemed like one continuation: red scare, Negro issue, revolution, etc., but this did not stop the work from progressing toward October 13.

(m) Now to consider a few of the other issues for a while. As far as the national I.L.D. campaign by this time was concerned it was a flop. We had a direct issue, more important to the American workers than the Sacco-Vanzetti issue (as far as they were concerned). Such favorable situations no organization had faced for years and naturally half an effort would show some results but on the whole we saw failure. Why? This failure can be traced to the "third period" tactics and the "third period" tactics can be traced to Stalin revisionism of Marxism, of the most fundamental international issues and the elimination of the Opposition.

In correcting the Party policy of the Right wing Lovestone leadership of "marrying" all possible fakers in the A.F.L. and other working class organizations we "corrected" this by dumping overboard with the fakers all progressives and Left wingers and Leninist united front tactics and replaced them with "pure" united front tactics with ourselves. Paper conferences were held everywhere.

(n) And the masses of other blunders and mistakes, a volume in itself, of all types of mistakes from important ones to little ones that amounted to setbacks were made by the incompetent leaders, Engdahl, Poyntz and Jakira. The field fraction pounded away at these errors, constantly, night and day, in every manner and form and found the leading committee at the center wanting because they were a hindrance instead of a help. I realize this now: That a Marxian Central Committee can correct this but a Central Committee made by a mechanical shift at the top replacing one variety of bureaucrats with another variety can only lead to further negative results.

In words the center accepted our program but in deeds—what follows shows the contradiction between the two. At this point serious minded comrades at the center (who were not decisive in determining actions instead of words from the center) laughed at my enthusiasm and told me that now since the spectacular, emotional part was over the bureaucrats would forget the south in deeds if not in words, and I would receive less support from now on than I had. This was my first trip to N.Y. with several more to follow on the same argument and I did not fully realize the truth of this statement until my last trip in December.

Yes, the spectacular end was over and the W.I.R. (Landy's incompetence) "pulling stakes" with the Leaksville strike on was followed by other departments in deeds (but not in words) and a decline set in after the end of the trial. The objective factor was more favorable but our force was not taking advantage of this situation. Reports from our field organizers and especially comrade Amy Schechter proved the favorable situation our work had given us this far.

The October optimism of our many southern organizers and mill local officials

with months of this inactivity was transformed into pessimism and our fraction of northern comrades was in a similar condition. The postponed national textile convention held in December in Paterson did not solve one of the basic problems of the south. In the meantime the A.F.L. was increasing its work and with the liberals and a section of the bosses was being used as a dam against our advance.

Another blunder following from the "Third Period" is the lumping of all outside the official Communist Party as Fascist or Social Fascist while life was proving the class struggle is not so mechanical and simple.

In the Atlanta case the **Daily Worker** had a scare headline telling how the A.F.L. official on the jury helped indict our comrades calling for the death penalty. But facts prove that Steve Nance, President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, member of the Grand Jury that brought in the indictment was the only one who voted against the indictment. Later the Trades Assembly passed a resolution with only Secretary Marquardt of the State Federation and one other voting against the resolution calling for free speech for the Communists. This "third period" tactic and misstatement played into the hands of these A.F.L. fakers as similar tactics play into the hands of Muste, Thomas, Howat, etc. Our plan is to defeat these labor lieutenants and not to strengthen them.

The "Party Task in the South" resolution to the 7th Convention of the C.P. says, "Our perspective must be for the defeat of the A.F.L. and its Muste wing in the mass industries of the south." We must by all means defeat these fakers in the ranks of labor but to say this in harsh terms, that may denote our feelings, and to accomplish the task are two different things. The present tactics of the official party is strengthening the position of these fakers instead of weakening their control over the masses.

Not even a half-baked revolutionist will argue that the struggle is simply one of the capitalist against the workers. The problem in the concrete is more complicated in the divisions and the many antagonisms within the classes and between the classes. Success or failure in advancing our position in winning a strike or revolution depends upon how many of the antagonisms and divisions in the workers ranks can be eliminated for united action against the enemy in a favorable objective situation and how wide a breach we can make in the class enemies ranks, the unity of the first and the division of the second spell success for us. But without a favorable objective situation we cannot speak of success.

The Y. C. I. Letter Brought to Light!

(Continued From Page 8)

away the base from the social reformists.... It is precisely in the period of radicalization that social reformism has all the opportunities of growth among the working class. The period likewise makes for greater opportunities for Communism..." (The Militant, March 8, 1930.) Now the Y.C.I. letter in its criticism of the N.E.C. estimation says: "It is obvious that the economic crisis narrows the basis for the influence of Social Reformism, you have also made a reservation as to the role of the League. But even these reservations cannot erase the fact that such a formulation shows an absolute underestimation of the influence of reformism and its possibilities for growth in such a country as America." Here is indeed confusion. One blind man cannot lead another. The Y.C.I. letter recognizes that there can be growth of reformism. But it is incapable of showing what is the basis for it. If the economic crisis narrows the basis for the influence of social reformism in the United States, then why speak of possibilities of its growth. The Stalinist bureaucrats of the E.C.Y.C.I. involve themselves in a maze of contradictions, and muddle the minds of the young Communists.

No Solution of the Problem

What does the letter propose as a remedy for the declining condition of the Y.C.L? Does it explain the cause for the situation? It can only exhaust itself in futile denunciations. It recommends a so-called "Plan

of Action", which is thoroughly ultra-Left and adventurist. The main points of these recommendations have been incorporated by the N.E.C. in its "Shock Plan", which we have already criticized in the last issue of the Young Vanguard. It can speak of shock troops, fronts and "storming" and all the other terms in the dictionary of military warfare. It even recommends red lists for those who do good work and black for those who don't. We suggest that the N.E.C. institutes a system of dunce caps and high stools, and spank all the naughty culprits whose names appear twice in the black list. These childish schemes do not at all relieve the acute crisis the Y.C.L. is in.

In Marion for example, the Musteite wing of the A.F.L. first sent the striking workers back to work with a promise of a settlement that we know never did come, second, they did not force the mill owners to live up to the preliminary conditions pending settlement, third, sold these workers out after they were back to work, and fourth, betrayed these workers in the strike against the sellout contract. Such action DeLeon and others pointed out before and it is not a new and exclusive development of the "Third Period".

After all this and after the Marion massacre the Musteites still retained leadership and gained influence throughout the country. The southern fraction tried four times to break into Marion, but I realize now that each time our advance and attempt at united action against these fakers was shackled and we failed to gain our objective because this shackling from the top by "Third Period" tactics predetermined our united action from below. We were criticized four times by the center for these failures that can be traced back to them. Why not ask ourselves this: How can such brazen betrayals be rewarded by greater influence of the Muste wing while our class struggle of Gastonia, which even our enemies admit was led by forces that cannot be bought out or run out (as is the case with the A.F.L.) have not been able to organize our influence from this struggle which was on a much higher class plane?

You cannot answer this on the basis of capitalist reaction and the necessary "smallness" of the revolutionary forces until we are at a higher stage of the class struggle or in power, because the question is not the organization of the majority of workers under reactionary leadership or revolutionary leadership but the organization of a goodly section of the forces either reactionary or revolutionary in the struggles and strikes. We must also not forget we are in the "Third Period" with "revolutionary upsurge". Facts prove that with proper tactics the revolutionary movement can consolidate its influence organizationally, as it has done in the past. In other words, our tactics have not only weakened our own forces but at our expense have rendered aid to these very enemies we talk so much about. We do not expect to build POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL unions in a few weeks' work, overshadowing the few million membership of the A.F.L. but we can expect to build a substantial influence and organization in the labor movement under our leadership with correct tactics.

From a political viewpoint, although its only merit lies in calling attention to a critical situation, the Y.C.I. letter is a puerile document. It explains nothing and it solves nothing. It may result in the changing or removal of individuals, in demotions and promotions. But that is to no avail. It will hasten the process of fundamental re-evaluation in the minds of the Y.C.L. members, which will constitute an important step in the direction of the Left Opposition.

—GEORGE RAY

If the number on your wrapper is

54

then your subscription to the **Militant** has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Blackmailers Cloaked in Red Mantles

CLEVELAND—

The Czecho-Slovakian Stalinists of **Rovnost Ludu** continue to make bitter attacks upon me because I exposed them in the press. They call me "ex-detective", and according to them, I was supposed to have clubbed workers' heads in Youngstown during the steel strike. This is one of the most criminal calumnies. Having no ground to stand on, they invent the vilest and most vulgar stories. As a matter of fact, I was shot by a scab since I was the one that grabbed him and prevented him from sneaking in through the gate. I was also on the strikers' committee, representing a crew of 25. I know the methods of the Stalinists pretty well, yet I am astonished at such cheap and disgraceful methods against an Oppositionist in the ranks of Communism.

The pen-slaves of **Rovnost Ludu**, an official Party paper, are the kind of "Communists" who accept money from Czecho-Slovak multi-millionaires like Bata, the world's richest shoe manufacturer who exploits his slaves in the most inhuman manner. In **Rovnost Ludu**, you can find big advertisements from railroad companies, or Camel cigarettes, not to mention various ads from bankers. This paper has degraded itself to such a degree that even Mr. Browder and his cohorts have protested against these advertisements. But then, who is really to blame for these anti-Communist ways of the **Rovnost Ludu** management if not the Party's chiefs?

While Lovestone reigned in the Party I warned him in letters that if he and the rest of the committee would continue to neglect their duty to discipline the editors and managers of this paper, one of the Party's organs would soon disappear or would end in a pit of mire. Ever since then, things have gone from bad to worse so that in Foster-Browders "Third Period", workers are obliged to read the announcement in that paper that asks them to attend the funeral of a fat business man in the Holy Trinity Church.

It would be well to mention that the proceeds from such ads are privately pocketed by a most unscrupulous individual named John Zuskas, who is supposed to act as secretary of the non-existent Czecho-Slovak Communist fraction. Under his influence, Communist morale and influence has dropped among the Czech workers.

Before I was expelled from the Party this scoundrel never dared make insinuations against me for fear of having to answer before the Party. Now that Stalin has opened his murderous drive against the Left Opposition, the ardent Zuskas never misses an opportunity to duplicate his master's methods. (By the way, it was due to him that the Party's criticism of **Rovnost Ludu** failed to appear there, until it was finally published in such a thoroughly distorted form that the Fosterites would be satisfied!)

Since this individual has continually impugned my revolutionary integrity and record, without replying to my demands for proof, I now openly challenge him and the Party to establish a public workers' court, composed of an equal number of representatives of the Party and the Communist League (Opposition) who will jointly choose one or more non-partisan members. Failure to concur in this proposal will brand Zuskas and those who maintain him in office as unscrupulous liars and blackmailers. We await a reply.

—JOSEPH KELLER

just out!

BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Double No. 12—13 for June—July, 1930

Published in the Russian Language

25 cents each 18c in bundles

Order from
The Militant

25 Third Avenue, New York, New York

- THE YOUNG VANGUARD -

The Y. C. I. Letter Is Brought to Light!

Now as a sort of climax to culminate the whole wretched ultra-Left course and expose the bankruptcy of the Centrist bureaucracy in sharp relief there appears the latest letter from the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to the Young Communist League of the U.S.A. The letter is of deep import to every young Communist. There will be more than one member of the Y.C.L. who after its perusal will be jolted into seeing matters in a new light. The letter, intended to placate the dissatisfaction of the membership the failures and steady decline of the Y.C.L. and to make of the N.E.C. a scape goat for the opportunist line that emanates from the Y.C.I. will act as a double edged blade to the more serious and thoughtful member of the Y.C.L. cutting into the very roots of the situation.

Amateur and Skilled Suppressors

The letter was sent by the E.C.Y.C.I. on April 13, 1930, but the membership has become aware of its existence only now—four months later. The Harveys, the Steubens, the Greens and the other marionettes who so slavishly endeavored to impose the Stalinist line on the League, have kept it hidden from the eyes of the League. No doubt they felt the letter to be a piece of the basest ingratitude for their obedient services to Stalinism. To gain a proper appraisal of these people, one need only read sentences like "the information which we have at our disposal concerning the present situation in the American League and the recent plenum results are very scant..." and "we have not received a copy of the Young Worker for months".

The Lovestone Group, which of course has always been famed for upright and open dealings with the E.C.Y.C.I. is triumphantly circulating the letter wholesale among the members of the League. The League leadership has suppressed the letter, they cry with righteous indignation. But in truth, the Harveys and Steubens are only the clumsy pupils of the Herbergs and Zams, who were much more refined, proficient and adept at this particular kind of manipulation. These present crude imitators can never hope to attain the high degree of skill and the fine and intricate methods of their predecessors. The present bunglers merely suppress the document. But their teachers when they received an embarrassing Y.C.I. letter, first withheld it from the membership for a certain amount of time, as long as this was feasible—but no more. Then they proclaimed their heartfelt conviction of the correctness of the letter, meanwhile conspiring with Lovestone and Pepper for the Polcom to appeal against it. Oh, it was really most complicated, but it was a genuine piece of Machiavellian machination.

The Y.C.I. Estimate of the Y.C.L.

The Y.C.I. letter chastises the League leadership severely. In particular it criticizes the Y.C.L. Plenum held last January. The resolution adopted is condemned in no uncertain terms. "We must frankly tell you," the letter states, "that of all the resolutions of League Plenums yours is one of the worst." This is said despite the fact that the resolution was patterned almost entirely on the thesis of the last Y.C.I. plenum. (See the Militant, Feb. 1, 1930).

Our own estimation of the resolution has been strikingly confirmed. "The resolution adopted reveals the miserable situation in which the Y.C.L. finds itself—but explains nothing, and lays the basis for further decline." (The Militant, March 8, 1930.) The responsibility lies with the Stalinist regime.

The letter criticizes a false estimate of social reformism contained in the resolution. This erroneous conception was formulated in the N.E.C. resolution as follows: "The radicalization of the young workers takes away the base of the social reformists among the young workers and while social reformism remains the chief ideological barrier, which we have to overcome amongst the young worker, there can be no real growth of reformist youth organizations—but only disintegration, providing the Young Communist League plays its role." In criticism of this we said: "It is false to say that radicalization takes

(Continued on Page 7)

International Youth Day

As it Should Be

Tremendous demonstrations of youth, streaming out of factories and mines, off the fields, out of the ranks of the armies to show their spirited, active hatred of the capitalist system and all it means to the wage slaves of capitalism.

Mighty assemblages to signify their desire to struggle against the slave system, against long hours of automaton motions, low wages, prostitution, child labor, hovels, the dope dispensed by the dopsters of capitalism—church, school and press; against the mental and physical degradation forced upon the workers by the hunger system.

Particularly, to fight against the bosses war, the struggle against which the First Sunday in September, sixteen years ago was dedicated by the small band of loyal, revolutionary, young "Left" socialists as the Day of International Youth; to fight for the revolutionary fraternization of the young masses in different uniforms.

LENIN AND THE YOUTH

TRAINING THE YOUTH

The Tasks of the Young Communist League

(A speech delivered at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, October 4, 1920.)

Comrades, I would like today to talk on the subject of the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League, and in connection with this, the form the youth organizations should take in a socialist republic.

The New Generation Will Build Communism

This question should be dealt with particularly for the reason that, in a certain sense, one may say that it is the youth particularly which is confronted with the present task of constructing Communist society. It is clear that the generation of workers brought up in capitalist society, at best can fulfil the task of destroying the foundations of old capitalist conditions built up on exploitation. At best this generation can fulfil the task of creating such social conditions as would help the proletariat and the working classes to maintain power and lay a firm foundation upon which only the generation commencing the work under new conditions, in circumstances where there are no relations of exploitation between men, can build.

The Task of the Youth Is to Acquire Knowledge

Hence, approaching the question of the tasks of the youth from this point of view, I must say that the tasks of the youth generally and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations particularly, may be expressed in one sentence: the task is to acquire knowledge.

Of course, this is just "one sentence". It does not reply to the principal and most essential question—what knowledge to acquire and how to acquire it? And here the whole thing is that with the transformation of the old capitalist society, we cannot adopt the old forms of teaching, training and educating the new generation which will establish Communist society. Nevertheless, the teaching, training and educating of the youth must start with the material left us by the old society.

We can build Communism only with the aid of that sum of knowledge, the organizations and the institutions, with the aid of the stock of human forces and resources which has been left us by the old society. Only by radically reforming the methods of teaching, organizing and training the youth shall we be able to guarantee that the efforts of the young generation will result in the construction of a society unlike the old society, i. e., a Communist society.

What to Learn and How to Learn It

Consequently, we must deal with the question as to how we should teach and what we should teach the youth, in order that they may justify their title of Communist youth; we must deal with the

The slightest scratching of the surface of the powerful potential force of young toilers by a weak isolated, poorly educated, divided, misled Young Communist League and International; passing unheard and unheeded by the millions of young workers, who do not, and can not, understand the slogans and demands that should inspire and electrify the youth into determined action; because of the methods used by the Y.C.L.

What is to be Done

Correct Leninist policy—aimed at world Communism: leadership in the everyday struggles of the young workers, Marxist education, vigorous anti-war action; abandoning the inane phrase-flinging that marches cheek-by-jowl with opportunism; the acceptance into the full comradeship of struggle of the Left Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition within the Party and the Y.C.L.—these will make future International Youth Days what they should be.

question as to how we may train the youth in order that they may be able to complete and perfect what we have commenced.

I should say that the first and what would seem to be the most natural reply would be that the Young Communist League and the youth as a whole who desire to go over to Communism, should learn Communism.

But to reply "learn Communism" is too general. What then do we need in order to learn Communism? What must we select out of the sum of total knowledge in order to acquire the knowledge of Communism? Here a number of dangers rise up which appear every time the task of learning Communism is presented incorrectly or when it is understood too one-sidedly.

Naturally, the first thing that enters one's mind is that learning Communism means to master the sum of knowledge that it contained in Communist text-books, pamphlets and larger works. But such a definition of the study of Communism should be too crude and insufficient.

Theory and Practice; Knowledge and Struggle

If studying Communism merely meant the mastery of what is elucidated in Communist books and pamphlets, we could very easily get a number of Communists who could glibly roll off Communist text by heart. This would cause a considerable amount of harm, for these people, having learned by rote what is written in Communist books and pamphlets would be totally incapable of combining all this knowledge and would not be able to act as Communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left us by the old capitalist society, is the complete isolation of books from practical life. We had some books in which everything was presented in the best form, but in the majority of cases, these books represented a repulsive hypocritical lie which falsely described Communist society. Therefore, the mere learning by rote of what is written in books about Communism would be quite wrong.

In our speeches and writings of the present time, we no longer repeat what was said formerly about Communism, because our speeches and writings are connected with everyday work in all its aspects. Without work, without struggle, a book knowledge of Communism gained from Communist pamphlets and books is worth nothing, for it would merely continue the former gap between theory and practice, the former gap which represented the most repulsive features of the old bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous, if we commenced to acquire only Communist slogans. If we did not realize this danger in time, and if we did not direct all our efforts to remove it, the half million or million boys and girls who after such a study of Communism would call themselves Communists would only bring considerable harm to the cause of Communism.

(To Be Continued)

The Youth and the Elections

The elections this year give the Communists an exceptionally good opportunity for rallying the working youth under their banner. The growing willingness of the young workers to struggle, their greater participation in the struggles of the working class, the increased economic pressure on the young workers in the present economic crisis (unemployment, further lowering of wages, worsening of conditions of labor) serve as a substantial base for the growth of influence of the Communist Youth.

In participating in capitalist parliamentary elections, Communists aim to educate the broad mass of workers, rally them around the vital questions that affect them, organize them for the struggle against the boss class and its state power, and for the establishment of a revolutionary workers government, the young Communists must make special efforts to attract the young workers.

Winning the Young Workers

The task of winning the young workers is organically connected with the problem of winning the entire working class. The problems of the general working class are the problems of the young workers—since the latter are a section of the former. However, the young workers as such have certain different characteristics and therefore certain particular problems. Because of its physical and intellectual immaturity, the youth has special so-called social needs and requirements—educational, cultural etc. These must be dealt with in the attempt to win over the youth for Communism.

In the United States, as in all capitalist democracies, although the youth are drawn into industry at a low age, compelled by economic necessity (and at periods by law) to join the military forces, in a word are forced to take upon themselves the "social responsibilities" of an adult, they are deprived of the right of franchise. The millions of youth in this country between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one who are barred from voting can be rallied around the slogan of: A vote for every youth eighteen or more years of age! The pretensions of bourgeois democracy can thereby more easily be exposed. Even the socialists, the arch-defenders of capitalist democracy, have given support to this disenfranchisement of millions of young workers and students.

Youth Omitted in C.P. Platform

The Communist Party in its current platform does not even mention the position of the working youth; it raises not even a single demand for the young workers! The so-called leadership of the official Y.C.L. is too taken up with its "Plan of Action" (!) to occupy itself with such "trifles". Nevertheless, youth demands must be issued; a special effort must be made to reach the millions of toiling youth. The pivot point must be a contrast of the conditions of the youth under wage slavery and those under a workers' Soviet government.

The Left Opposition Youth, as part of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will participate in the ensuing election campaign, and support the Communist Party. Members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League should demand that those organizations accept our offers of cooperation in the elections. Young Communists should insist on definite youth election demands. Young workers, young students and young Communists should rally around the demands of the Left Opposition Youth:

The right to vote for all youth 18 years or over.

6-hour day, 5-day week for all young workers.

The abolition of child labor under the age of 16 with state maintenance for those at present employed.

The establishment of work-schools for young workers between the ages of 16 and up—modelled on the present system in the Soviet Union.

Two weeks vacation with pay for all young workers. —JOSEPH FRIEDMAN

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III, No. 30

NEW YORK, N. Y. | September 15 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

In Stalin's Exile

RAKOVSKY IN DANGER!

The silence of the leadership of our Party and the International continues to be profound. We will continue without cease our appeal to the workers for the Bolshevik Oppositionists deported by Stalin.

Above all, comrade Christian Rakovsky must be saved!

The workers must be informed, and to those responsible for the Party's policy, we must constantly raise the question: What are you doing to the Left Opposition in the U.S.S.R.? Why do you persecute it? Justify your repressive measures if you can!

On Rakovsky

(Extract from a Letter)

... Rakovsky is writing an enormous amount. Whatever reaches us is read by all; in this sense Christian Georgevitch is doing a great work. His position does not differ one whit from our own (that of Trotsky); like ourselves, he is resisting the Party regime. Here are some extracts from one of his last cards:

"All our warnings have been verified much more rapidly and fully than we might have imagined. Right now a retreat is being beaten, and the positions are being abandoned, evidently by the usual zig-zags. The slogan of 'generalized collectivization in three years' still continues only for the purpose of frightening the middle peasant and increasing the retail price by its pressure. The middle peasant will be the axis around which the turn of 180 degrees in Centrist policy will revolve.

"After Centrism, without resistance, ruined the economy of the middle peasant, it will again begin to make a fetish of him, with the ritual sacrifices, not on the backs of the bureaucracy—which everybody would have to approve—but at the expense of the poor peasants and the proletariat" . . .

Letter from Russia

... By chance I received some information on the solitary prison of N. One of our comrades confined there previously developed the theory of the "ferment" that is, that we are ferment of the next revolutionary rise, but today, in his letter, a change is to be felt. Everybody works to deepen and increase his theoretical knowledge, they study and strengthen their knowledge of foreign languages, with a marked preference for German. The discussions go on without cease. The subjects: knowledge of the world, space, time, mechanics, the sorties of the Right wing, the "third period", etc., etc. Nothing more can be learned of the essence of the discussions, since all abstract considerations are censored or held back by the censor; even the situation with regard to food is part of the mystery of the solitary prisons. Hunger strikes are frequently carried on. The causes are the regime, and apparently, the food; after the first hunger strike, they forced the permission to receive twelve letters instead of four letters a month. The strike was long, there were many seriously ill. The second hunger strike was a protest against the bastonnades (beating with sticks). As a result, the prisoners were refused all communication with the outer world. The old social democracy left the prisons and places of exile much more healthy than the Bolsheviks will leave the solitary prisons of Stalinism . . .

June, 1930.

—N.N.

Issues in the Elections

Capitalist Parties Put Up Fake Issues to Conceal Jobless Sufferings

Sufficient has occurred in the last few weeks to show on what basis the twin capitalist parties intend to conduct the election campaign: Prohibition—for and against! The faithful servant of Tammany Hall, Governor Roosevelt, has issued a "courageous" statement for the repeal of the 18th Amendment. The "wet" Republicans of New York are warning the Party high priests that unless they do the same, the parched Party sheep will flock to the flowing brooks of the "Democracy". In Illinois, the Democratic senatorial nominee, J. Hamilton Lewis, has declared the great issue to be bringing the government back to "the principle of the fathers", which, if he refers to the George Washingtons, means cheap booze. Michigan has already defeated two prominent dry Republican Congressmen in the primaries. Vermont has given an unknown "wet" a nomination over a prominent "dry". The same comedy is being enacted everywhere.

The so-called prohibition issue is the best one that could be chosen—for the capitalist class. It conveniently cuts across party lines so that neither singly nor together can they be made responsible for anything. It is an expedient gas gun for shooting clouds around fundamental and really burning issues.

Is there mass unemployment, misery, starvation, suicide in the country? Booze will solve that! Are wages being cut to the very marrow? Booze will make the workers forget that! Is a form of social insurance needed by the workers? No, it's beer and light wines they need! Are the workers clubbed during strikes, bludgeoned at demonstrations of the jobless, evicted from their homes? Prohibition caused it all! Do the workers want bread? Give them beer and they won't need bread! Is there a bleak winter ahead, a winter of deepened crisis of horrible suffering, of food riots perhaps and certainly of bitter struggles to resist the offensive of the capitalist class? Give them a prohibition prize-fight to distract their minds from woe and struggle!

The dislike and total incapacity of the capitalist parties to face the real problems the masses are confronted with, are quite understandable. Republican or Democrat—they are the ramparts of the system that produces wars, unemployment, crises, misery, child labor, exploitation, inequality and oppression with an ever-increasing frequency and permanency. Their crimes and festering corruption are the crimes and corruption of capitalism, with which the whole country is reeking like a pestilence. For a worker to support them is to kiss the chains that enslave him and with gratitude the blows he receives.

Reformist Aides to Capitalism

Then should he support the Socialist party? No. If the Republican and Democratic parties are the ramparts of capitalism, the Socialist party is the ditch around the fortress that traps those who seek to storm it. The socialist party has removed every mention of the class struggle from its program, constitution and works. But it has not left the class struggle; it has only become an assistant to capitalism. It is the party of the petty bourgeoisie. It is the party of the respectable business men who faithfully manage the municipal affairs of Reading and Milwaukee for the capitalist class. It is the devoted workman who goes about his master's house, with plaster and trowel, begging for permission to cover up the more unsightly holes in the decaying structure.

Does it offer promises to the workers? Certainly! More even than its masters offer. It offers a MacDonald regime in the United States, a regime which has so effectively "solved" unemployment in England that millions are still on a miserable dole; it has "solved" the oppression of imperialism in India by massacring the Indian people. Haven't Hillquit and Co. endorsed the British "Labor" government? Aren't they in one and the same "socialist" international? Are they not "comrades" of Zoergiebel, the butcher of Berlin's proletariat, and Boncour, the agent of the French war mongers? Are they not in the party of the "socialist" trade union racketeers who practise for power by beating up and expelling Left wing workers? They are the gay deceivers of the working class, typified by Mr. Heywood Brown and Mr. Norman Thomas, who keep the workers from fighting their class enemy by telling them that their lot can be improved by voting against capitalist politicians.

Vote Communist

The worker's vote should go to the worker's party—the Communist Party. All our differences with it, our criticisms of its internal regime and its ruinous policies, does not change the fact that it is the only political party of the working class in the field which stands for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all power to the proletariat. The casting of a paper ballot does not and cannot decide the burning problems of the workers. But support for the Communist campaign draws the workers more closely together, and enables them to transform the electoral farce into a genuine fight for the demands of the workers—not in futile polling booths, but in serious class struggle.

Vote Communist!

A Yankee Revolution in the Argentine

Militarist "revolutions" in South America are occurring with bewildering frequency and abruptness. First Bolivia, then Peru, now Argentina, and tomorrow, perhaps, Brazil. In virtually every one of these countries, the boiling over of conflicting elements results from the volcanic heat generated by the world capitalist crisis. Even more precisely, the "revolutions" in question mirror the unconcealed rivalry between Britain and the United States. In both these imperialist powers, their anarchistically organized industries and means of distribution are paralyzed, their home markets sluggish and contracted, their financial systems in disorder. Primarily for these two, it has become a matter of economic existence to fight tooth and nail for a larger share of the world market, limited as it is. This struggle for markets, raw material, spheres of influence and the like, produces the most violent eruptions in every corner of the world, of which the recent events in South America are only characteristic.

The overthrow of the tyrannical butcher of the Peruvian toiling masses, Leguia, the Wall Street adjutant who was surrounded by American financial and naval "advisors", marked an offensive of Britain against the Yankee dollar—never very popular with the Latin American masses—which has yet to say its final word.

With almost the precision of a military counter-offensive comes the engineered uprising in Argentina with its removal of the notoriously pro-British Irigoyen administration and the establishment of the pro-American Uriburu dictatorship. Both the American and British imperialist press treat the event with a frankness for which we can only be thankful: the former greets it with unfeigned glee, the latter with apprehension. The United States, with its hypocritical "policy" of not recognizing Latin-American governments that have succeeded to power by "violence", is quite prepared to make an exception in the Argentine case.

In all these "revolutions", the native bourgeois demagogues have skillfully utilized the dissatisfaction of the masses with the economic crisis and tyrannical dictatorship. They have used the workers and peasants for "troops of the popular revolution" and coolly driven them back to a position of quiescence and subjugation as soon as they have seized power. For the masses, in a word these "revolutions" have no progressive significance, and often a more reactionary one.

What is even more disturbing is the complete absence of the Communist movement in these affairs. They appear nowhere as a political factor. They do not even appear to attempt to turn the guns of the masses against the militarist puppets of the native bourgeoisie and imperialism. The truth is: They have been crushed and rendered impotent by the ravages of Stalinism, which has virtually dissolved the once promising Communist movement in the Latin-American countries.

The German Elections

We go to press too soon to report the outcome of the elections in Germany, and must therefore leave it to the next issue to contain a detailed analysis of the results. In this case, however, as in all capitalist elections, the casting of ballots is far from the decisive question. The fate of Germany and its working class will be decided in the open field of the class struggle. The problem for the bourgeoisie is its ability to unload the burden of the risks upon technico-industrially weaker countries and by intensified exploitation of the working class, in order to carry out the Young Plan. The answer depends largely upon the Communist Party and its ability to mobilize for struggle the workers still in retreat. The failure of the Communist Party can bring the same ruinous consequences to the proletariat as did the failure of the Brandler leadership of the C.P.G. in 1923. On the temper and mood of the proletariat, which will be partially gauged by the elections this week, depends the question—in a political sense—of whether the bourgeoisie will go forward with its "democratic" dictatorship supported by the servile collaboration of the social democrats, or prepare for an open Fascist dictatorship. Unfortunately, the Communist Party under the misleadership of its Thaelmanns, Remmeles and Neumanns offer too insufficient guarantee or hope of an intelligently revolutionary leadership of the masses for today and the coming day.

George Saul Tours for Opposition

Comrade George J. Saul has begun a national speaking tour for the Communist League of America (Opposition) opening up in Denver, Colorado, with a number of street meetings. From Denver, he will proceed to Kansas City, with a possible meeting in Sterling en route. In Kansas City, two or three meetings are scheduled for him. One of them is a meeting of the Communist League branch, another is a public meeting in Forum Hall, 1218 East 12th Street, September 16th, 8 p.m., on "Boss Persecutions in the South", and a street meeting may also be arranged. St. Louis is also arranging a branch and public meeting for comrade Saul in the Public Library. From St. Louis, it is expected to continue the tour through Springfield, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Youngstown, Pittsburgh and points in the vicinity.

Comrade Saul was one of the active figures in the Colorado coal strike of a few years ago, and recently one of the leaders of the textile struggles in the South. He was sentenced to six months on the chain gang in the Carolinas for his activities. His recent agreement with the standpoint of the Communist League brought about his expulsion from the official Communist Party. On this tour, comrade Saul is speaking on "Boss Persecutions in the South", "Problems of the American Working Class", and the "Program of the Communist League". Further details on the tour will be published in forthcoming issues of the Militant.

THE RESULTS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

will be the subject of the next open meeting of the N.Y. Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Max Shachtman

will be the speaker

Questions and Discussion will follow
The meeting will be held in the

Stuyvesant Casino

9th St. and 2nd Ave. Room 3,

Thursday, September 25, at 8 p.m. sharp
All Invited Admission Free

Comrade Andres Nin Expelled from Russia

Comrade Andres Nin, former member of the Profintern secretariat and leader of the Spanish Communist movement, was deprived of all work and removed from his post in 1928 after his courageous speech at the fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U.

Nin had definitely sided with the Left Opposition; he had excoriated the opportunist trade union policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, he had developed the international perspectives of the Opposition, and our point of view on the Chinese question.

Since then, Nin was held a prisoner in Moscow. But his presence irritated the Stalinists and they have just accomplished their base aims by expelling him under scandalous conditions.

Since hypocrisy and "high politics" are a part of such a game, the French and Chinese delegates to the recently concluded fifth congress were made to propose a resolution endorsing the expulsion.

Comrade Nin was expelled on August 21 under shameful conditions. Arrested by agents of the G.P.U. he was seized as being guilty of "counter-revolutionary actions" by virtue of article 58 of the Soviet code, like comrade Trotsky, and conducted to the

Two declarations of the Left Opposition, intimately related to each other, are being confirmed with greater rapidity than many expected. The first is that Centrism has no independent or consistent political line of its own. The second, that the stormy ultra-Left zigzag of Centrism is only a prelude to a new rampage in the direction of crass opportunism. The contentions are already being confirmed in all the important parties of the Comintern, including the Russian. In the United States, it is most crudely manifested in the present election campaign of the Party.

Conditions for Election Work

Why and under what conditions do Communists participate in parliamentary activities? Among the many conditions, these stand out: To utilize the interest aroused among the workers during election times for revolutionary agitation and organization of the workers. To point out that the Communists do not seek seats in order to use the bourgeois state apparatus as an instrument of the workers, but to use it as a forum where the decadent bourgeois parliamentarism is exposed and the illusions of the workers in it shattered. To utilize election periods in particular to mobilize the workers against the stifling farce of the polling booths and for transferring their demands and attention outside parliamentary boundaries and into the open field of struggles, (demonstrations, strikes, etc., etc.) To advocate such minimum (immediate) demands as do not reform capitalism (that is the job of the social democrats) but as entrain masses in struggle outside the ballot box deception, and incessantly to combine the minimum and maximum programs of the revolutionary proletariat, the immediate demands with the final aim of the seizure of power. To point out to the workers that parliament and elections are a sham and a deception practised upon them by the bourgeoisie and their reformist lieutenants, that reforms cannot improve their wretched lot which is produced by the system as a whole.

In the United States, where so many millions of workers participate in elections, where parliamentary illusions are deep and strong, where reformist quackery has been so prevalent and nefarious, and socialist reformism has assumed (for decades) such a crude bourgeois character, the observance of the above-mentioned conditions are imperatively needed guarantees for a Communist movement against a degeneration into opportunism. In the present elections

frontier, without a cent, without a document, without his family!

He was still held a few days by Stalin's guards, and his wife, together with two children—one 7 years old and the other 2 years old—held with him.

The bureaucracy of Stalin knows no limits. The revolutionary workers must ask the leaders of the T.U.U.L. for an explanation of the case of Nin.

Upon their return, the American delegates to the R.I.L.U. congress must be asked for details on the case of Nin.

Nin is a tested revolutionist. With him, as with our non-Russian comrades, as with comrade Santini who is now in Moscow, Stalin and his valet Losovsky, do not dare to employ the solitary prison, exile, or the rifle squad—they must limit themselves with expulsions. But these methods dishonor the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Left wing militants in this country must conduct a persevering struggle against these methods which not only play into the hands of the Right wing and reaction, but destroy the prestige and effectiveness of the Communist movement.

An Opportunist Campaign

The Communist Party in the Elections

campaign, however, they have been honored more in the breach than in the observance and that with calamitous results.

Our Proposals

A few months ago, the Left Opposition, through the Militant, proposed a number of concrete issues as a program of action for the Communist movement. Leading them was the need of a campaign for social insurance that would set a broad class movement going and involve masses in struggle. At that time the proposal was not only strictly taboo in the columns of the official Party press and all Party documents, but it was looked at with a glaringly suspicious eye by the Stalinist mannikins as something akin to if not worse than "social fascism".

We never conceived such a campaign in the sense of a vulgar parliamentary comedy—that goes without saying. We urged it upon the Party, which finally accepted it when word had come from Moscow that even in the "third period" such a proposal was not entirely a bad one. It was from then on that we were presented with an almost incredible performance which reaches new depths with the passage of every day. From yesterday's hardly concealed contempt for "social fascist insurance", the Party leaders swung around their customary 180 degrees, and turned the issue—which can have a serious significance only as a demand for which workers actually fight—into a cheap electoral game.

To begin with, a "social insurance bill" was formally drafted by the Party, in the best manner of skilled parliamentarians. We are even ready to acknowledge that the bill is perfectly legal and its language irreproachable. Too legal and irreproachable, in fact. It tells us that "a national public (!) emergency now exists in the United States of America". A leaflet of the New York Party District informs us that the "Communists offer a remedy" (!); and the *Daily Worker* adds: Society owes these categories of workers a living." In fact, the only essential difference between the "Communist Bill" and the Socialist party's panacea is that the C.P. demands \$25 a week per unemployed worker, to be paid by the government, while the S.P. does not demand so much. A very cheaply purchased "radicalism", indeed!

How the Opportunists Write of Their Bill

This very parliamentary "bill" has become the very acme of the struggle for social insurance conducted by the Party, the "center of the election campaign" as the *Daily Worker* says. We refrain from quoting much from the *Daily Worker*, but a few sentences must be cited here. They are breath-taking.

"A vote for the candidate of the Communist Party is a vote for the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Bill" (8-29-1930).

The Party called together a "mass unemployment united front" for the purpose of discussing . . . "the enactment of the Workers' Social Insurance Bill as proposed by the Communist Party" (9-10-1930).

"This bill must not only be brought to the workers in the shops, trade unions, for their endorsement, but the Party must also consider the utilization of the initiative and referendum laws as a means of struggle for this bill." (8-2-1930).

In what way does this destroy the parliamentary illusions of the workers, or direct their attention and efforts to the extra-parliamentary field? The answer is: In no way! Instead of telling the workers bluntly and honestly that even their simplest and most elementary demands can be attained—not by "bills" and ballot boxes—but by genuine mass demonstrations and strikes (we do not mean the kind the *Daily Worker* organizes at its headline desks), by arousing the mass organizations of the workers to fight for these demands, the Party glues the eyes of its followers to a . . . bill. What has suddenly happened

to the "third period", to the "revolutionary upsurge", to the "crisis worse than 1914", to the "possession of the streets"? They have been dissolved into a legally perfect, irreproachably worded "bill" to be presented for "enactment" to Congress.

That is not all. Combined with this miserable campaign of opportunism, is similar reformist nonsense, subsidiary in form but no less harmful.

"The funds necessary for such insurance," writes the *Daily Worker*, "can be provided by 1. Stopping armaments and other war preparations and assigning the funds hitherto spent for these purposes to a social insurance fund." (8-29-1930). No "genuine" pacifist could fail to be delighted with such a proposal, which is also advanced in the form of a slogan: "Not a cent for war."

Petty Bourgeois Pacifism

Not once but a hundred times did Lenin excoriate the petty bourgeois pacifists in the ranks of the socialist movement who advanced these and similar proposals and slogans. His strictures remain just as correct today, even when they must be directed against the chameleons of the "third period". Not so very long ago, the whole Party was stirred up against Bittelman for his petty bourgeois slogan: "No more cruises!" Does the new pacifist slogan of armaments and war differ in any essential from Bittelman's? It does not. Like its predecessor, it has no place in a Communist movement.

It may be objected that these are "isolated quotations". This objection is not valid. The quotations are only typical of what can be read every day in the *Daily Worker* and the rest of the Party press. The "bill" itself was drafted by the Party leadership—evidently with the practised aid of some of the present "leaders" who not so long ago studied how to be good parliamentarians under Victor Berger, Algernon Lee, Louis Waldman, Meyer London and Morris Hillquit. The editorials cited are written by no less a figure than C.A. Hathaway, graduate cum laude of the "Lenin" school, and now member of the almighty Party secretariat. The turn from ultra-Leftism is quite official.

* * *

This is not the first time this has happened. After the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, which followed the collapse of the Right wing leadership in Germany (1923) and Czechoslovakia, the International Centrist regime also embarked on a short-lived "Leftist" zig-zag. It was the period of Ruth Fischer and Treint leaderships and policies, of "playing at soldiers" as it was later termed. But this ultra-Leftist jag was only the prelude to the worst period of opportunism in Comintern history: the adventure with Chiang Kai-Shek, with La Follette, with Raditch and other "peasant" leaders, with Messrs. Purcell and Co. The indications are that such a catastrophic swing is to be repeated now.

Centrism has no consistent policy of its own. It is a parasite which lives on the pieces it bites off from the Left and Right alternately, but it always ends by sinking a foot deeper into the swamp of opportunism. As in 1925-1927, it is carrying through a turn to the Right with an accompaniment of ultra-Left trumpets.

A turn from the prevailing ultra-Leftist course, embodied in the spurious philosophy of the "third period" is essential for the Party. But Centrism cannot execute such a turn without springing back to its old Right wing positions. The vigilance and comradely criticism of the Left Opposition must assist the Communist workers in the ranks of the Party to make the turn from the present line to the positions of Marxism.

—S—n

(The next issue of the Militant will further discuss concrete election problems. —Ed.)

Lovestone's «United Front» Maneuver

(At a recent meeting, the national committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) considered the "open letter" sent by the Lovestone group to our organization and to the official Communist Party. The letter, calling for a "United Front", is published in full in the current issue of *Revolutionary Age*, organ of the Right wing, to which interested readers can refer for the full text from which quotations contained in the following document are taken. The letter which follows is the reply addressed publicly to the Right wing by the national committee of the League.)

* * *

We have received your letter of July 26, 1930 appealing for our "cooperation in setting up a united revolutionary front" as well as a copy of the resolution on "Trotskyism" adopted at the Plenum of your group. Both of these documents are of great significance for us. The resolution is the result of our incessant demand that the Lovestone group take a definite and formal position on the principle questions raised by the Left Opposition. This it failed to do ever since its removal from the leadership of the Party, a policy of evasion which evidently could no longer be maintained even in the ranks of that group itself. Furthermore, the resolution marks a retreat to a certain extent from the position maintained by the Lovestone group while it controlled the Party—a position now untenable for the Lovestone leadership after the Left Opposition has had the opportunity of breaking through the conspiracy of lies and misrepresentations with which the official Communist apparatus, Foster and Lovestone, surrounded the disputed points. That the resolution is permeated with opportunism and continued falsification is not the subject of this letter, which is primarily concerned with the appeal for a united front.

The United Front

The tactic of the united front is neither a maneuver nor a trick for us. We regard it as a serious means of mobilizing the masses of the workers not yet Communists for a struggle, on the basis of a minimum program, against the attacks of capitalism and its agents in the working class. Such a united front we cannot reject, all the more so since it is we who have constantly urged it on the labor movement in general and its revolutionary section in particular.

But a united front or bloc with the Lovestone group is not the same to us as a united front with a trade union or other labor organizations containing workers of varying shades of opinion without a definite political program and theoretical conception. Precisely because the Lovestone group calls itself Communist, the question of a bloc with it must be examined most closely and pre-conditions of a much higher order must be required. Before establishing these pre-conditions, a few preliminary observations must be made.

The appeal reads: "The revolutionary movement in this country finds itself weak, demoralized and divided . . . the capitalists and their agents are exploiting this division . . . at no time would refusal to cooperate in uniting the revolutionary forces be more criminal."

But it is precisely the Lovestone group which is chiefly responsible for this division, for its leadership initiated the campaign of expulsions of so-called "Trotskyists"; it is precisely this leadership which by its expulsion and assaults upon our group, its "refusal to cooperate in uniting the revolutionary forces" rendered itself criminally responsible. It was this leadership that failed "to consider the broad interests of the revolutionary and labor movement" by expelling our comrades, not only from the Party but from every auxiliary organization under its control—including trade unions. The failure to acknowledge honestly and openly the source and responsibility for the movement's division and demoralization in the past and present, makes any improvement in the future impossible. One cannot wash one's hands of the past by a dishonestly naive silence.

The appeal proposes the setting up of a joint committee of the three groups in

the movement "to present the point of view of Communism, the point of view of those who stand by and defend the Soviet Union".

Unity with "Counter-Revolutionists"?

But it is the Lovestone group, together with the Stalinist apparatus, which has for years assailed us as "counter-revolutionists and the worst enemies of the Soviet Union", as the "agents of Chamberlain and Chiang Kai-Shek". We have not yet seen an acknowledgement that these declarations were infamous slanders which constituted the regular payment made by the Lovestone leadership to the Stalin-Bucharin regime for allowing it to run the American Party. One may therefore assume that the Lovestone leaders still retain these "convictions" concerning us. How then is it possible to appeal to counter-revolutionists and enemies of the Soviet Union to "present the point of view of those who stand by and defend the Soviet Union"? Or are we to believe that the Lovestone leaders are not and have not been serious in denouncing us as counter-revolutionists. In that case, it is necessary for them to admit plainly that they have for years been practising a disgraceful deception upon the workers' movement.

It is further necessary for us to point out that the principal cause of the present crisis in the Communist movement, manifested by division and demoralization is, the theoretical standpoint and practical activities of the Lovestone group and its international allies since 1923. It is impossible to enter a bloc with the Lovestone group while it retains and defends these conceptions. It is impossible to try to solve the crisis and overcome the division in the Communist movement by a "united front" with the elements that caused the crisis.

Moreover a united front with the Lovestone group—since the official Party bureaucrats can still prevent the Party from join-

ing such a front—would constitute an unprincipled bloc against the Center, i.e., against the Party. It would end in a miserable fiasco (as did the Lovestone "united front" in the textile industry), or as a rallying ground for anti-Party forces. We are aiming, on the contrary, to restore the Party to a Marxist foundation, since it is our Party from which no clique of bureaucrats can separate us.

A united front of all Communist workers is essential. A determined effort must be made to overcome the crisis now raging in the movement. We have advocated such a front and we continue to propose it now. But we do not stand for an abstract unity, or bloc, but for one that has a basis in principle. With its present views on essential questions, and its evasion or silence on many others, a bloc with the Lovestone group is out of the question. Such a bloc demands certain pre-conditions which we hereby pose to the Lovestone faction:

Questions to Lovestone

1. One of the reasons for the crisis, the division and demoralization of the movement over which you express so much concern, has been the prevention of open discussion. Meetings have been broken up, raids on private homes conducted, comrades physically assaulted. These methods are still used in the Party against all Oppositions, on the basis of the precedent of gangsterism you established in the struggle against our group. There can be no issue from the present difficulties, and no genuine unity, without a condemnation of these atrocious methods, which means in the first place an open renunciation of your own past crimes in this respect. Otherwise no basis can be laid for a free and intelligent discussion of the problems of the movement.

2. One of the main reasons for the crisis and split is the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Party. This was ex-

ecuted primarily by your group, at that time in control of the Party. It is necessary to know if this is still the official attitude of your group. Else how can you appeal to unite us into a movement to present the point of view of Communism while expelling us from the Communist Party?

3. But our group is only the American section of the international Left Opposition. The expulsion of these comrades, and particularly of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, has been of enormously destructive effect to the movement, reflected in the American Party as well as elsewhere. Comrade Trotsky has been deported to Turkey, and thousands of the best Bolsheviks exiled and imprisoned in the U.S.S.R. Bolshevik fighters have even been assassinated by Stalin. Up to now the Lovestone group has maintained a cowardly silence on these crimes. But without the release from prison and exile of the Oppositionists, the return to the U.S.S.R. of Trotsky, and their full reinstatement into the Party, no progress can be made in overcoming the division and demoralization in the movement. Does the Lovestone group intend to prefer a "diplomatic" silence on this burning question to a protest and demand?

4. No bloc is conceivable for us without a revolutionary policy in the trade unions. On this point we have had only vague ambiguities from your group. Recently, your official organ, *Revolutionary Age*, has given its hearty endorsement to the action of Hais and Co. in Czechoslovakia in surrendering the independent Red unions under their control to the Amsterdam International. This piece of liquidation was labelled by you as a step in the "unification" of the Czech working class. Does that signify that in the United States, where the Left unions are relatively even smaller than the reformist trade unions, you favor a similar liquidation of, let us say, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union into the reformist International Ladies Garment Workers Union? The "logic" of Hais' action in Czechoslovakia would seem to apply in the American instance with even greater force—from your point of view. As you are aware, we condemn such actions unreservedly. Clarification on the trade union question is a *sine qua non* for any sort of bloc on principle grounds.

5. A united front of Communist workers or groups pre-supposes a certain amount of mutual confidence. The whole past course of your group does not inspire us with any. Your spokesmen and your press continue systematically not only to "interpret" our position, but to falsify it deliberately. The resolution on Trotskyism of your Plenum is a typical instance. We find there a repetition of the hodge-podge of known falsehoods, half-truths, consciously forged quotations that were pressed into service against the Left Opposition since the opening of the campaign against it in 1923. We find there a cheap falsification, unworthy of the dignity of a Communist, of our position on the danger of Thermidorian elements in the Soviet Union. Such methods are intolerable, even if they are characteristic of the whole struggle against a so-called Trotskyism. We demand an end of these falsifications and misrepresentations of our viewpoint.

Our reply is dictated solely by our insistence upon the maintenance of a principled point of view in the Communist movement. We are little concerned with the noises emanating from the empty barrels in charge of the official Party today, to the effect that the "Lovestoneites and Trotskyists" are now merged to fight the Party. The avowal by the Lovestone group itself that its differences with the Centrists are of a minor character compared with its differences with the Left Opposition which are of a principle character, speaks for itself and shows that in its whole philosophy the Right wing stands immeasurably closer to Centrism than does the Left wing. This clarification of the principle position has a great value.

Nor is our reply dictated by any desire for unity as such and on any basis. Our aim is the re-conquest and unification of the revolutionary movement on the basis of Marxism and the living experiences of Communism in the last two decades.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

An Answer and a Challenge to a Debate

The Communist League of America (Opposition) has received a letter from Bertram D. Wolfe, head of the Workers School of the Lovestone group, proposing a symposium of the three groups in the movement, the Party, the Lovestone group, and ourselves. In reply, the following letter was sent to Wolfe.

* * *

In your letter of August 14, 1930, you declare:

"The New Workers School therefore invites the Communist Party of the U.S.A., the Communist League of America, and the Communist Party (Majority Group) to send one representative each to present their respective viewpoints at a symposium discussion under a chairman selected by the Civil Liberties Union where they will be able freely to voice their opinions on the present crisis in the Communist movement and the respective merits of the three groups proposals for remedying the situation."

Such an invitation can only be welcomed by us, particularly since, from the very beginning of our struggle and expulsion from the Communist Party, we have insistently proposed a public debate before the Communist and Left wing workers, of the groups. We issued a public challenge, as you will remember, at the time Bertram D. Wolfe was lecturing against us immediately after our expulsion. At that time, the group you represent was in control of the Party and deliberately prevented such a discussion and debate not only by expelling us from the Party's ranks, but by resorting to the most disgraceful methods of slander falsehoods and even physical violence. After your own expulsion from the Party, we again proposed on a number of occasions that you agree to debate our respective viewpoints. Up to now this was refused. Such a debate, however, remains as necessary now as it was in the past.

It is quite clear that the official Communist Party will not consent to partici-

pate in the proposed symposium. Since only two groups would be represented, your own and ours, we propose instead of a "symposium" a debate. We have already selected our spokesman for such a debate. In addition, we have chosen a committee of two to meet with a similar committee representing your group, to decide on the title of the debate, the time, the place, the chairman, the auspices and all other details.

As soon as you shall have done the same, we are ready to meet together and work out all the necessary arrangements. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Socialist Indignation

During the sessions of the Second International at Zurich the Swiss government refused permission to enter its borders to the inoffensive Pietro Nenni, of the Italian Socialist Party. This was the occasion for great indignation among the leaders of the socialist international who are accustomed to much more deference from bourgeois governments. With an academic solemn pen, they addressed a protest against the denial of "hospitality" by the Swiss government to a proscribed politician.

Now we know the social democratic conception of democratic "hospitality": It consists of patronage by the bourgeois governments to social democratic leaders. But it is never to be extended to proscribed revolutionists who fight implacably against the capitalist order. Even when the social democrats themselves hold the reins of bourgeois government, they apply this hospitality exclusively to the bourgeoisie and its servitors. This rule was not transgressed by the MacDonalds and Muellers in excluding from this democratic "hospitality" the Communist Leon Trotsky. But when the Swiss government failed to maintain the laws regulating relations between the bourgeoisie and their socialist footmen, the latter protested. Their sorrowful and resigned indignation is comprehensible.

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN

The Peasant's Balance Sheet of the Democratic and Socialist Revolutions

By L. D. TROTSKY

"... the appearance of comrade Stalin at the conference of the Marxist agronomists—was epochal in the history of the Communist Academy. As a consequence of what Stalin said, we had to review all our plans and revise them in the direction of what Stalin said. The appearance of comrade Stalin gave a tremendous impetus to our work."

—(Pokrovsky, at the 16th Congress)

In his programmatic report to the conference of the Marxist agronomists (December 27, 1929), Stalin spoke at length about the "Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition" considering "that the October revolution, as a matter of fact, did not give anything to the peasantry". It is probable that even to the respectful auditors, this invention seemed too crude. For the sake of clarity, however, we should quote these words more fully: "I have in mind," said Stalin, "the theory that the October revolution gave the peasantry less (?) than the February revolution, that the October revolution, as a matter of fact, gave nothing to the peasantry." The invention of this "theory" is attributed by Stalin to one of the Soviet statistical economists, Groman, a known former Menshevik, after which he adds: "But this theory was seized by the Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition and utilized against the Party." Groman's theory regarding the February and October revolutions is quite unknown to us. But Groman is of no account here altogether. He is dragged in merely to cover up the traces.

In what way could the February revolution give the peasantry more than the October? What did the February revolution give the peasant in general, with the exception of the superficial and therefore absolutely uncertain liquidation of the monarchy? The bureaucratic apparatus remained what it was. The land was not given to the peasant by the February revolution. But it did give him a continuation of the war and the certainty of a continued growth of inflation. Perhaps Stalin knows of some other gifts of the February revolution to the peasant? To us, they are unknown. The reason why the February revolution had to give way to the October is because it completely deceived the peasant.

The alleged theory of the Opposition on the advantages of the February revolution over the October is connected by Stalin with the theory "regarding the so-called scissors". By this he completely betrays the sources and aims of his chicanery. Stalin polemicalizes, as I will soon show, against me. Only for the convenience of his operations, for camouflaging his cruder distortions, he hides behind Groman and the anonymous "Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition" in general.

The real essence of the question lies in the following. At the 12th Congress of the Party (in the spring of 1923) I demonstrated for the first time the threatening gap between industrial and agricultural prices. In my report, this phenomenon was for the first time called the "price scissors". I warned that the continual lagging of industry would spread apart this scissors and that they might sever the threads connecting the proletariat and the peasantry.

In February 1927, at the Plenum of the Central Committee, while considering the question of the policy on prices, I attempted for the one thousand and first time to prove that general phrases like "the face to the village" merely avoided the essence of the matter, and that from the standpoint of the "Smytchka" (alliance) with the peasant, the problem can be solved fundamentally by correlating the prices of agricultural and industrial products. The trouble with the peasant is that it is difficult for him to see far ahead. But he sees very well what is under his feet, he distinctly remembers the yesterdays, and he can draw the balance under his exchange of products with the city, which, at any given moment, is the balance-sheet of the revolution to him.

The expropriation of the landowners,

erated the peasant from the payment of a sum amounting to from five to six hundred million rubles (about \$275,000,000—Ed.). This is a clear and irrefutable gain for the peasantry through the October—and not the February—revolution.

But alongside of this tremendous plus, the peasant distinctly discerns the minus which this same October revolution has brought him. This minus consists of the excessive rise in prices of industrial products as compared with those prevailing before the war. It is understood that if in Russia capitalism had maintained itself the price scissors would undoubtedly have existed—this is an international phenomenon. But in the first place, the peasant does not know this. And in the second, nowhere did this scissors spread to the extent that it did in the Soviet Union. The great losses of the peasantry due to prices are of a temporary nature, reflecting the period of "primitive accumulation" of state industry. It is as though the proletarian state borrows from the peasantry in order to repay him a hundred-fold later on.

But all this relates to the sphere of theoretical considerations and historical predictions. The thoughts of the peasant, however, are empirical and based on facts as they appear at the moment. "The October revolution liberated me from the payment of half a billion rubles in land rents," reflects the peasant. "I am thankful to the Bolsheviks. But state industry takes away from me much more than the capitalists took. Here is where there is something wrong with the Communists." In other words, the peasant draws the balance sheet of the October revolution through combining its two fundamental stages: the agrarian-democratic ("Bolshevik") and the industrial-socialist ("Communist"). According to the first, a distinct and incontestable plus; according to the second, so far still a distinct minus, and to date a minus considerably greater than the plus. The passive balance of the October revolution, which is the basis of all the misunderstandings between the peasant and the Soviet power, is in turn most intimately bound up with the isolated position of the Soviet Union in world economy.

Almost three years after the old disputes, Stalin, to his misfortune, returns to the question. Because he is fated to repeat what others have left behind them, and at the same time to be anxious about his own "independence," he is compelled to look back apprehensively at the yesterday of the "Trotskyist Opposition" and ... cover up the traces. At the time the "scissors" between the city and the village was first spoken of, Stalin completely failed to understand it for five years (1923-28), he saw the danger in industry going too far ahead instead of lagging behind; in order to cover it up somehow, he mumbles something incoherent in his report about "bourgeois prejudices (!!!) regarding the so-called scissors". Why is this a prejudice? Wherein is it bourgeois? But Stalin is under no obligation to answer these questions, for there is nobody who would dare ask them.

If the February revolution had given land to the peasantry, the October revolution with its price scissors could not have maintained itself for two years. To put it more correctly: the October revolution could not have taken place if the February revolution had been capable of solving the basic, agrarian-democratic problems by liquidating private ownership of land.

We indirectly recalled above that in the first years after the October the peasant obstinately endeavored to contrast the Communist to the Bolsheviks. The latter he approved of—precisely because they made the land revolution with a determination never before known. But the same peasant was dissatisfied with the Communists, who having taken into their own hands the factories and mills, supplied commodities at high prices. In other words, the peasant very resolutely approved of the agrarian revolution of the Bolsheviks but manifested alarm, doubt, and sometimes even open hostility towards the first steps of the socialist revolution. Very soon, however, the peasant had to understand that Bolshevik

and Communist are one and the same Party,

In February 1927, this question was raised by me at the Plenum of the Central Committee in the following manner:

The liquidation of the landowners opened up large credits for us with the peasants, political as well as economic. But these credits are not permanent and are not inexhaustible. The question is decided by the correlation of prices. Only the acceleration of industrialization on the one hand, and the collectivization of peasant economy on the other, can produce a more favorable correlation of prices for the village. Should the contrary be the case, the advantages of the agrarian revolution will be entirely concentrated in the hands of the Kulak, and the scissors will hurt the peasant poor most painfully. The differentiation in the middle peasantry will be accelerated. There can be but one result. The crumbling of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "This year," I said, "only eight billion rubles worth of commodities (in retail prices) will be released for the domestic market ... the village will pay for its smaller half of the commodities about four billion rubles. Let us accept the retail industrial index as twice the pre-war prices figure, as Mikoyan has reported ... The balance (of the peasant): 'The agrarian-democratic revolution brought me aside from everything else, five hundred million rubles a year (the liquidation of rents and the lowering of taxes). The socialist revolution has more than covered this profit by a two billion ruble deficit. It is clear that the balance is reduced to a deficit of one and a half billion.'"

Nobody objected by as much as a word at this session, but Yakovlev, the present People's Commissar of Agriculture, though at that time only a clerk for special statistical assignments, was given the job of upsetting my calculations at all costs. Yakovlev did all he could. With all the legitimate and illegitimate corrections and qualifications, Yakovlev was compelled the following day to admit that the balance-sheet of the October revolution for the village is, on the whole, still reduced to a minus. Let us once more produce an actual quotation:

"... The gain from a reduction of direct taxes compared with the pre-war days is equal to approximately 630,000,000 rubles ... In the last year the peasantry lost around a billion rubles as a consequence of its purchase of manufactured commodities not according to the index of the peasant income but according to the retail index of these commodities. The unfavorable balance is equal to about 400,000,000 rubles."

It is clear that Yakovlev's calculations essentially confirmed my opinion: The peasant realized a big profit through the democratic revolution made by the Bolsheviks but so far he suffers a loss which far exceeds the profit. I estimated the passive balance at a billion and a half. Yakovlev—at less than a half a billion. I still consider that my figure, which made not pretension to precision, was closer to reality than Yakovlev's. The difference between the two figures is in itself very considerable. But it does not change my basic conclusion. The acuteness of the grain collecting difficulties was a confirmation of my calculations as the more disquieting ones. It is really absurd to think that the grain strike of the upper layers of the village was caused by purely political motives, that is, by the hostility of the Kulak towards the Soviet power. The Kulak is incapable of such "idealism". If he did not furnish the grain for sale, it was because the exchange became disadvantageous as a result of the price scissors. That is why the Kulak succeeded in bringing into the orbit of his influence the middle peasant as well.

These calculations have a rough, so to speak inclusive, character. The component parts of the balance sheet can and should be separated in relation to the three basic sections of the peasantry: the Kulaks, the middle peasants and the poor peasants. However, in that period—the beginning of 1927—the official statistics, inspired by Yakovlev, ignored or deliberately minimized the differentiation in the village, and the policy of Stalin-Rykov-Bucharin was direct-

ed towards protecting the "powerful" peasant and fighting against the "shiftless" poor peasant. In this way, the passive balance was especially onerous upon the lower sections of the peasantry in the village.

Nevertheless, where did Stalin get his contrasting of the February and October revolutions, the reader will ask. It is a legitimate question. The contrast I made between the agrarian-democratic and the industrial-socialist revolutions, Stalin, who is absolutely incapable of theoretical, that is, of abstract thought, vaguely understood in his own fashion: He simply decided that the democratic-revolution—means the February revolution. Here we must pause, because Stalin and his colleagues' old, traditional failure to understand the mutual relations between the democratic and socialist revolutions, which lies at the basis of their whole struggle against the theory of the permanent revolution, has already succeeded in doing great damage, particularly in China and India, and remains a source of fatal errors to this day. The February 1917 revolution was greeted by Stalin essentially as a Left democrat, and not as a revolutionary proletarian internationalist. He showed this vividly by his whole conduct up to the time Lenin arrived. The February revolution to Stalin was and, as we see, still remains a "democratic" revolution par excellence. He stood for the support of the first provisional government which was headed by the national liberal landowner, Prince Lvov, had as its war minister the national conservative manufacturer, Gutchkov, and the liberal, Milukov, as minister of foreign affairs. Formulating the necessity of supporting the bourgeois landowning provisional government, at a Party conference, March 29, 1917, Stalin declared: "The power has been divided between two organs, not one of which has the complete mastery. The roles have been divided. The Soviet has actually taken the initiative in revolutionary transformations; the Soviet—is the revolutionary leader of the rebellious people, the organ which builds up the provisional government. The provisional government has actually taken the role of the consolidator of the conquests of the revolutionary people ... Insofar as the provisional government consolidates the advances of the revolution—to that extent we should support it."

The "February" bourgeois, landowning and thoroughly counter-revolutionary government was for Stalin not a class enemy but a collaborator with whom a division of labor had to be established. The workers and peasants would make the "conquests", the bourgeoisie would "consolidate" them. All of them together would make up the "democratic revolution". The formula of the Mensheviks, was at the same time also the formula of Stalin. All this was spoken of by Stalin a month after the February revolution when the character of the provisional government should have been clear even to a blind man, no longer on the basis of Marxist foresight but on the basis of political experience.

As the whole further course of events demonstrated, Lenin in 1917 did not really convince Stalin but elbowed him aside. The whole future struggle of Stalin against the permanent revolution was constructed upon the mechanical separation of the democratic revolution and socialist construction. Stalin has not yet understood that the October revolution was first a democratic revolution, and that only because of this was it able to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. The balance between the democratic and socialist conquests of the October revolution which I drew was simply adapted by Stalin to his own conception. After this, he puts the question: "Is it true that the peasants did not get anything out of the October revolution?" And after saying that "thanks to the October revolution the peasants were liberated from the oppression of the landowners" (this was never heard of before, you see!) Stalin concludes that: "How can it be said after this that the October revolution did not give anything to the peasants?"

How can it be said after this—we ask—that this "theoretician" has even a grain of theoretical conscience?

(To Be Continued)

NOTES OF A JOURNALIST --- By ALFA

Two or Not Even One? (Blucher's Enigmatic Speech)

One of the first sessions of the Sixteenth Party Congress was greeted by the commander of the Far Eastern army, Blucher. This fact in itself has no political significance and would hardly deserve mention. Neither has the fact a Party significance: If, as a soldier, Blucher is far inferior to Budenny for instance, then in a Party sense he is very little superior to him. Besides Blucher's speech of greetings was edited beforehand in the office of Voroshilov and therefore very badly edited. But the spirit of the flunkie who falls in line at command was consistent to the end. There were the enraptured acclaim of Stalin and the ardent greetings to Voroshilov, and several jabs aimed at the Right wing before whom Blucher stood at attention only the day before. Everything is in order. There is also an interesting admission: "In the period between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses, our Party and Communist Youth organization in the army carried on a successful struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." The Fifteenth Congress, as was said in its day, drew the final balance under the "struggle against Trotskyism" and liquidated it completely. Now we hear from Blucher that "a successful struggle against Trotskyism" was carried on in the army for the last two and a half years, between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses. We must assume that at the Seventeenth Congress we will find out not a little of instructive value concerning the further course of this struggle which is no sooner ended than it starts anew. If we live—we shall hear about it.

But we have paused at Blucher's speech not because of this admission, nor because of its general tone, which can be expressed in three words: At your service! In this speech, or at any rate in the reports of it, there is one point which is of serious significance—not as a characterization of Blucher but as a characterization of what is now being done in the Party and what is what is now being done to the Party.

According to the report in *Pravda* of June 28, 1930, Blucher declared:

"We, the fighters in the Red Army, can proudly report to you that during these battles we did not have a single defection, not a single deserter to the enemy. The army showed a high political and class devotion to socialist construction."

Every revolutionist can only welcome this information. Unfortunately, however, we have a second version of this point in Blucher's speech which undermines all our confidence in the whole report. In the journal, *Rabotchi*, which is the daily organ of the Central Committee of the White Russian Communist Party, the quotation from Blucher's speech is reported as follows:

"We can proudly report to you that we had no defections nor a single deserter to the camp of the enemy. We have only two dark, shameful stains: two qualified recruits who were to serve for a period of nine months went over to the enemy. Both of them turned out to be Trotskyists."

The words we underlined are completely absent from the *Pravda* report. Were they spoken by Blucher or not? If we are to judge by the text we would have to conclude that these words were arbitrarily and incongruously inserted into the report after it was made, as a result of which we have an obvious absurdity. At first it says that there was not "a single deserter" and then it is reported that there were two of them. Obviously, there is something foul here: If there is not a single one, then where did the two come from? And if there really were two deserters then how can one say "not a single one"? But let us assume that it was not Blucher himself who made the ends meet: In the speech unfortunately, there is generally more ardor than sense. But then why did the *Pravda* report omit such tempting information about two deserters? Why did *Pravda* conceal the counter-revolutionary betrayals of the "Trotskyists"? If *Pravda* did not conceal anything, if Blucher did not even say this, then how is it that these

words appear on the same day in the Minsk *Rabotchi*?

We know well enough how all the information about the Congress is edited. Not a single line leaves the boundaries of the Congress without a visa from the Press Commission. This means that the information about the Trotskyist-deserters could never have been invented in Minsk. It had to be sent from Moscow with the seal of the Congress Press Commission. But then, once more, why were these lines omitted from *Pravda*? That is the first question.

There is also a second question. "Two qualified recruits went over to the enemy," we are told by Blucher or by somebody supplementing him. "Both of them turned out to be Trotskyists." These words are printed in the Minsk journal in bold face type. Naturally! But here is what is incomprehensible. Between the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Congresses, according to the words of Blucher, the army was completely purged of the remnants of Trotskyism. Why wasn't it purged of these two also? Evidently they were not known until the moment of their flight. How did Blucher find out that they were "Trotskyists", after they had fled? "Both of them turned out (?) to be Trotskyists." What does he mean "turned out"? How and on what point? The water is dark, so dark that it

looks like a stagnant pool. And it also looks as though someone had been splashing around in that pool.

And finally there is a third question: Why did the "Trotskyists" have to flee to the camp of the Chinese counter-revolution? At its head stands Chang Kai-Shek. He was never our ally. He was the ally of Stalin. He came to Stalin for negotiations. A week prior to the bloody coup d'Etat of Chiang Kai-Shek in April 1927, Stalin in the Hall of the Columns vouched for the loyalty of Chiang Kai-Shek. Chiang Kai-Shek's party belonged to the Comintern with a consultative vote. The Opposition fought against this intransigently. Stalin and Rykov exchanged photographs with Chiang Kai-Shek in April 1927, Stalin in ceived a portrait of Chiang Kai-Shek from the office of the Comintern with the request that he give his own portrait to Chiang Kai-Shek in exchange. Trotsky returned the portrait and refused to give his own. Stalin taught that Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang is a substitute for Soviets. The Opposition revealed the alliance between Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek as a betrayal of the revolution. What grounds, then, could the "Trotskyists" have had for fleeing to the camp of Chiang Kai-Shek? And would it not be better for you, my good sirs, to remain silent about this?

A Reply To Comrade Weisbord

The speech of comrade Weisbord at the plenum of the Lovestone faction is significant as an example of a strong trend in the Communist movement to consider again the fundamental principle questions in dispute, and to draw closer to the Marxist standpoint of the Left Opposition. The recent adherence to our group of some of the best militants in the official Party, the winning of a section of the youth comrades who formerly followed the Lovestone group, and the present attitude of comrade Weisbord, for years a supporter of the Lovestone faction,—these are incontestable facts which demonstrate that the Left Opposition in the United States continues to be the rallying banner for ever-increasing numbers of revolutionary Communists.

They are facts which by themselves are sufficient answer to the pitiful declarations in the camp of the Right wing and the Centrists about our "disintegration", repeated solely for the purpose of retaining domination over militants whom the barrage of anti-"Trotskyism" alone has prevented from endorsing our views.

In this sense, the Communist League of America (Opposition) welcomes the statement of comrade Weisbord. At the same time, it is imperative to indicate some extremely serious defects in it, also typical of a certain confusion that exists in the ranks of many militants who are drawing closer to our point of view. It is not a question here of a number of relatively minor differences of opinion, which are quite admissible within the ranks of the Opposition itself. Nor do we raise the question of criticisms made by comrade Weisbord, which, in any case, can be discussed and solved on the basis of comradely argument and internal democracy. More fundamental questions are involved.

The Need for Clarity

The Communist League is the Left wing of the Communist movement, a faction fighting for the reconstitution of the Communist International on the unshakable foundations of Marx and Lenin which have been systematically undermined by Stalinism. As a faction, its base is necessarily narrower than that of the official Party and its requirements more stringent. Without wasting arguments on the philistine contentions of the Right wing concerning our alleged "sectarianism" (i. e., our insistence upon revolutionary principle), we must establish at all costs a thorough clarity in all fundamental problems of the movement, since without that it is impossible to point the correct road for the movement and help the revolutionary workers in and around the Communist Party tread this road by unloading their artificially appointed "leaders" and their baggage of pernicious theories. That is why, particularly in the case of Weisbord, a com-

rade who has occupied prominent posts in the work of American Communism and is not in the same position as a new-comer or rank and file worker in the movement, all unclarity and confusion must be energetically opposed.

They exist in Weisbord's views on the problems of the Indian and Chinese revolutions and the relations of the various groups in the movement. What comrade Weisbord entirely fails to see in connection with the guerilla warfare in China is the character of the period. It is not a question of "right" or "wrong" in the Chinese guerilla warfare, but of what period we are experiencing in China. Neither Stalinism nor the Lovestones recognize that their Menshevik policies during 1925-27 led to the victory of counter-revolution, the recession of the revolutionary wave, and the virtual decapitation of the Communist movement.

Because they consider the defeat of the Chinese revolution as a passing or already passed "episode", the policy of putschism is systematically advocated or condoned by them. They fail to see the need, particularly now in a period of depression of the workers, of re-awakening them, re-grouping them by means of democratic slogans, centering around the demand for a Constituent Assembly. At the same time this cheap "Leftism" is supplemented by the outright Menshevik perspective of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", i. e., a new Kuo Min Tang scandal, a new Kerenskyism.

It is these questions of strategical and tactical significance that must be decided in the Chinese revolution. Only by establishing a sound foundation on them can the present guerilla warfare be estimated correctly, in its proper place, and not in the ambiguous manner into which comrade Weisbord falls.

An Ambiguous Position on India

The same ambiguity exists in Weisbord's words on India. Side by side with perfectly correct formulations are to be found perfectly confused ones, particularly on the relations of the proletarian movement with the national bourgeoisie. The primary problem of the Indian revolution is not one of an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, but of how to shatter every bit of faith of the masses in that leadership, how to make them rely upon themselves exclusively, to drive the national bourgeoisie (Ghandism in all shades) relentlessly out of the movement. The native bourgeoisie is the principal brake on the popular masses; it is the last and most substantial prop of British imperialism in India.

The economic and political needs of
(Continued on Page 8)

We do not know who fell into this fit of babbling: Blucher, or the editor of his speech, or both of them. But it is clear that somebody here fell into a fit of babbling exceeding the most exceptional norms of verisimilitude. That is why *Pravda* refused to print these words. It was decided there, and not without cause, that this is too stupid. But at the same time the Press Commission of the Congress was reluctant to throw them out: maybe somebody will find some use for them. And really—such an alluring morsel: On the one hand, not a single deserter, which is such an excellent testimonial to the army. On the other hand, fully two deserters, and both of them "Trotskyists"; and this is still better, for it reveals the direct connection between the Opposition and Chiang Kai-Shek. A pity to throw it out: Perhaps it will come in handy in Minsk.

In conclusion, there still remains to take a look at the composition of the Press Commission. It includes the former Social Revolutionists, Berdnikov, who is prepared for any service; Stalin's former secretary, Nazaretian, who has quite a distinct and well-earned reputation; the former Menshevik, Popov, who supplements Berdnikov; the chief cook of the Bureau of Party History, Saville; and Stalin's former secretary, Tovstukha. This ought to be enough for anybody.

The Sermon on Cockroaches

In his concluding remarks, Stalin spoke about how Rykov, Bucharin and Tomsky became frightened as soon as "a cockroach stirred somewhere, before it even crawled out of its hole". . . . The speech evidently referred to the dissatisfied Kulaks and middle peasants. Further on, however, the above-mentioned cockroach turns out to be "feeble and moribund". This complicates matters somewhat. It may be that a feeble cockroach can stir, but so far as a moribund cockroach is concerned—we would say frankly that we have our doubts. We are quite in accord with the moral that even live cockroaches should not be feared. But on the other hand we assume that under no circumstances should a cockroach be called a raisin, as an economical father once did when a baked cockroach was discovered in his bread. Nevertheless, some people—"economists" if not "economical"—believed and taught others, beginning with 1924, that the Kulak is a myth altogether, that socialism can very well be reconciled with that "powerful middle peasant"—in a word, for four years they ardently converted the cockroach into the raisin of national socialism. This too should have been avoided.

A Self-Portrait of Yaroslavsky

The irreplaceable colleague, Yaroslavsky, in the interests of self-criticism, read at the Congress a description of a Communist given by a certain organization in a forsaken locality: "Consistent, politically literate, has no firm convictions of his own. Awaits what other will say." The report records "laughter". But if one stops to think, it is not at all a laughing matter. It is only too true. And maybe this is precisely why it is so ludicrous. The province has hit the mark, describing not a man but a type.

Yes, even if we take this same Yaroslavsky. In 1923, he wrote panegyrics to Trotsky. In 1925, he wrote agreeing with Zinoviev's "Leninism", which was directly entirely against Stalin. In 1927, he wrote that Bucharin has no deviations whatever and that he is educating the youth in the spirit of Leninism.

But can it be said that Yaroslavsky is inconsistent? Nobody will say that. He is quite consistent, even too consistent. Politically illiterate? No, of course not. At worst—he is semi-literate. Has he his own firm convictions? It appears that he has not. But why should convictions be firm? They are not metallic. But how is it that Yaroslavsky, without firm convictions, maintains himself at the top? Very simple. He "awaits what others will say".

No, the Congress laughed for nothing. The description fits perfectly.

A Statement of Views on Some Disputed Questions

By ALBERT WEISBORD

(This is the final installment of the speech made before the Lovestone group plenum by comrade Weisbord in which he present his views. The reply of the Communist League is appended.)

* * *

18. India. The basic slogans for the Communists today in India must be Lenin's "Three Pillars", that is, a basic slogan for the proletariat (say the eight hour day) a basic slogan for the peasantry (confiscation of the land) and the slogan of Democratic Republic. To these "three pillars" the slogan "Freedom for India" must be added. Only around all these slogans can the masses be effectively mobilized. It would be a gross error for the Communists to stress the slogan of Freedom for India alone as does the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie. The slogan for "Constituent Assembly" by itself is not incorrect but is incomplete and may be dangerous for it does not take into consideration the fact that British Imperialism can maneuver so as to make the slogan of Constituent Assembly a SUBSTITUTE for a democratic republic. The slogan Constituent Assembly can be used correctly only in conjunction with the slogan for a Democratic Republic.

The Slogan of Soviets

The slogan of Soviets can be appropriate only when a sufficiently acute revolutionary situation has been engendered around the "three pillars", when the class struggle and civil war rages in the villages and towns. In this connection it must be emphasized that Soviets can be built even with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. The two slogans of Constituent Assembly and Soviets need not be antagonistic at all times. But what must be stressed is the actual organization of civil war in the village and town and the leadership of the proletariat in this civil war. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat in India can make permanent its revolution.

The Communists must make plain to the masses the role of the nationalistic Indian bourgeoisie and the role of Ghandi as an agent of this class. Not only the experiences of 1921 must be gone over, but all the treacherous actions of the present Ghandi campaign (the salt campaign, the anti-machine movement, passive resistance, opposition to workers, record at the Nationalist Congress, etc., etc., etc.) must be elaborated. Simultaneously mass movements in town and countryside against native usurer, gentry, kulak, bourgeois, must be effected. By no means must the Chiang Kai-Shek disaster be repeated. The criminal negligence of the C.I. in failing to build the Communist Party but in building worker-peasant parties instead must be speedily liquidated. It is clear it is not OUR business to organize peasant parties.

It is clear that the main task of the Communists must be the stimulation of the masses around the "three pillar" and freedom slogans. These movements are directed against both native and foreign rulers and bourgeoisie who may desire a nationalist revolutionary movement under the sole slogan of "Freedom of India" from the British. Nevertheless, and this is most important to understand, so long as a section of the nationalist Indian bourgeoisie is fighting British Imperialism under the slogan of Freedom of India from Imperialist rule, so long as this movement unleashes the energy of the masses which otherwise could not be unleashed and so long as the masses have not been actively mobilized around the correct slogans and while the exposure of the native bourgeoisie is but in its incipency, it would be manifestly incorrect for the Communists not to enter or to struggle for a national revolutionary front against British Imperialism even though this national revolutionary front would temporarily contain sections of the nationalist revolutionary bourgeoisie (whom the masses follow) even though the sole slogan were "Freedom for India" from British Imperialism and even though later the united front would have to be broken by the development of the class struggle in the villages and towns of India. The

center of attack must be against British Imperialism and its conscious reactionary agents within India.

The crime of the C.I. in China (and this opinion is not in contradiction with the basic opinions of comrade Trotsky, it seems) was NOT that the C.P. of China joined a national revolutionary front, but that the C.I. SUBSTITUTED the Kuomintang for the Communist Party, succumbed to Sun Yat Senism, introduced class collaboration against the class struggle, sacrificing the class struggle to this national revolutionary front against foreign imperialism, failing to raise the "Three Pillar" slogans and thus leading the civil war in village and town on concrete demands of the masses against the native exploiters as well. The policy today must be: a national revolutionary front which later will be broken by the progress of the class struggle in India under the leadership of the proletariat (through its Communist Party) in alliance with the peasantry on the road to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Problem in China

14. Here too the slogan of the Constituent Assembly is still correct, although it is apparently incorrect to state that the Chinese revolution is still on the wane. Here the mobilization of workers and peasants on concrete issues can lead to such an acute revolutionary situation that Soviets can be formed.

It is dubious to say, as do some members of the International Left Opposition, that the present guerilla warfare going on in China today is wrong and not to be supported. Under the present conditions, if the facts are that masses of desperate peasants are ready to take up civil war in the countryside, the Communists must stimulate, support, organize and lead such a movement. On the other hand, it must be clear that no matter how much the Imperialists and native Chinese rulers may be weakened, armed peasant bands cannot take the place of mass peasant uprisings, the peasant movement can not take the place of a proletarian struggle, and peasant "Soviets" cannot replace the dictatorship of the proletariat.

15. The colonial revolutionary situations in China and India are of the greatest importance to the rest of the world, and to the United States especially. How can we foresee that the United States will "weather the economic storm" and "reach new peaks" unless we foresee already the complete and sudden crushing of the revolutionary wave in the Far East. It is the rankest opportunism to fail to connect in the most intimate way the revolutionary situations in the East with the immediate perspective of the United States. All of the Communist groups suffer from this opportunism more or less. Unless this view is corrected it will be true that the revolutions will be defeated, but it will be the Communists who will have aided unconsciously the hangmen both in the East and in the West.

16. The slogan Soviet United States of Europe today seems dubious. Lenin was opposed to this slogan. Today, it may tend to aid reactionary schemes like those of Briand. It should be remembered that among the capitalist nations the sharpest basic antagonisms are no longer between European nations but between Europe and America.

17. The situation within the Soviet Union, our fatherland, must be of the utmost concern for us. The difficulty and delicacy of the subject must not lead to less discussion but to more. There is no question but that, on the whole, here comrade Trotsky was correct both in stressing industrialization and the necessity of a "plan", and in proposing an intensification of the war on the kulak. When there is recalled Bucharin's slogan to the peasantry "Enrich yourselves" and how there was solemnly discussed in Russia the possibility of the "kulaks growing into socialism", when there is recalled the arguments that

any plan of industrialization was "too premature" and would lead to terrible catastrophes and "war in the village", when there is recalled how backward the original industrialization plans were and how far the masses outstripped the "Party leaders", then the conclusion is ripe that the attack on comrade Trotsky on this question only hid the Right opportunism of the Stalin-Bucharin regime.

The Five-Year Plan

The five year plan, belated as it was, and its speedy execution, mark a tremendous step forward. The industrialization of the Soviet State must tend greatly to strengthen the revolutionary movement and tend to hasten the end of capitalism. But the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. does not BY ITSELF NECESSARILY lead to an advance of the world revolution. If with such an economic advance there should be fastened upon the Communist Parties still more the theory of building socialism in one country, if this should lead not to an international but a nationalist viewpoint, if this should in turn lead the C.I. leadership to playing with and a sacrifice of foreign sections of the C.I., if this should fasten the hold of the bureaucrats still more, if this should lead to Trotsky deportations and Edumkin murders and violence to every Communist opposition movement, then indeed it is possible to state that unless the Communists throughout the world (aided by the very economic advance of the Soviet Union) can guard against this degeneration from Leninism it is possible to have an economic advance of the Soviet Union simultaneously with a setback to the world proletarian revolution. Trotsky's exposure of the elements of Thermidor generating within the Soviet Union is absolutely correct.

Section D. 18. The Comintern today is in a profound crisis. The narrowing down and great loss of prestige of the C.I. and the mass expulsions show how deeply opportunism was part of the Communist movement. The formation of three different separately organized international Communist groups speaks of the disintegration of the movement. But it also marks a step forward since such a situation exposes the rottenness in all groups, hardens the real Leninists and prepares the way for new advances.

We owe it primarily and above all to L.D. Trotsky for exposing the situation since Lenin died, for bringing to light the Testament of Lenin which the other leaders had deliberately hidden, for exposing the forgeries of Lenin's writings attempted, and for bringing to light many facts of Party history concealed by the bureaucrats from the membership.

However it, seems that comrade Trotsky is incorrect in designating the struggle between Bucharin and Stalin (and the national groups around them) as one between "Right" and "Centrist" tendencies in the Communist movement. It is in reality a struggle between two forms of the "Right". Both philosophically and politically the conception of a "Centrist" COMMUNIST wing is wrong. Centrism can be used as designating Socialists but not Communists. This was Lenin's usage of the term. Practically, it gives the illusion that the "Centrists" are more to the "Left" than the "Right" and that "Centrists" are more easily swayed and have no real policy of their own.

19. In the United States, the disintegration of the Communist Party has exposed three groups with definite Right wing tendencies. The putschism of the official Communist Party factionalists is not the wrong estimation of those too impatient and too eager to struggle, but a deliberate make-believe to conceal their utter Right wing bankruptcy. The theory of building socialism in one country, their attitude on colonial questions, their deliberate isolation from the masses, their conception that leaders of a Communist Party can be liars and fakers trying to bluff both Moscow and the membership, and can reach leadership without ever having been called to carry

out responsible mass work in a Communist manner before becoming leaders, their violence against Communist groups, these are some of the things that show on what road this clique marches.

The Communist "Majority" group (Lovestone) shows just as bad tendencies. The failure to analyze international questions (China, Russia, etc.) and to link up these questions in the closest degree with questions of the United States; the "Right" line when these questions are approached, the wrong estimation both of the whole present period of post-war capitalism and of the present situation inside and outside the United States and the complete failure to understand the many Right wing mistakes (including the methods of dealing with the Trotsky opposition) that were committed by the leaders of this group as leaders of the Party. These are but part of the evidence to show how firmly rooted the Right tendencies of this group have become.

The Communist League (Opposition) also has shown definite "Right" tendencies. But the Right tendencies have NOT flowed from comrade Trotsky and the International Left Opposition—now that the true position of the "Trotsky" opposition is known—but are peculiar to its American section. The May 1929 factional platform, the passivity and sectarian leanings, the absolute and complete lack of self-criticism and failure to see that the Cannon faction within the Party was as un-Leninist as any of the others, these defects flowed from the fact that the American section of the Left International Opposition was too close to but a reconstituted Cannon faction in the beginning of its formation. However there must be admitted the great service such a faction did render in the publication and popularization of the principles of the Left International Opposition.

The crying need of the hour today is absolute ideological intransigence, plus the working together of all Communist groups. One of the crassest forms of opportunism was the factional unity attempted in the Party in 1928 (and before) and which was only the obverse side of the unprincipled factionalism that had existed before merely in another form. The correct solution of the momentous questions of the day on the basis of Leninism stand above all questions of formal discipline.

At the same time all Communist groups must work together on the basis of the recognition of the Communist character of each group. The Communist "Majority" opposition group and the Communist League group by working together can help to re-establish mass work and to resist the violent tactics of the Party officialdom. They can help to separate the Communist movement as a whole from the Mensheviks and can deal a death blow to the theory of "fascism" and "social-fascism" thus winning the advanced workers to a Leninist conception of Party democracy. Only such a working together of Communist groups can raise those fundamental principles of Leninist organization that can reconstitute an International of Lenin.

(SEE PAGE FIVE)

Read - -

Number 14
BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION
(Entirely in Russian)

Partial Contents

Who Will Prevail?—N.M.: "News" in the Party.—The Political Biography of Stalin.—ALFA: Notes of a Journalist.—A.T.: Collectivization as It Really Is (Letter from the Russian countryside).—N.MARKIN: The Persecution of the Bolshevik-Leninists as the Principal Element in Preparing the 16th Party Congress.—LETTERS FROM THE U.S.S.R.: Letter from Moscow; A letter from exile; On Rakovsky; etc., etc.—L.D. Trotsky: Stalin as a Theoretician.—L.D. Trotsky: On the "Defenders" of the October Revolution—And numerous other features.

25cents a copy 18 cents in bundles
Order from
G. Clarke, 25 Third Ave., Rm. 4, N.Y.C.

What Is Going On In China?

SHANGHAI—

The year 1922-29 may be described as a period of a certain economic revival of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Three conditions aided the bourgeoisie to restore its economy: a prosperous gain in agricultural harvest in the second half of 1927 and the first half of 1928; the ebb tide of the strike movement as a result of the proletariat's defeat; the temporary cessation of the civil war and the restoration of inland communication. The Chinese bourgeoisie, taking advantage of this good situation, restored its economic power. Up to 1930, the bourgeoisie had wholly recovered in the factories destroyed by the war. The general profit of the principal industry—textile—had surpassed the record after the war, while the import and export of merchant ships had increased by 20 percent higher than before, and domestic and foreign trade had increased proportionately. But the rise came to an end with the civil war and agrarian famine at the beginning of 1930.

In 1929, the war between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kwangsi clique broke out. In 1930, the Chiang-Yen Sih-Shan war broke out. In the consideration of the latter, there are two different opinions: the one of Lee Li-san, the present leader of the Chinese Communist Party, the other is that of the Leninist Opposition.

According to Lee Li-san, this is a war of the classes, that is, the revolutionary high wave, because, according to his "analysis", the participants in the civil war represent different classes: Feng Yu-Hsiang represents the petty bourgeoisie; Kwangsi, the landlords; and Chiang the national bourgeoisie.

The National Action Committee of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition) has already declared that such wars are unavoidable results after the fall of the proletarian forces. The imperialists in China and their agents, the Chinese bourgeoisie are intoxicated with the desire to split up China still further because the local governments established by these splits are the only safe guarantee for the exceptional power and interests of the imperialists and the government of Chiang Kai-Shek is the "provisional government" supported unanimously by the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie as well in order to suppress the revolutionary forces after the exhaustion of the proletariat and the forces under its leadership; but the full attention of the imperialists and the whole local bourgeoisie is concentrated on the splitting up process: the civil war is only a means for the purpose of split.

Since the "provisional government" (Nanking) has succeeded in its role and task of suppressing the revolutionary forces, then its power must be weakened by civil wars to the level of the former Peking government, while the local powers must also be reduced to the "Tuchun" period before 1925. All these are natural phenomena under the regime of different imperialists. The temporary (and only temporary) restraining of the militarists from civil wars is possible only under the most reactionary regime which suppresses the workers and peasants completely. But this is a temporary restraint which only means the preparation of new and more violent wars. The complete elimination of civil wars among the militarists is conceivable only through the seizure of power by the proletariat in the coming, third revolutionary uprising.

Under the condition of permanent civil war the masses are impelled to recognize the real political countenance of the Communist Party and to turn towards the Left. It is inevitable that during this period the bourgeois groups in opposition to the one in power, will hide themselves more cunningly behind the "Left" mask in order to betray the masses. Here one may assume two alternatives for the near future: The "reorganizationists" and the "West Hill Conference group" will put aside their own reformist platforms in order to unite with Yen Sih-Shan, Feng Yu-Hsiang, Kwangsi war lords, and organize a government whose

policy will become more reactionary than Chiang Kai-Shek's. The Centrists of the Kuo Min Tang like the so-called board of "New Life" will surely stand in opposition to this bourgeois government under the mask of a "Left" turn. Or some of them will split from the ranks of the "reorganizationists" to oppose the policy of Wang Chin Wei and Co. This is the first possible alternative.

The other one would be more dangerous to the proletariat. The Left bourgeoisie with its existing organizations and under the mask of an "ultra-Left" turn will con-

This letter represents the point of view of the "Our Word" group of the Left Opposition in China. The Militant disagrees seriously with a number of statements and opinions expressed by comrade Peter in estimating the present situation in the country, with particular regard to the guerilla warfare, on which we have already written and will continue to write in future issues. Nevertheless, the first-hand account of the situation in China which this letter offers makes its publication in the Militant of great interest and value.

sent to the bourgeois democratic revolution and to the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants", to the slogan "Unite with the Soviet Union" only under the condition that the property of the Chinese bourgeoisie is not confiscated. Then, under this mask, the "ultra-Left" bourgeoisie will again be able to betray the proletariat and get material support from the Soviet Union.

"Can it be considered that the revolution of 1925-1927 has at least partly satisfied the basic interests of Chinese capitalism?" said comrade Trotsky in his criticism of the Comintern program. "No. China is now just as far from national unity and from customs independence as it was prior to 1925. But as a matter of fact the creation of one home market and its protection from cheaper foreign goods is for the Chinese bourgeoisie a question of life and death. It is a question only second in importance to that of maintaining the basis of its class domination over the proletariat and the rural poor. But also for the Japanese and for the British bourgeoisie, the maintenance of China in its colonial state is a question of no less importance than the question of economic independence is for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is why the Chinese bourgeoisie will still display many zig-zag moves towards the Left in its future policy. For those who like united fronts there will still be many chances in the future."

The present task of the Chinese Opposition is to avoid the two dangers mentioned above by all means. So that the most important work to be carried out is the slogan of a national (Constituent) Assembly through which we may sharply disclose all the deceivers of the "opposition" bourgeoisie. On the other hand, with the aid of this slogan, we must try our best to carry on a propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat and nationalization of the means of production, establishing firmly the real program of the proletariat which will be contrary to the obscure "bourgeois democratic" platform of the Stalinists.

In the Party

In recent months, the official Communist Party, with the opportunist program adopted by its sixth congress under the leadership of the ultra-Right winger Lee Li-san, came to an agreement with the reorganizationists, compromising the struggle between the poor peasantry and the Kulak. But under the "Left" turn of Stalin, this ultra-Right policy was wiped out by diplomatic decree of the Comintern. Chi Chiu-

* Theoretical organ of the Kuo Min Tang Centrists, whose task is to explain their theories by a "materialism" and "Marxism" of their own.

Bai and Mif, after their arrival in China, formally criticized the former policy of agreement between Lee Li-san and the reorganizationists. Nevertheless such a "Left" attempt does not correct the fundamental principle error of the Party line, since with a course based on the "bourgeois character" of the revolution, "temporary" agreements with the liberal bourgeoisie are a natural conclusion.

At present, the Party regime is still under the influence of the Lee Li-sans. That the powerful Lee agrees to publish the criticism of Chi Chiu-Bai and Mif in the official Party organ is only a false demonstration to the Comintern. But it does show that the ultra-Right spirit of Lee Li-san has prevailed strongly in the whole Party. For instance, the serious struggle between Tchu-Deh and Mu Tse-tong in the Red Army. Comrade Mu Tse-tong is more to the Left and may stand on the side of the Party masses against Tchu-Deh. But the Central Party regime of the ultra-Right wing has decided to replace comrade Mu Tse-tong with the follower of Lee Li-san, Yun Tai-in.

The history of the Russian revolution teaches us that in the ranks of Menshevism there were many differences, especially on the question of relations with the constitutionalists. The Mensheviks were divided into cooperators and opponents. But on the fundamental problems of the revolution they unanimously opposed the Bolsheviks. So does Chinese Menshevism. The reorganizationists are clearly no other than the Chinese Constitutionalists, the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat. Therefore on the question of relations with the Chinese Constitutionalists, whatever differences exist among the Chinese Mensheviks like Chi Chiu-Bai and Lee Li-san the Bolshevik Opposition can never come to agreement with them. They are for the road of the "bourgeois character" of the revolution and the "democratic dictatorship", while we are for the proletarian dictatorship and nationalization of the means of production.

The Red Army

The Red Army in China is an ever disputed question. In the ranks of disguised Oppositionists in China, the attitude towards the Red army has been falsified by saying that it is simply "an unorganized disturbance of bandits, vagabonds and villains" (Tchen Du-Siu and Liurze groups). The Stalinists are of the opinion that the Soviets of the occupied provinces are the proletarian power, and the Red Army the 100 percent military force of the latter.

As a matter of fact, the present Chinese Soviets are not established on the basis of the class struggle between landlords and peasantry, not to speak of the leadership of the proletariat. The present Soviets are only the jobless grouped in the village in order to obtain a living. Their attitude towards the peasants at work takes the form of a conqueror, so that the Soviets are not considered by the peasant as his own organization. The Soviets can make agreements with the upper classes in the village because of their separation from the sympathetic support of the peasant masses. In most of the Soviet districts, the leadership does not accomplish the division of the land, confiscation of the merchant shops, but, on the contrary, carries out the slogan of "Protect the merchant shops and money-lenders". The leaders, furthermore, do not disarm the bandits in order to arm the poor peasantry, but permits them to rob freely.

But although the Soviets under the leadership of the Stalinists are not the power of the workers and peasantry, they are peasant war groups, depending upon the activities of their leaders, like the group under Hong Siu-Chuan, the Taipings leader. Such groups are able to exist even in the period of the greatest consolidation of the reactionary regime; militarist civil war makes their further growth possible.

In these peasant war groups, the pro-

letariat must by all means acquire the leading position. But the leadership can easily be captured by "populist" parties, which seek to make the peasants independent from the workers. The Stalinists are helping the development of such "populist" parties. First, they attempt to organize purely peasant Soviets under the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". Secondly, they do not tell the peasants that the revolutionary situation has weakened, but play up to the narrow-minded and prideful thoughts of the peasantry that the workers in China are much more backward than the peasants. Third, they do not develop the independent spirit of the proletarian struggle, but spread exaggerated news about the Red Army in their organ with the largest type as if its victory were the road out for the workers. In a word, all the propaganda of the Stalinists objectively incites the "populist" ideas of the peasant's independence from the workers. From our point of view, the Stalinists in China are undergoing a process of "Social Revolutionarization".

To want to eliminate such peasant Soviets and their struggle in no way coincides with the standpoint of the Opposition. Despite the fact that they are not workers' and peasants' Soviets under the leadership of the proletariat, they are far better for us than the power of the landlords. In the future revolutionary rising wave, such peasants' Soviets will be very easily turned into a workers' and peasants' Soviet power, preparing for the proletarian dictatorship. It is without doubt that during the reactionary period, the organization of workers' and peasants' Soviets is impossible; but the existence of isolated peasant war groups in so widespread a country as China is quite possible. It is the remaining spurt of the village revolution of 1925-27. The duties of the present leadership are to agitate for the more extensive development of the city labor movement, to lead it and to prolong its existence before it is completely exhausted and destroyed by reactionaries.

The Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition) recognizes that the significance of the peasant war groups is quite different from that of the workers' and peasants' Soviets. But our sympathy is wholly on the side of such peasant wars. We insistently protest against the shameless stories about them spread by the landlords and the bourgeoisie. We speak to the working classes that these Soviets are peasant war groups, much more advanced than those of landlords and that the workers should unite with them. But we do not betray the workers like the Stalinists do by saying that these are the very Soviets of the future proletarian dictatorship.

The capture of Changsha, capital of Hunan province, by the Red Army has given a great impetus to the demonstration on August 1st in Shanghai. We distributed our leaflets with an "Appeal to the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of the Red Army for the capture of Changsha". There we declared that the capture of Changsha by the heroic militants in the peasant war deserves the praise of the world proletariat. The heroic Red Army should not only make further attacks on the bourgeois militarists but should also carry out the confiscation of property, Chinese and foreign, divide the land of the Kulak and landlords among the poor peasants in spite of the Stalinist opportunist line etc., etc. We hope to send you a report on the Changsha situation, the present strike movement, etc., within the next few days.

—PETER

If the number on your wrapper is

55

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

In the Party

Why I Joined the Left Opposition

Comrade Sylvia Bleeker, organizer of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, and one of the oldest members of the Party, whose case we spoke of in the *Militant*, two issues ago, has been expelled for "Trotskyism". She sends us the following declaration:

* * *

The statement by the Party Central Control Commission on my expulsion (*Daily Worker*, 9-3-1930) needs further explanation. It was not merely a statement of my expulsion but a slander and misrepresentation of my relation to the struggle in general. And while I am sure that every worker or member of our Union who read it felt repelled by such contemptible slander, I nevertheless wish to make a few explanatory remarks.

Records Needs No Apology

My record of work, activities and devotion to the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the Party needs no apology. It has been known to the workers for almost 10 years. Any work assigned to me was carried out faithfully and flawlessly. And were it not for my agreement with the platform of the Communist League, the Party would still speak of my loyalty.

My adherence to the "Trotsky Opposition" in no way eradicates my former record. On the contrary, it is a logical consequence of my serious and vital concern with the policies of the C.I. and its American section.

Since when is one a good Communist who doesn't think, question or disagree? Since when has it become our slogan: Obey and not ask questions? The Communist Party is not a religious sect (and even their history is filled with "periods of questioning"). The Party is the political weapon of the workers in the fight against the capitalist system, and it is the duty of every Communist to use this weapon to its maximum effectiveness. We need the Communist Party to lead the working class in all its struggles; we need it to fight and expose reformist influence among the workers; we need it to build the kernel of the proletarian revolution. No sooner do the policies of the Party fail to live up to its historical role than every Communist must point it out, criticize and if compelled, organize a faction to correct these policies.

That is exactly what comrade Trotsky has been doing, and that is exactly what the American Left Opposition is doing at present. The criticism made by comrade Trotsky from 1923 to now, whether nationally or internationally, has been entirely confirmed by events, much more than any of us expected. And it is because of the very correctness of his prognoses that he doesn't stand alone but has a movement of devoted class-conscious workers behind him. Every day brings new groups of adherents to the course of Leninism as against the policies of Stalin's regime, which is leading the Party into the abyss.

A Contemptible Slander

The C.C.C. statement that I "covered myself with the cloak of Trotskyism to escape from the struggle" is a despicable slander. No serious worker believes it now and will surely not believe it in the future. I remain in the ranks of the class conscious workers and will work together with them regardless of difficulties. But true to my principles, I shall never agree with either the present official policies of the Party which are disastrous, nor with the bureaucratization of the Party. The average member in our Party is becoming a mere cog and not a sober, conscious fighter. This is not a fault of the Communist ideal but of the present Party leadership.

The frequent changes and uncertainties in the Party and trade union policies, without any broad discussion at the units, the Party fractions, introduce confusion, apathy and general loss of faith by the rank and file. Reorganizations take place at such a tempo that it is no longer possible to follow them up. These constant reorganizations are resorted to as a substitute for correct policies, but they are absolutely wrong and suicidal. The fact is that the attendance at Party fraction meetings has

been reduced to a fourth of the membership. The mechanical introduction of policies, their mechanical execution, abolition and re-introduction (as in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) are ruinous.

Elections in the Party are becoming a word of the past. Secretaries and financial secretaries can no longer be elected, only appointed by the bureau!

Can or should a real Communist overlook all this? Is it not time to make an end to all these ruinous policies? Regardless of what the official apparatus does—expel, slander, temporarily isolate us, beat us up, break up meetings—it is our turn to speak. A Communist who keeps quiet now when danger is facing our Party is a coward and a slacker against the working class. The differences in the Comintern can no longer be concealed. The platform of the Leninist Opposition can no longer be misrepresented or misquoted. The facts are out in the daylight.

Communism Weakened by Expulsions

By expelling us from the Party's ranks, our strength is only weakened. By driving us out of active work in the trade unions and auxiliary organizations, the Party officials are deliberately hurting the cause of the workers. We want to be in the Party. We want to be in the trade unions. We want to be in every class struggle. We are ready and willing to sacrifice as we have proved in the past. Vicious attacks and slander will not solve the problem.

We ask for a broad and genuine discussion of the problems we are now facing. We demand that a halt be called to the unheard of repression and persecution of the Opposition comrades in the Soviet Union. The bureaucrats cannot and will not tear us away from the ranks of Communism and the working class!

—SYLVIA BLEEKER

A Reply to Comrade Weisbord

(Continued from Page 5)

the native bourgeoisie leads them into a dispute with the British imperialists which "unleashes the energy of the masses". But so did Kerensky "unleash the energy of the masses". And like him, the Ghandists at the same time fetter the energy of the masses. A genuine unleashing—and proper direction—of the energies of the masses can happen only by fighting as mercilessly against the national bourgeoisie and for the independence of the proletariat (which alone enables it to lead behind it the peasantry) as the Bolsheviks fought against the Kerensky and Menshevik compromisers in 1917. This must be repeated and repeated until it penetrates every fiber of the Indian revolutionists.

It is with comrade Weisbord's proposals on the various groups in the movement that the Left Opposition has its sharpest disagreement. Advocacy of such views by a leading comrades is contrary to all we stand for. "All Communists groups must work together on the basis of the recognition of the Communist character of each group. The Communist 'Majority' group and the Communist League group by working together can help re-establish mass work . . . they can help to separate the Communist movement as a whole from the Mensheviks", etc., etc. This is false from beginning to end.

We recognize the Communist character of the Right wing only insofar as it still groups a number of good Communist workers whom the incompetent Centrist bureaucracy was unable to hold. We contend that the Right wing now occupies a position midway between social democracy (Menshevism) and Communism—not for long, it is true, as is shown by the passage of some of its leading strata directly into the camp of Amsterdam and the international of August 1914. How can we, the Marxist wing of the movement, unite with this semi-Menshevik wing (a bloc which under present conditions would mean a movement directed against the official Communist movement), in order to "separate" the Communist movement as a whole from the Mensheviks? How can a bloc with the Right wing "re-establish mass work", when it is the whole philosophy of the Right wing that has brought the Communist movement into such isolation from the

Stalinist Party Folly in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS—

Since the expulsion of the Opposition, the C.P. has practically ceased to exist in this territory. With the loss of its best members it no longer has any contact with the trade unions. Jealous of Opposition influence in the trade unions the Party finally succeeded by underhanded methods in getting our members expelled from them. In consequence, all militant Left wing elements have been barred from participation in the unions, leaving the field entirely in the hands of bureaucratic reactionaries. Well known militants like MacMillan and Goldberg have been expelled because of these malicious and senseless Party tactics.

Opposition Organizes Unemployed

The Communist Opposition was the first in this territory to organize an Unemployed Council which led a mass demonstration of 1,500 on January 3rd through the business section of St. Louis. The Party was invited to participate but refused on the grounds that they were not the organizers.

Seeing our success and in order not to be outdone, the Party finally organized its own council. The Opposition, knowing their council was in fact nothing but a name, nevertheless, sent delegates asking for a united front of all workers against unemployment. This the Party not only refused but threw our delegates out. Because of this action, the one or two members whom the Party had succeeded in gaining, left and came over to our group.

Remembering our success in demonstrating, the local Stalinists decided to arrange a series of demonstrations of their own. These turned out complete fizzes, each being a bigger failure than its predecessor. The Party speakers, instead of

tackling the problem of unemployment turned their meeting into anti-Trotsky meetings, which of course meant nothing to the rank and file unemployed. The workers, disgusted with such tactics, left and are now in our ranks.

After two months of strenuous effort the Party, succeeded with the co-operation of the Opposition, in mustering about 200 demonstrators for the Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting. The Stalinists, instead of exposing the system which burned Sacco and Vanzetti, turned this meeting also into an anti-Trotsky affair. They also decided to devote their talents to a strenuous attack on the one poor wilted Lovestoneite in the city calling him among other things a social menace and a Sacco-Vanzetti lyncher, much to the amusement of the spectators.

In spite of Party persecution the Opposition goes forward. With the exception of the officials, the rank and file members have been neutralized. This has occurred in spite of the fact that members are expelled when caught talking to Opposition sympathizers or when found attending Opposition meetings.

A case in point is the recent expulsion of the secretary of the Y.C.L., Frank Wall, one of the most active of the League members when caught by Party spies attending Shachtman's lecture. He was summarily "dismissed". It seems that it is no longer necessary to endorse the Opposition platform for expulsion, but expulsions are now in order for members daring to associate with "Trotskyists".

While the Party goes onward in its path of complete isolation, the Opposition grows in membership and influence among rank and file workers. The Left wing militants continue in their task of carrying forward true Communist education, co-operating with all workers, and aiding the sale of the *Militant*. The *Militant* now has a larger subscription list in this city than the *Daily Worker*. The sale of Klorkett also is not smaller than the sale of the Jewish Morning Freiheit. Consequently with the coming of the fall cool weather we expect to make even bigger strides and still more successes.

—H.L.GOLDBERG

Road to Ruin, Not to Victory

Such a policy, combined as it is with comrade Weisbord's entirely false estimate of Centrism (his denial of it, in fact) is the shortest road to destruction for the Left Opposition and a disavowal of its historical function. This is clear from all the experiences of the Opposition in Europe. Our road is not that of Urbahns, Pollack and Paz who only discredited the Opposition and reduced what they controlled to hopeless sects.

* * *

On the basis of his present views on a number of vital questions, the national committee has decided that it cannot accept comrade Weisbord for membership in the League. At the same time it expressed

the hope and desire that further reflection and discussion would make it possible for comrade Weisbord to find his place as a fighter—and a valuable one—in the ranks of the Opposition. We have welcomed this discussion and the criticisms made by comrade Weisbord, particularly because it offered the opportunity for a recapitulation of our point of view. At the same time, the national committee decided, in view of Weisbord's closeness to the views of the Opposition, to invite his collaboration in fields of work conforming to his position.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

BOOKS - FOR - WORKERS

SINCE LENIN DIED by Max Eastman, Labour Publishing Company, London, 1925, 158 pages.

The fact that this book earned the concentrated scorn of the latter-day Comintern leadership, should immediately interest all Communists suffering under the deluge of "anti-Trotskyite" verbiage distributed in recent years under the guise of Leninism. Aspirants to leadership, in all English-speaking countries, from Rothstein to Browder, finding the thorny path of fight against capitalism not so promising, have turned with enthusiasm to slinging mud at the Russian Opposition and its leader, comrade Trotsky. But the authority of these slanderers of the revolution is shortlived. This book is one of the nails in their political coffin.

Coming fresh from the Thirteenth Party Congress of the Russian Party (May, 1924) and the hysterical campaign leading up to Trotsky's resignation as president of the Revolutionary Military Soviet in January, 1925, Max Eastman was the first to publish the authentic documents of the controversy in English. He was in Russia during the whole development of the fight, witnessed the consolidation of the shady opponents

of Leninism under the crafty leadership of the "Triumvirate". The book is valuable to us now because in it are published the original documents, theses, letters and press articles of the period. These documents have already been supplemented, amplified and a thousand times verified in the writings of comrade Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian Opposition. Also by the shamefaced confessions of Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc. when they were no longer of use to Stalin.

Eastman will be remembered for unswerving courage and determination in the face of the solid mass of howling bureaucrats, to speak the truth and prove it. He has the honor of being one of the first to be expelled from the American Party for supporting the Russian Opposition. He certainly was the first to bring the documents and platform of the Russian Opposition out of the "illegality" imposed by Stalin and into the light of day. —CARL COWL

Price: Cloth, \$1; paper, 50 cents. Order through the *Militant*.

Φ

Subscribe to the *Militant* and be sure of getting it regularly through the mails.

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III No. 31,

NEW YORK, N. Y. October 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

CHINA Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

During the last few months a considerable peasant movement has again appeared in certain provinces of Southern China. Not only the world press of the proletariat, but the press of its enemies as well, is filled with the echoes of this struggle. Deceived, defeated, emasculated, the Chinese revolution still shows that it is alive. Let us hope that the time when it will again lift its proletarian head is not far off. And in order to be ready for this, we must put the problem of the Chinese revolution on the order of the day of the working class of the world.

We, the International Left Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) consider it our duty to raise our voices now, in order to attract the attention of all Communists, all advanced, revolutionary workers to the task of liberating the great country of the Asiatic East, and in order to warn them at the same time against the false policy of the leading faction of the Communist International, which obviously threatens to undermine the future Chinese revolution as it ruined the revolution of 1925-27.

The symptoms of the resurrection of the Chinese revolution in the country indicate its inner forces and immense potentialities. But the task is how to transform these potentialities into reality. The first condition of success is to understand what is happening i. e., to give a Marxian definition of the moving forces and to evaluate correctly the stage which the struggle has reached at the present moment. In both these tasks the leadership of the Comintern is wrong.

Is There a Soviet Government?

The Stalinist press is full of communications about a "Soviet Government" established in vast provinces of China under the protection of a Red Army. Workers of various countries are excitedly greeting this news. Of course! The establishment of a Soviet government in a considerable part of China and the creation of a Chinese Red Army would mean a gigantic success for the international revolution. But we must state openly and clearly: It is not yet true.

In spite of the meagerness of the information which reaches us from the vast spaces of China our Marxian understanding of the developing process enables us to reject with complete confidence the Stalinist point of view of the present events. They are false and extremely dangerous for the further development of the revolution.

The history of China has been for centuries a history of menacing uprisings of a destitute and hungry peasantry. Not less than five times in the last two thousand years have the Chinese peasants succeeded in accomplishing a complete redistribution of the landed property. Each time the process of its concentration would begin anew and continue until again the growth of the population produced a partial or general explosion. This vicious circle was an expression of economic and social stagnancy.

Only the inclusion of China in world economy opened new possibilities for the Chinese people. Capitalism invaded China from the outside. The backward Chinese bourgeoisie became an intermediary between foreign capital and the mercilessly exploited masses of their own country. The foreign imperialists together with the Chinese bourgeoisie combine the methods of capitalist exploitation with the methods of feudal oppression and enslavement through usury.

The fundamental idea of the Stalinists has been to transform the Chinese bourgeoisie into a leader of the national revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The consequences of this political strategy ruined the revolution. The Chinese proletariat paid dearly for a knowledge of the

(Continued on Page 6)

Hoover Advises Labor Workers' United Front vs. «Optimistic» Pledges!

President Hoover has given his reply to the needs of the unemployed workers in his speech, at the bankers' convention in Cleveland. With a characteristic genius for insight, he disclosed the fact that what was wrong with many people was . . . the reduction of their incomes. And how had their incomes been reduced. The answer of the Great Engineer is: "The income of a large part of our people is not reduced by the depression but it is affected by unnecessary fears and pessimism, the result of which is to slacken the consumption of goods and discourage enterprise."

It is the proper answer from the highest official representative of the capitalist class to the workers whose wages are being cut and hours of work lengthened, to the unemployed who are starving and being evicted. The reason for the "slackening in the consumption of goods" is that the working class is "affected by unnecessary fears". The workers do not buy food and clothing, they do not—cannot!—pay their rent because . . . they are pessimistic.

Surely, it was worth while electing Hoover to the presidency in order to have this brilliant analysis of the present state of affairs, and get such soothing assurances for a working class driven desperate by the sharpening crisis.

Hoover and Wage Cuts

Hoover's speech to the workers was a campaign speech, made at a time when the Republicans, the "party of prosperity", is being hard pressed by its political opponents. Misery is spreading among the workers and farmers of the country like a prairie fire. The coming winter looks bleak in more than one sense. An intensive wage-cutting campaign is being conducted throughout the land, actively instigated by business men and bankers, passively accepted by the capitalistic labor leaders. At the very same bankers' convention, John W. Barton, president of the national bank division of the American Bankers Association, declared that "the standard of living in America is too high" and advocated carving another pound of flesh from the bodies of the working class.

But this is an important election year, so Hoover, with the arch-hypocrisy of an

Uriah Heep, "emphatically disagreed". But what is Hoover doing to call a halt to the wage-cutting drive? Not a thing. And for cause, since he is the chairman of the capitalist class executive committee in Washington, the menial of the bankers and business men. All the "solemn pledges to maintain wage standards" have dissolved before the offensive of the bosses. No less loyal a footman of American capitalism than William Green of the A.F. of L. must publicly "regret" the increasing wage cuts, which, according to his excessively moderate figures, affected 24,700 workers in August "and cuts averaged 10.5 percent—the highest yet".

The same question can be put to Green as to Hoover. The answer is that this lackey without livery is working in the labor movement with might and main to prevent or crush the spirit of resistance rising among the workers. The Greens serve the masters of the land as effectively as the Hoovers—each in their own allotted way.

Two Servitors of Capitalism

Green denounces the Communists, organizes pogroms against them in the trade unions, serves as informer against them to the courts of capitalism. Hoover speaks to the bankers in Cleveland on the "depression", while victims of this "depression" demonstrating in the streets for bread or work, are clubbed and bombed by Hoover's police. French royalty sarcastically told the people to eat cake if they could buy no bread. Hoover tells the people to be courageous and optimistic while they are on the rack of unemployment.

It is correct—but not as Hoover means it. The workers need to be bold and confident—bold enough to act decisively and confident that united action will bring them relief from the torments of the crisis. Why are the workers embittered but passive today? Why do they not enter in masses into open struggle against the masters of industry and finance? Because they fear defeats which disunity, and lack of organization and leadership bring in their train. The pressure of the crisis is driving tens and hundreds of thousands to the ideas and moods of struggle. What is imper-

atively required is a leadership that will give the movement a head and direct its energies profitably. Such a leadership properly belongs to the Communists, who alone represent the present and future of labor. But the Communists will establish themselves as leaders of the masses only if they can convince the masses of non-Communist workers that they are fighting for one militant line of struggle—FOR THE UNITED FRONT!

The United Labor Front

The slogan for the united front of labor to resist the offensive of the capitalists and ameliorate the lot of the jobless, combined with a minimum program of demands for which the workers can fight (and not merely cast a vote for in November)—that is the need of the moment. That is what will set masses of workers into motion under the guidance of class conscious and far-sighted leaders. But it is precisely here that the leadership of the Communist Party has failed so miserably. Their stubborn, gross mistakes, their piling of blunder upon blunder, their capers and lunges from frigid sectarianism to the open opportunism in the election campaign—in a word, the overbrimming cup of the "third period"—threaten to lose an unprecedented opportunity for the Communist movement.

The Browders, Bedachts, Hathaways and all the lesser Harrison Georges are dealing blow after blow at the very vitals of the movement under the impulsion of the international Stalinist machine which has tossed them to the surface for a brief moment. The Communist workers in the ranks—within and outside the Party—must ward off these blows. The quicker this is done and the whole camaraderie of Stalinist leaders put where they properly belong the quicker the Communist movement is restored, the quicker the working class will be mobilized to fight in united ranks.

—S—n.

Boris Selinitchenko

The editors of the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition" inform us:

The Bolshevik-Leninist, comrade Selinitchenko had been confined in exile at Samarkand, where he was taken ill with tuberculosis of the larynx. His health grew worse every day. As his condition grew worse, instead of taking him to a more favorable climatic environment, the Stalinists took him to the city of Osch. Osch lies in the Kirgis Steppes, far from the railroad, without the slightest possibility of any kind of clinical treatment. After the arrival of comrade Selinitchenko, the Oppositionists exiled there applied in a series of telegrams to the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party, and to the G.P.U., and requested the transference of comrade Selinitchenko to other climatic conditions and pointed out that an inevitable and swift ruin threatened him in Osch. No reply was received. So the Osch exiles decided to get comrade Selinitchenko to Tashkent on their own hook, in spite of the fact that the G.P.U. could hold them responsible for "flight". Placed before an accomplished fact, the G.P.U. was compelled to transfer comrade Selinitchenko from Tashkent to the Crimea. Here, however a new series of sufferings began for the steadfast Bolshevik: free treatment was refused him, etc. The Stalinist G.P.U. has attained its aim: comrade Selinitchenko could not even last a few weeks in the Crimea, and went under.

Danville Workers Out on Strike

A few thousand textile workers have gone out on strike in Danville, Va., under the auspices of the United Textile Workers. Elizabethton, Ware Shoals, Marion and other places where the "progressive" U.T.W. has led strikes are sufficient indication of where they intend to end up with the Danville strike. Because of that, the question must be asked:

What has happened to the National Textile Workers Union? Since the recent strike in Bessemer City, N.C., which the **Daily Worker** proudly heralded with an eight column streamer as being led by the N.T.W., only to turn around 24 hours later and admit its leadership by men who were opposed to that union, things have been strangely quiet. In fact, since the Bessemer City episode where the N.T.W. organizers were virtually run out of town, the Left wing union has not been conducting any activity whatsoever. This is in distinct contrast to the increasing influence of the United Textile Workers Union throughout the South, which has led to the present Danville situation.

In the South there is now practically no N.T.W.U. left. Only an isolated sup-

porter can be found here and there. In the rest of the textile centers practically the same condition can be found. The only cities in which any semblance of an organization is functioning is in New Bedford, Mass. and Paterson, N.J.

In New Bedford where at one time thousands of textile workers rallied under the banner of the N.T.W.U. today not much more than 200 are to be found in the organization. In Paterson even a smaller group is functioning. Everywhere else where the N.T.W.U. was developing strength and in the past had some measure of success all semblance of a union has disappeared. This includes Fall River, Mass., Passaic, N.J. and Bethlehem and Allentown, Pa.

End the Stalinist stranglehold of the N.T.W.U.! Stop the exaggeration policy and deliberate lying, of which the Bessemer City strike is only one of many cases! Allow non-supporters of the Browder machine to participate in the union work! Conduct a real broad united organization campaign to enroll the workers in the N.T.W.U.!

—FRANK BROMLEY

A Concrete Program for Organizing the Unemployed

On August 14th, the *Daily Worker* carried an article by Jack Johnstone. The article begins: "What are workers to do when they are hungry, are being evicted from their homes, are out of a job, and can't find anything to do? This question is one that is being asked by tens of thousands . . ."

And what is Johnstone's answer? In effect it is: "Come to the mass meeting in Union Square, September 1st, 12 o'clock sharp."

But suppose the workers say, "We have demonstrated already for almost a year, before March 6th, on March 6th, on May 1st, on July 6th, on August 1st, etc. Is this all you have to offer us? Is there no practical program? What are we to do when we are hungry? When we are being evicted from our homes? When we are out of a job?"

This is surely what the workers will say. They are saying it now: March 6th—75,000, May 1st—30,000, August 1st—10,000 etc. They have been saying it with their feet!

It is up to every honest and serious Communist to understand that the Party leaders are politically bankrupt. We must unite all forces to the end that a real unemployment program is worked out and carried out. The question asked by the workers must be answered!

Unemployment to Become More Serious

The unemployment question will become more acute than ever this coming fall and winter. The world economic situation will grow worse. The home situation will grow worse. The industrial crisis will sharpen and will add to it a deepened agrarian crisis. The unemployment question must become the principal question of the day. It can become the lever for the organization of the unorganized for the building of a Labor Party, for mobilizing the greatest mass of workers around the Communists. It is indeed that link in the chain of events which the Communists must seize to move the whole chain forward.

The Communist object in the unemployment movement must be 1. The mobilization of the widest layers of the population, above all, of course, and mainly, of the working class 2. The revolutionization and activation of these sections and the development of leadership from their ranks. To win the widest strata, we must connect the unemployed with the employed, and throw the family as a whole into the struggle.

The line of the Party has been just the opposite in effect—to isolate the working class from the rest of the population, to isolate the advanced workers from their reserves, to isolate the unemployed from the employed, to isolate the vanguard from the unemployed, to place the workers in an impossible fighting position.

If the difficulties of work are extraordinary, due to the mobility of unemployed labor, to the systems of intermittent and part-time work, etc., these difficulties are more than counterbalanced by far by the wonderful opportunities for work.

How shall we begin the work of actually organizing the unemployed? The first problem is the problem of reaching the unemployed masses of which the primary basic principle is that we must go to the masses and not expect them to come to us. But how is this to be done? The proletarian quarters of the city must be carefully mapped out. In a larger city there will be several such quarters, very often built around some large factory or several of them. Each quarter contains a number of blocks. The block organization must be the basic unit. Leaflets should be given out from flat to flat, from tenement to tenement, first with general propaganda on the unemployment question and then announcing a series of meetings. These meetings should be held where possible, outdoors, block by block of the whole district being systematically covered. Through these meetings and through the systematic distribution of leaflets, all the unemployed in a given block can be registered and the main bulk organized in a block council with its own leaders and executives, meet-

ing regularly in the block, carrying out a uniform policy and preparing for action.

How the Party is Working

Let us stop here briefly to contrast our position with what has been done by the Party officials.

1. The first difference is that instead of "showy" haphazard work there is systematic responsible work. For years, for example, Amter dabbled with unemployment work in Cleveland. With what results? When the Party reviewed its work after March 6th, it declared the situation in Cleveland disgraceful, that there was not even a council organized. Another example, was there any serious estimation of the organization problems set forth by the "organizer" Johnstone at the July 4th conference in Chicago?

2. The second difference is that we go to the masses, not await their coming to us. How were the so-called "unemployment councils" built up throughout the country by the Party? Let us take a typical case—Newark, New Jersey. There the Party is relatively small and weak. It has little money and poor guidance. (In a few months it had 4 different paid section organizers between spells of having none at all.) A few dollars are raised and spent on leaflets. A meeting is announced in their own hall. First a hundred or so workers come, then two hundred, then four hundred and the hall is packed to the doors.

But already the workers begin to feel disappointed. At every meeting the same wordy phrases are passed out. The workers begin to ask "What are we to do when we are hungry, are being evicted from our homes, are out of a job?" "Come to the next meeting!" is the answer. No practical plans are set at the meeting. Party members alone control. No one is elected on an executive. No discussion of local problems. No non-Party leaders developed. The original enthusiasm begins to cool a bit. Then comes a police raid. The few leading Party members are arrested. The attendance rapidly falls off. Detectives stand in the hall, forming a cordon through which workers, one by one, must pass. Police agents in the hall openly cast their shadow of terror over the meeting.

Is it any wonder that after March 6th everything melted away? Could anything be more amateurish? The workers say the Communists mean well but they are a bunch of empty-headed impractical persons who like to talk.

Let us take the Party figures on unemployment that one person is out of work for every 15 people. Newark is a city, roughly of 450,000 population. This would mean at least 30,000 out of work. The Party then asked these 30,000 to come to a hall holding normally 300 people. There is no hall in Newark that could hold 30,000 people nor can the Party afford to hire any larger one than what they had. But to the workers the situation was very clear. In reality what the Party was doing was exposing its vanguard troops to the withering fire of the enemy in the most foolish manner. The workers knew that and either never came around or withdrew. Only the foolish Communist Party "leaders" did not know this. In reality the Party was keeping out thousands of workers eager to join the movement, and was condemning those who came, to isolation. In reality the Party was stifling the movement!

The Basis for Unemployment Work

3. The third difference is that with us, the basis for unemployment work is the proletarian quarter of the city, not the factory gate, not the meeting "downtown", or speeches at "bread lines".

—ALBERT WEISBORD
(To Be Continued)

If the number on your wrapper is

56

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Wrong and Right Tactics in the Unemployment Movement

The unemployment situation in this period of depression following the period of overproduction and crisis of American capitalism brings forth a problem of greater magnitude than the unemployment accompanying the classical crisis of capitalism in its growth stage. A permanent army of unemployed due to the machine development and rationalization, aggravated by the crisis, swelling the numbers of the unemployed to over seven millions. Unemployment is the most pressing immediate problem of the American workers and every class conscious organization, reform group and the capitalist vanguard is vitally concerned with its solution; the working class with one aim and the capitalist class with the opposite aim.

The aim of the workers vanguard is to utilize this issue to strengthen the position of the working class and consolidate the ideological change taking place in the ranks of the workers. The aim of the capitalist class is to stem the tide, throw out enough crumbs to prevent this ideological crystallization and maintain their tottering equilibrium a little longer.

Not only can the two main contending classes use this issue to strengthen their position but the reformist and revolutionary wings of the working class movement are now in battle for a position in the American working class which will be an important victory in the immediate future and a big factor in determining the strength and duration of reformism in America. Therefore, tactics not only against the capitalist but especially against the reformist wing are vital problems in the unemployment activity of the revolutionary movement.

The Program of the Official Party

All the class conscious organizations are reaping some benefit from the favorable objective situation in spite of the fact that none of them has a concrete program for unemployment. The Communist Party, as the main organized force of these organizations, has done the most in this field and has a concrete program. But what kind of a concrete program, is another question.

Parties that only present an abstract program for the unemployed cannot be criticized in the same light the Communist Party must be. The Party at least attempts to solve the problem. It is its "Third Period" antics and non-Marxian analysis that causes all the trouble.

When the crisis began the Party issued the slogan of "Work or Wages". After the 7th Convention, when the crisis has deepened and is going deeper it shifted the emphasis to the Social Insurance Bill. The political analysis of the Party informs us, through the 7th Convention thesis, that we are in a period of revolutionary upsurge in America and yet this seventh convention gave birth to the Social Insurance BILL as the main activity in a period of "revolutionary upsurge".

The struggle for social insurance and the unemployment councils are elementary activities to mobilize all workers possible in order to use this mass against capitalism today and to win the most advanced section of this mass to our Party. The "revolutionary unions" of the T.U.U.L. on the other hand, represent the most advanced section. To tie the unemployed councils organizationally to the tail of the T.U.U.L., is to cut off our advance. The Party must be the driving force and the T.U.U.L. must be the most active factor for organizing these unemployed but to apply the separate front in place of the united front, and mechanical control in place of control through Marxian policy, is fundamentally wrong.

The "Social Insurance Bill"

A struggle for social insurance is correct, but to direct our main energy in this field in the manner of the Party, means creating parliamentary illusions. Communist participation in elections does not guarantee revolutionary political action instead of parliamentary action. A struggle for social insurance does not mean the main weight should be placed on a BILL,

on the contrary the main emphasis should be placed on the industrial end with proper political coordination. This would easily enable us to draw a clear line of demarcation between our struggle for social insurance and that of the reformist and capitalist but at present the only distinction the Party speakers can find to prove that our bill is "revolutionary" is that we advocate \$25.00 and they advocate \$5.00. To compare our bill with "Roosevelt's Bill" in order to denote the revolutionary content of our social insurance struggle is another step in the swamp.

A struggle against unemployment must have the main emphasis on the field of struggle rather than in Congress and this activity (trade union, unemployment councils, shop committees, mass literature distribution of elementary educational value) should be coordinated with the parliamentary (elections, etc.) in order to strengthen our entire activity instead of arming the "industrial actionist" on the one hand and the reformist on the other by stressing a Congressional BILL.

The United Front

This struggle against unemployment of millions of workers who are just becoming class conscious, with only a small section of this ideology crystallized, cannot be even started unless the Leninist UNITED FRONT is applied. The Party started at the beginning of the crisis with pure separate fronts and after the convention only gave lip service to the united front in a couple of half-hearted articles in the *Daily Worker* and *Labor Unity*. A united front with all the organizations of the workers, will enable us to gain and to expose the reformist. The reformist and trade union fakery have made this a big issue and our tactics are strengthening them. We need tactics that will strip these fakery before the eyes of the workers proving that their fight for unemployment is in name only.

The struggle for shorter hours is more important in content than a struggle for a social insurance bill. The main emphasis must fall on shorter hours. Such a struggle, like the 1830 struggle for the ten hour day and the 1886 struggle for the eight hour day are political struggles of basic working class content which is the distinction between revolutionary political action and "pure" parliamentary action. Not the slogan for the seven hour day but the slogan for the 6 hour day and five day week is what is needed.

Abstract propaganda for the Soviet Union means nothing to the average American worker who is separating himself from the capitalist and reformist. The sympathizer of the movement will be patient with any amount you give him, but we cannot base our propaganda on the circle we have already won. The slogan demanding credits to the Soviet Union is a concrete method of gaining the support of the workers. In the basic industries, those which produce the means of production which the Soviet Union needs and is buying, is where we can come to the American worker with a "Soviet issue" that means more than abstract support through convictions of a few based on scientific understanding. The approach should be through the bread and butter angle. It will tear down the walls of prejudice to enable us to present a scientific understanding to unbiased minds. And one may mention that credits to the Soviet Union is a burning issue with the plan of socialist construction.

The depression is growing deeper and this winter the conditions of the workers will be worse. Defensive struggle will reach a higher plane. There is still time for the Party and the revolutionary forces really to work out a concrete program of action for the unemployment situation and for the Party to shift from its reformist tendencies of main emphasis on a BILL to revolutionary political action.

—HUGO OEHLER

☐

Subscribe to the *Militant* and be sure of getting it regularly through the mails.

How Do the Cutters Stand?

By ALBERT ORLAND

In the Militant, Number 29, in his article on the last convention of the A.C.W. in Toronto, comrade Schneider wrote about the fight between the Beckerman and the Hillman cliques and the compromise reached by them at that convention to divide the spoils in the New York organization and continue to keep the members in submission. To have a better understanding of the situation in the New York organization and the importance of the Toronto convention it is necessary to have some knowledge of the character and functions of the Cutters Union, Local "Big Four", A.C.W.A. For in the fights between the cliques in the New York Amalgamated organization in the last few years this local has played an important part and on the developments in the Cutters' Local depends much of the future of the Amalgamated in New York.

Local 4 has always been considered the strongest post of the A.C.W. in New York. Due to the specific conditions under which the cutters work, they have been a sort of aristocratic caste in the ranks of the clothing workers, particularly in New York, unlike the clothing workers here.

Working directly for the manufacturers in separate cutting rooms, isolated from the tailors who make up the garments in the shops of the contractors the cutters have occupied a position more advantageous than that of the rest of the workers in the industry. The cutters have consequently been easily influenced by the craft ideology of the leadership of the old United Garment Workers as well as of the present A.C.W. leadership. The cutters union has maintained its local autonomy under the A.C.W. Its affiliation with the New York Joint Board has been almost on the lines of a fraternal organization and its co-operation of a voluntary character.

The peculiar position of the Cutters Local has been responsible to a large degree for the demoralization and the sufferings of the thousands of clothing workers in New York. Holding the key position to the New York organization, Local 4 has been the decisive factor in the struggles between the union and the bosses and also a strategic post for all political machinations of the cliques and factions in the union. In the years when the A.C.W. was a militant union, the cutters local was the vanguard of the clothing workers and contributed the greater share to the improvement of their conditions in the shops and the building of the union.

Today the Cutters Union, while it has maintained many of the gains of the previous period so far as conditions go, is looked upon as the bulwark of reaction in the A.C.W. This reputation of Local 4 is due to the role it has played in recent years in Hillman's campaign of "efficiency-unionizing" the New York Clothing market.

Local 4 has been the chief instrument in Hillman's hands for breaking the resistance of the tailors against standards of production, the introduction of piecework and finally the crushing of the Left wing.

Each victory over the tailors in New York was achieved by the help of the Cutters' corrupt officials who in addition to the strategic position they have occupied in the organization have also, through their connections with the strong arm guard, been best qualified for that job.

Who does not remember the infamous Beckerman campaign of forcing piece-work on the tailors and his blackjacking of the Left wing? And Beckerman as the evil link between the cutters union and the New York organization has contributed most to wrecking the morale and the solidarity and making the job of betrayal of the tailors so much easier for themselves. In the above mentioned campaign of Hillman and Beckerman against the tailors, the cutters stood aloof, thereby sanctioning all the disgraceful acts of their officials.

But in all the bargains between Hillman and his agents, the Cutters union officials, the membership of the local has been the loser. The privileges of the cutters have been gradually lost, their conditions worsened, and due to the general disruption of the A.C.W. organization in New York, they are today as helpless as the rest of the workers in the industry. The speed-up in the shops, the temporary job system which serves as a means of supplying cheap and efficient labor to the bosses and keeping the workers divided, have demoralized the membership and thrown hundreds of them into the streets.

The intolerable regime in the local, the

irresponsibility of the officials, the tramping upon the elementary rights of the membership, the espionage system and the economic terror have destroyed the activity and broken the resistance of the rank and file of the membership. These are the results of the machinations of the A.C.W. officialdom in the strongest local in New York.

The Cutters local has faithfully performed its service as an instrument in Hillman's hands to force "efficiency-unionism" on the tailors. It now comes next in order to be whipped into line with the rest of the clothing workers. The cutters will not escape the fate prescribed for them by Hillman and the clothing bosses.

What did the Toronto convention accomplish for Hillman and what will be its results for the cutters? This convention completed a chapter in the history of Hillman's "efficiency-unionizing" of the New York market. In this chapter, the cutters local had written not a few important pages and its future can already be forecast.

The cutters local is already being placed under Hillman's control. The local officials are gradually submitting to his

Wipe Hooliganism Out of the Movement!

Those who imagine that the Stalinists have given up their tactics of violent physical attacks upon ideological opponents within the working class, like the disruption of public meetings, are laboring under a misapprehension. The only change in the tactics has been that the **Daily Worker** is more careful than it was about boasting of the bureaucratic gangsterism. In reality, however, it continues in just as dastardly a manner as when it was first begun by the Lovestone faction against the meetings of the Left Opposition. The most recent case in point is the disruption of the New York I.W.W. street meeting at University Place and 14th Street, a couple of Wednesdays ago.

The I.W.W. has been holding its meeting on that corner for sometime, every Wednesday night. Recently, some Party members have been instructed to cultivate the habit of attending these meetings not for the purpose of discussing respective points of view, but of deliberately provoking battles. Two weeks ago, this contemptible procedure reached its peak. Surrounding the meeting at which a handful of I.W.W. was present, some 150 to 200 Party members worked up to a pitch of incitement that ended with a physical assault upon the I.W.W. members who were greatly outnumbered. As usual, the Stalinists were equipped with blackjacks and similar persuasive instruments. In spite of the odds, the I.W.W. courageously and successfully routed the hoodlums even before the police came on the scene. Needless to say that the meeting was then dispersed.

Some time later, at 10th Street and 2nd Avenue, where a Party meeting was in process, Herbert Mahler, a local I.W.W. member, started to ask Engdahl, the Party speaker who had just mentioned the Party fight for free speech, why the Party sought to prevent the Wobblies from speaking freely. A gang of Party members immediately set upon Mahler and his companions. Bulls and cops came on the scene in a moment, and one of the former was kicked, while beating a prostrate I.W.W. with his fist. Mahler, Kolescar and a few other I.W.W. were then arrested! In the patrol wagon, Mahler was unmercifully slugged by the dicks so that he bled profusely. Kolescar, a slight worker, had two of his teeth knocked out. Both he and Mahle are being held for trial now on charges of "felonious assault".

So much for the upshot of this sample of Stalinist gangsterism!

Significantly enough, the Stalinists who organized and led the rioting were almost exclusively young comrades in the movement, with perhaps a year or six months of membership. They have apparently been taught by the Party leadership that Bolshevism is synonymous with . . . vio-

lence. While the Beckerman forces have been split, the administration of local 4 is forced to divide power with the Hillman forces in the local. These combined forces have already shown their strength in the local by a recent victory over the membership in doubling the amount of membership dues in the local. In what grip the membership will soon find itself is not difficult to imagine.

These are the net results of the Toronto Convention for the Hillman leadership. The New York market is nearing the final stage of being completely "efficiency-unionized" for the benefit of Hillman's "higher union strategy". As to the clothing workers—their history is still to be written.

Where is the Left Wing in the Local?

To fix the blame for not having a strong Left wing group in the cutters union entirely on the politicians of the "third period", as comrade Schneider does in the case of the other locals would not be entirely correct, neither would it be just. In the specific conditions of the cutters union the absence of an outspoken Left wing group in the present period of general reaction is hardly surprising. Unlike the other branches of the A.C.W., the cutters local still enjoys some union conditions, like the week-work system and the

lence. They do not seem to know that during the history of the struggle between Bolsheviks, S.R.s and Narodniki in czarist Russia, a struggle that reached the bitterest points at times, there was never a single, solitary instance of one of the groups in the revolutionary movement organizing a gang for the deliberate purpose of disrupting the meeting of another group. Heckling, questioning and similar means of discussion were frequent occurrences, but never the fanatical hoodlumery that is the crowning contribution of Stalinism to the revolutionary movement.

As comrade Trotsky has so poignantly expressed it, the Stalinists try to make up for their impotence in the face of the bourgeois state by physical domineering over and attacks upon non-Stalinist groups in the movement; they substitute for an appeal to the workers brains, a club on the workers' heads. These methods disgrace the movement as a whole. We branded them vitriolically when Lewis Sigman, Hillman and Co. introduced them in the trade unions. We have no less condemnation for them when they are introduced in the name of a Stalinist neo-Communism.

The workers everywhere will be aiding the cause if labor by shouting their hostility to these reactionary methods against adversaries in the movement. The worker in the official Party, in whom the revolutionary spirit has not been extinguished by the senseless marionettes who occupy the high posts, will do an incalculable service to the Communist movement too by standing up and raising his voice in protest against these degrading tactics. He will find a ready echo from the hearts, if not the lips, of hundreds of others.

ALL INVITED

to the

FORMAL OPENING
of two regular study classes:

«History of the American
Labor Movement»

by JAMES P. CANNON

«Marxian Economics»

by ALBERT WEISBORD

at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and 2nd Ave.
on Tuesday, October 7, 1930, 8 p.m.

* * *

At the formal opening of the two classes, to which all friends are invited, comrades Cannon and Weisbord will outline and introduce their courses. Workers, wishing to join either or both of the classes can do so at this meeting.

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)

minimum wage, and their disposition is in general less revolutionary than that of the tailors. But their discontent has been continually growing under the intolerable regime of the local, and with a correct policy the Left wing could establish a good base there.

But the zig-zag tactics of the T.U.U.L. and previously the T.U.E.L. that have followed like a weathercock the official winds of the Communist International have had their disastrous results here as everywhere else. The swift alterations between the united fronts at all costs and the holler-than-thou attitudes of the "third period" apostles have so confused the rank and file that no organized Left wing movement is to be found in the A.C.W.A. The existence of a Left wing there is not at all desired by the official Communist Party, and any attempt to organize a Left wing in the A.C.W.A. is met with fierce opposition by the Stalinists.

According to the "third period" policy activation of the membership of the old unions is branded as reformism. Participation in these is considered a sort of "necessary evil" and permitted only with the object of exposing the reactionary officialdom and recruiting members for the revolutionary union under the leadership of the T.U.U.L. This policy is of course based on the theory that the workers in the reactionary unions have already been radicalized and are ready on short notice of the T.U.U.L. agents to leave the old unions and join the revolutionary ones. All that is necessary is just to stage a few exposures of social-fascists there at their meetings. No pressure, however, should be used on the officials to show in concrete cases of struggle just where they stand on questions affecting the interests of the workers for fear that this may create illusions among the workers that the old unions can be reformed. Here is how this policy is expressed in the **Daily Worker**, August 19th editorial:

"It is not our duty to desert the A.F. of L. and leave the members of these union under the leadership of the bosses' agents to be utilized against the interests of the workers. On the contrary revolutionary workers must carry on their activities within the A.F. of L., not with the Lovestonian conception of forcing the leaders to fight, but with the revolutionary conception of winning the leadership of these workers for the building of revolutionary trade unions which alone can successfully fight for the economic demands of the workers."

This policy is a complete refutation of the Leninist conception of working within the old unions. To believe that the workers will get radicalized under the influence of a few speeches exposing the reactionary leadership and not by organized pressure on this leadership to show their color in action condemns the work in the unions to futility. The result of such a policy can only be the isolation of the revolutionary element from the bulk of the membership still under the influence of the reactionary leadership and the strengthening of the later's position in the unions. The reactionary officials, relieved of the pressure of an organized opposition, have a free hand to carry on their work of betrayal and can only be thankful for such a policy.

In reciprocation for this policy, which is a real service rendered them by the Left wing, they are obligingly taking careful pains to relieve the "third period" Left wingers of the effects of the "necessary evil"—of the participation at union meetings entirely, by either expelling them or gradually doing away with union meetings, thereby also saving the reactionary unions and themselves from exposure. That this always means strengthening the revolutionary unions is hard to say but it should mean that to "right-thinking" Communists anyway. However, the immediate effect of the new policy is this amazing reciprocity between the reactionaries and the "third period" revolutionists which, though not pre-arranged or even intended, is nevertheless logical and unavoidable under the application of the new policy.

It remains entirely for the Left Communist Opposition to undertake the rebuilding of the Left wing movement in the A.C.W.A. as well as in the other unions where the Left wing has been wrecked. The rank and file of the membership will respond to a call to action by a responsible and constructive Left wing organization.

(Coming articles by comrade Orland will deal with the concrete conditions of the cutters at present, and with other sections of the men's garment industry, and the problems of the Left wing.—Ed.)

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN

(Continued from Last Issue)

L. D. TROTSKY

The above-mentioned unfavorable balance of the October revolution for the village is, of course, temporary and transitory. The principal significance of the October revolution for the peasant lies in the fact that it created the pre-conditions for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. But this is a matter of the future. In 1927, collectivization was still completely tabooed. So far as "complete" collectivization is concerned, nobody even thought of it. Stalin however, includes it in his considerations after the fact. "Now, after the intensified development of the collectivization movement"—our theoretician transplants into the past what lies ahead in the future—"the peasants are able . . . to produce a lot more than before with the same expenditure of labor". And after this, once more: "How can one say, after all this (!) that the October revolution did not bring any gain to the peasant? Is it not clear that people saying such nonsense are obviously telling lies about the Party and the Soviet power?" The reference to "nonsense" and "lies" is quite in place here, as may be seen. Yes, some people "are obviously telling lies" about chronology and common sense.

Stalin as we see, makes his "nonsense" more profound by depicting matters as if the Opposition not only exaggerated the February revolution at the expense of the October, but even for the future refused the latter the capacity for improving the conditions of the peasant. For what fools, may we ask, is this intended? We beg the pardon of the honorable professor Pokrovsky!

The Aim of the Opposition

Incessantly advancing, since 1923, the problem of the economic scissors of the city and village, the Opposition pursued a quite definite aim, now incontestable by anyone: To compel the bureaucracy to understand that the struggle against the danger of disunity can be conducted now with sugary slogans like "Face to the village", etc., but through: a) faster tempo of industrial development; and b) energetic collectivization of peasant economy. In other words, the problem of the scissors as well as the problem of the peasants' balance of the October revolution was advanced by us not in order to "discredit" the October revolution—what is the very "terminology" worth!—but in order to compel the self-contented and conservative bureaucracy by the whip of the Opposition to utilize those immeasurable economic possibilities which the October revolution opened up to the country.

To the official kulak-bureaucratic course of 1923-1928, which had its expression in the every day legislative and administrative work, in the new theory, and above all, in the persecution of the Opposition, the latter opposed, from 1923 on, a course towards an accelerated industrialization, and from 1927 on, after the first successes of industry, the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture.

Let us once more recall that the Opposition platform which Stalin conceals, but from which he fetches in bits all of his wisdom, declares: "The growth of private proprietorship in the village must be offset by a more rapid development of collective farming. It is necessary systematically and from year to year to subsidize the efforts of the poor peasants to organize in collectives." (Page 68, English edition). "A much larger sum ought to be appropriated for the creation of Soviet and collective farms. Maximum indulgences must be accorded to the newly organized collective farms and other forms of collectivization. People deprived of elective rights cannot be members of the collective estates. The whole work of the cooperatives ought to be penetrated with a sense of the problem of transforming small-scale production into large-scale collective production. The work of the land distribution must be carried on wholly at the expense of the state, and the first thing to be taken care of must be the collective farms and the farms of the poor, with a maximum protection of their interests." (Page 71.)

If the bureaucracy had not vacillated under the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, but had executed the program of the Opposition since 1923, not only the proletarian but also the peasant balance of the revo-

lution would be of an infinitely more favorable nature.

The Problem of the «Scissors»

The problem of the "smychka" (alliance) is the problem of the mutual relations between city and village. It is composed of two parts, or, more correctly, can be regarded from two angles: a) the mutual relationship between industry and agriculture; b) the mutual relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry. On the basis of the market, these relations, assuming the form of commodity exchange, find their expression in the price movement. The harmony between the prices of bread, cotton, beets and so forth on the one hand and calico, kerosene, plows and so forth on the other hand, is the decisive index for evaluating the mutual relations between the city and the village, of industry and agriculture, between workers and peasants. The problem of the "scissors" of industrial and agricultural prices therefore remains, for the present period as well, the most important economic and social problem of the whole Soviet system. Now how did the price scissors change between the last two congresses, that is, in the last two and a half years? Did they close, or, on the contrary, did they widen?

We look in vain for a reply to this central question in the ten hour report of Stalin to the Congress. Presenting piles of departmental figures, making a bureaucratic reference book out of the principal report, Stalin did not even attempt a Marxist generalization of the isolated and, by him, thoroughly undigested data given to him by the commissariats, secretariats and other offices.

Are the scissors of industrial and agricultural prices closing? In other words, is the balance of the socialist revolution, as yet passive for the peasant, being reduced? In the market conditions—and we have not yet liberated ourselves from them, and will not for a long time to come—the closing or widening of the scissors is of decisive significance for an evaluation of the successes accomplished and for checking up on the correctness or incorrectness

of economic plans and methods. That there is not a word about it in Stalin's report is of itself an extremely alarming fact. Were the scissors closing, there would be plenty of specialists in Mikoyan's department who would, without difficulty, give this process statistical and graphic expression. Stalin would only have to demonstrate the diagram, that is, show the Congress a scissors which would prove that the blades are closing. The whole economic section of the report would find its axis, but unfortunately this axis is not there. Stalin avoided the problem of the scissors.

The domestic scissors is not the final index. There is another, a "higher" one: the scissors of domestic and international prices. They measure the productivity of labor in Soviet economy with the productivity of labor in the world capitalist market. We received from the past, in this sphere as well as in others, an enormous heritage of backwardness. In practice, the task for the next few years is not immediately to "catch up with and outstrip"—we are unfortunately still very far from this!—but planfully to close the scissors between domestic and world prices, which can be accomplished only through systematically approximating the labor productivity in the U.S.S.R. to the labor productivity in the advanced capitalist countries. This in turn requires not statistically-minimum but economically-favorable plans. The oftener the bureaucrats repeat the bold formula "to catch up with and outstrip", the more stubbornly they ignore exact comparative coefficients of socialist and capitalist industry or, in other words, the problem of the scissors of domestic and world prices. And on this question also not a word is to be found in Stalin's report. The problem of the domestic scissors could have been considered liquidated only under the conditions of the actual liquidation of the market. The problem of the foreign scissors—with the liquidation of world capitalism. Stalin, as we know, was preparing, at the time of his agricultural report to send the N.E.P. "to the devil". But he changed his mind within the six months that elapsed. As is always the

case with him, his unaccomplished intention to liquidate the N.E.P. is attributed by him in his report to the Congress to the "Trotskysts". The white and yellow threads of this operation are so indiscreetly exposed that the report of this part of the speech does not dare to record the slightest applause.

What happened to Stalin with regard to the market and the N.E.P. is what usually happens to empiricists. The sharp turn that took place in his own mind under the influence of external pressure, he took for a radical change in the whole situation. Once the bureaucracy decided to enter into a final conflict with the market and the Kulak instead of its passive adaptation to them, then statistics and economy could consider them non-existent. Empiricism is most frequently the pre-condition for subjectivism, and if it is bureaucratic empiricism, it inevitably becomes the pre-condition for periodic "turns". The art of the "general" leadership consists in this case of converting the turns into smaller turns and distributing them equally among the helots called executors. If, at the end, the general turn is attributed to "Troskyism", then the problem is settled. But this is not the point. The essence of the N.E.P., regardless of the sharp change in the "essence" of Stalin's thoughts about it lies as before in the determination by the market of the economic inter-relationships between the city and village. If the N.E.P. remains then the scissors of agricultural and industrial prices remain the most important criterion of the whole economic policy.

A «Bourgeois Prejudice»

However, half a year before the Congress, we heard Stalin call the theory of the scissors a "bourgeois prejudice". This is the simplest way out of the situation. If you tell a village quack that the temperature curve is one of the most important indices to the health or illness of an organism, he will hardly believe you. But if he grasps some sage words and, to make matters worse, learns to present his quackery as "proletarian medicine", he will most certainly say that a thermometer is a bourgeois prejudice. If this quack has power in his hands he will, to avoid a scandal, smash the thermometer over a stone or, what is still worse, over somebody's head. In 1925, the differentiation within the Soviet peasantry was declared to be a prejudice of panic-mongers. Yakovlev was sent to the central statistical department, from which he took away all the Marxist thermometers to be destroyed. But unfortunately, the changes in temperature do not cease when there are no thermometers. But for that, the appearance of hidden organic processes takes the healers and those being healed unawares. This is what happened in the grain strike of the Kulak, who unexpectedly appeared as the leading figure in the village and compelled Stalin, on February 15, 1928 (see *Pravda* of that date) to make a turn of 180 degrees. The price thermometer is of no less significance than the thermometer of differentiation within the peasantry. After the Twelfth Party Congress, where the term "scissors" was first used and explained, everybody began to understand its significance. In the three years that followed, the scissors were invariably demonstrated at the Plenums of the Central Committee, at Conferences and Congresses, as precisely the basic curve of the economic temperature of the country. But afterwards, they gradually began to disappear from usage, and finally, at the end of 1929, Stalin declared them to be . . . "a bourgeois prejudice". Because the thermometer was smashed in time, Stalin had no reason to present the Sixteenth Congress of the Party with the curve of economic temperature. Marxist theory is the weapon of thought serving to clarify what has been, what is becoming, and what lies ahead, and for the determination of what is to be done. Stalin's theory is the servant of bureaucracy. It serves to justify zig-zags after the event, to conceal yesterday's mistakes and consequently to prepare tomorrow's. The silence over the scissors occupies the central place in Stalin's report. This may appear paradoxical, because silence is an empty place. But it is nevertheless a fact: in the center of Stalin's report is a hole, consciously and premeditatedly bored.

Awaken, so that no harm shall come to the dictatorship out of this hole!

(To Be Continued)

Four New Organs of the Left Opposition

We are proud to announce the publication of four new organs by the International Left Opposition, solid proofs of the forward march of our movement in the face of all obstacles put in its path by Stalinism, and a refutation of all the fantastic tales concerning our "disintegration".

The first is the "International Bulletin of the Left Communist Opposition" printed in Paris by the Provisional International Secretariat of the Opposition. The first number, just received here, is printed in French and German, and contains the following material: An Appeal to the Proletarians of the World. Editorial Notice. List of Organizations Adhering to the International Conference of the Opposition. The Left Opposition and the Party in Germany. The Crisis in the Belgian Opposition. (Resolutions of the Charleroi Federation and the Executive Bureau). The Development of the Opposition in France. The Conditions of the Oppositionists Deported in the U.S.S.R. What is the Situation in the Austrian Opposition movement? Future issues will contain articles in English translation also. The price per copy is 5 cents, to be purchased through the Militant.

The second is "Claridad", published by the Mexican Opposition. The first number contains the following articles in the Spanish language: An Address to the Mexican Communists. The Expulsion of Andres Nin from the U.S.S.R. The Recent "Revolutions" in South America. A. Marti Arrested in Nicaragua. The Opportunists of Transport Workers Confederation and the Government. The Crisis in the U.S. Communist Party. The Situation in Cuba. The Expulsion of comrade Golod from the Spanish-speaking section of the U.S. Party. And many more other important items. Copies of "Claridad" can be purchased in the United States at 5 cents each by writing A. Gonzalez, 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, New York, N.Y.

The third is "Spartacus", monthly or-

gan of the Opposition in the Communist Party of Greece. The first number contains among other articles, the following: A Criticism of the Report of the Comintern, by S. Maximos. Proportional Elections or Extra-Parliamentary Struggle? Economic Adventurism, by L. Trotsky. The First of August and the New "Turn" by Mon. The Pan-Hellenic Congress of the C.G.T. of Greece and the Duty of the Revolutionary Workers, by Tassos Dimitriou. The Struggle against the Right Wing at the 16th Congress, by N. Senine. In the Light of Marxism, etc., etc. Greek comrades in the United States can get copies by writing to Jean Monastiriotes, Poste Restante, Athens, Greece. The Militant hopes to have them on sale at its office soon.

The fourth is "Jiskra" (Spark), organ of the Left Opposition in Czechoslovakia. It is published monthly in the Czech and German languages and marks a big step ahead for our Czech comrades. The first issue contains a declaration of their point of view and a definite demarcation from the Right wing liquidators around Haimuna-Neurath-Kowanda and the Centrists of the official Party. The enormous task of our comrades in Czechoslovakia in winning over the bulk of the Communist workers discouraged by Centrism or misled by Right wing will be greatly facilitated now with the issuance of their own paper. Czech workers in the U.S. can obtain connections with the paper by writing its editor, Ferdinand Jerabek, Ziskov, Domazlicka, 8/III, Praha, Czechoslovakia.

MIMEOGRAPH WANTED

A mimeographing machine in workable condition is needed by the office of the Militant. The machine must be of the automatic "pick-up" type, and be offered at a really reasonable price. Those wishing to sell can see the secretary at 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, at any hour during the day, or can write full particulars to the same address.

The Election Results

By Our Berlin Correspondent

The result of the German elections proves that electoral participation was **extremely increased**. It considerably surpassed 80 percent. By the growth of the electorate and the participation of the young element (2,500,000), the number of votes rose from 30,000,000 to 35,000,000, and the total number of mandates from 493 to 576, increasing the number of deputies by 83. More than half of these six million new electors are proletarians. These facts must be emphasized in order to analyze the election results.

The Middle Bourgeois Parties Beaten

In spite of desperate efforts, the parties of the middle bourgeoisie forming the Bruening government were unable to halt their disintegration. Only the Center, the party assembling under the banner of the Catholic Church the big industrialists of the Rhine and the workers of the Rhineland and Upper-Silesia, succeeded in maintaining its positions (68 mandates instead of 62), that is, to increase, due to the increased participation, the number of its votes by about 5 percent while the increase in the electorate was about 20 percent.

The other government parties (State party, Right wing Democrats, People's party) suffered very heavy defeats, in part even crushing. The dictatorial regime which had hoped to convert its parliamentary minority into a majority, obtained hardly a third of the mandates out of the total.

In spite of the growth in the number of electors, the socialist party fell from 9,150,533 votes (1928) to 8,572,000 (143 mandates as against 153). In certain regions however, it held on, for instance in Saxony, where it succeeded in rising from 871-327 votes obtained in the Landtag elections (June 1929) to 992,547. As a whole, the defeat of the social democracy is undeniable, but it would be wrong to speak of a "crushing defeat" (see *Rote Fahne*, September 15, 1930); one must rather speak of a process of crumbling.

The press of the German C.P. announces that "the Communists are the victors of the electoral battle". The Party has succeeded in rising from 3,262,876 votes (1928) to 4,587,000, a gain of about 40 percent. Considering the increase in the electorate, the Party succeeded in gaining about 500,000 to 600,000 new votes. That is certainly an important fact, which does not indicate the correctness of the Party policy but the enormous, the intense effectiveness of the masses in the crisis.

Fascism, the Real Victor

The National Socialist party (Fascists) bounded from 809,939 votes (1928) to 6,400,000 and their mandates from 12 to 107! As we had foreseen, it became the strongest bourgeois party and at the same time the strongest party in general after the social democrats. What interests us above all is to know at the expense of what class this victory was achieved.

At the very outset it is apparent that the fascists have taken the heritage of the petty bourgeois parties. They took 2 million votes from the nationalists, 1 million from the People's party, and about a half million, without doubt, from the other bourgeois parties. As for the increased participation, it also went in large part to Fascism. At first sight it might seem that the enormous victory of Fascism is due to the simple fact that it drew the bourgeois masses to it. But a deeper examination of the electoral results shows that Fascism succeeded in making a deep breach in the proletariat. That is what the figures from the industrial regions show, in which the Fascists almost increased their 1928 vote ten-fold. Thus, East Dusseldorf, 210,106 (1928: 19,926); West Dusseldorf, 168,635 (1928: 10,104). Chemnitz-Zwickau, 264,871 (1928: 41,497); Hamburg, 144,584 (1928: 17,761).

In the industrial regions of the Rhineland, the Fascists went from 600 to 8,400 in Hamborn, and from 1,222 to 26,079 in Wuppertal-Barmen.

In Berlin, the figures are still more alarming. In this city, there were municipal elections in November 1929, that is, in the period of the crisis. Here the Fascists rose from 132,031 to 393,266, and that in ten months. In the proletarian bastions, the Fascists increased, in Wedding (a particularly striking instance), from 8720 (November 1929) to 20,655; in Neukölln, from 7,124 (1929) to 22,128, in Friedrichshain,

from 2,324 (1929) to 24,900, in Pankow from 355 (1929) to 11,773.

And Now?

Nothing would now be more dangerous than dizziness of the Party before its own success, nothing would be more dangerous than the way the bureaucrats treat the Fascist victory as a mere bagatelle ("Last night Herr Hitler had his 'greatest day', but the so-called election victory is the beginning of their end . . . " *Rote Fahne*, September 15).

The Party has advanced. It has advanced in virtually all the proletarian regions. But the fact that the Fascists did so also in a whole series of industrial sections (West Dusseldorf) or even strongly surpassed it (Chemnitz-Zwickau, Hamburg, Dresden-Bautzen, Northern Westphalia) is alarming. The *Rote Fahne* writes: "The rise of our growing influence among the workers and all the exploited, the rise in which we won the toiling masses in the cities and the country for our program of revolutionary emancipation, showed itself to be even more impetuous than we thought before September 14"; that is one of the most dangerous ways of deceiving oneself.

We are on the eve of decisive struggles in Germany. The rise of the counter-revolutionary wave has exceeded all previous ones. Now everything will depend upon the extent to which our Party will be able to utilize the confidence which the masses place in it in order to lead the extra-parliamentary struggle, the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and mass unemployment, the struggle against Fascism. **The greatest danger is the continuation of the present course whose culminating point is now the "program for the national and social liberation of the German people".** Fascism cannot be vanquished on the basis of national-Bolshevism; the Fascists cannot be conquered by exchanging amicable discussion articles with them in the Communist and national socialist press (*Berlin am Morgen, Nationalsozialist*). If this course is continued, the present success of the Party will be transformed into its opposite. In the competition of "national Bolshevism versus Fascism", it is Fascism that will triumph.

* * *

In the struggle against Fascism, the central point, now as before, is the social democratic workers whom we must win over, with whom we must make a united class front against Fascism.

The Left Opposition in Germany will have to work in the weeks to come, under still more difficult conditions. The Party masses still follow the policy of Centrism in their majority. The success of yesterday threatens to render them insensible to the dangers before us.

The Left Opposition was not taken unawares by the events. It will continue to fight with increased strength to save the Party from disaster the danger of which is greater than it would seem; in this electoral struggle during which the Party leadership trampled the principles of Communism under foot it has begun to poison the most precious thing the Party has: the internationalist class position of the cadres of the Party, it has undermined the ideological resistance power of the Party, it has yielded ideologically to Fascist pressure.

Today's victory brings to light the elements of an inevitable defeat, unless the pressure of the proletarian kernel of the Party radically changes the political life of the Party.

Berlin, September 15, 1930

—KURT LANDAU

ON MAURICE MALKIN

Last minute technical difficulties made the omission of a report on the visit made to Comstock Prison, New York, to see comrade Maurice L. Malkin, unavoidable. In the next issue the Militant will publish an account of this visit made to our Opposition fighter in prison by Max Shachtman, Sylvia Bleeker, Rose Karsner and other comrades. It will be highly interesting. In the meantime, all comrades are urgently requested to write to comrade Malkin. He told his visitors that the day he receives a letter from a comrade is a Red Letter day in his life. Write about the movement and the struggle. Write often. Write regularly. Remember our fighters behind the prison bars and do not neglect them. He should be addressed: Maurice L. Malkin, No. 10061, Box 51, Comstock, N.Y.

The C.P.G. in the Campaign

The outcome of the German elections has been a violent—though not unexpected—political shake-up, an indication of the rapid shifting of class forces that has been taking place for some time—to be precise since the adoption of the Young Plan. The enormous Fascist victory and the quite substantial gains of the Communist Party are only the beginning of a radical trend which German politics will follow in the days to come. We may yet witness many vacillations in the degree of influence of the Fascists and the C.P.G. during the course of developments, but with the increasing enslavement of the German proletariat through unemployment, taxation and wage cuts; with the progressive impoverishment and declassing of the small bourgeoisie due to the ruthless attempt of the capitalist class to force the burden of the reparations on the lower classes, the dilemma: Fascism or Communism, is definitely on the order of the day in Germany.

With such a perspective before us, it would be well to review the progress of the German Communist Party, to inspect its forces and fighting ability. The elections brought the Party a gain of over 1,000,000 votes, not be overestimated in importance when we consider the almost octupled increase of the Fascists, (over 5,000,000!) but nevertheless a great advance, especially taking into account the gains in such a strategic center as Berlin, where the Communists surpassed the social democrats and became the strongest party. However, we must ask ourselves: How did the Party face the elections? How did it appeal to the workers on this occasion? These questions are indispensable for a real accounting.

The C.P.G.'s Programmatic Declaration

And here we receive as an answer the amazingly shameless document known as the "Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.G. on the National and Social Emancipation of the German People". It is a document whose very title betrays it to be a petty bourgeois electioneering device, an unscrupulous means of competing with the demagogic "national" slogans of the Fascists, the Hitlerites. It points out the social democracy to the masses not so much as the agent of the German bourgeoisie, but as "the voluntary agents of French and Polish imperialism"; it speaks of their "high treason" in almost the same tones as Hitler does; finally, it sees the "point of departure of the enslavement of all German workers" in the "Versailles robber treaty"! Not the class rule of the German bourgeoisie, but the Versailles treaty, which is the summary of the struggle between the German and the Allied imperialists has become the "point of departure of the enslavement of all German workers"! As a consequence, the necessity of the struggle for immediate demands against the capitalist offensive at home is shelved or reduced to insignificance, the entire election campaign is centered around the irresponsible and all too general slogan: "In the event of our seizing power we shall declare null and void all obligations arising out of the Versailles Peace". A very strong echo of the "national-Bolshevik" deviations of the German infantile "Lefts" of 1919 (Laufenberg-Wolfheim) and of the Brandlites in 1923.

Lenin gave the "national-Bolsheviks" and the infantile "Lefts" of 1919 the proper Marxist reproof. It still holds good today for the Thaelmanns and Neumanns, and all those who carry out the Centrist, nationally limited line of Stalin in Germany.

Lenin's View

"We Communists," wrote Lenin, "are not at all bound to repudiate the Versailles treaty—or what is more, to repudiate it immediately. The possibility of successfully repudiating the treaty depends not only upon the German, but also upon the international success of the Soviet movement." (Left Wing Communism.)

The election campaign, with the crassly nationalist note that accompanied it, was the purest expression of ultra-Left opportunism. At a time when the oppression of the masses is heading for a crisis, when it is necessary, in a campaign of broad struggle to break the ground for the decisive blows against the class enemy by a sharply outlined, patient and sober campaign to win authority and leadership among the workers, the German Party leadership offered nothing more than the as yet vague slogan of a Soviet Germany.

That this slogan of necessity expressed the immediate reaction of over four and a half million German workers is gratifying, to be sure. But what guarantee is there that these workers, who thus voiced their dissatisfaction with the existing regime and their desire for a workers' Germany, will follow the Party in the struggle beyond the ballot box? Do the recent economic struggles, perhaps, offer such a guarantee? No, indeed! The defeats of Mansfeld and the Northwest in July of this year, the latest in a whole string of strike failures since the Ruhr fight of 1928, bespeak the contrary.

In a moment of splendid opportunity for mass work in the factories and in the broad working class organizations the Party leadership present an ultra-Left sounding parliamentary spectacle to the German working class, hiding its real impotence to cope with the situation as a Bolshevik Party should. The nationalistic mimicry of the Fascists, heaped upon the general confusionist theories of "social-fascism" and the "immediate revolutionary situation" with all their subsequent isolationist tactics, keep the Party corralled, bound, unable to carry out its historic task.

The Capitalist Offensive

Immediately after the papier-mache "victory" of the elections, the fierce, all-round offensive of the bourgeoisie is only coming into its real swing, is gaining its full amplitude. A Times dispatch, dated Berlin, September 26, reports:

"The conscription of labor probably will replace the system of unemployment doles in the government's new program of financial reforms, and it will be only one of several innovations to which recourse will be taken in a final attempt to prevent the collapse of Germany's financial structure."

"The government's plans include also an increase in the number of indirect taxes in the move to reduce direct imposts . . . In keeping with its scheme for cuts in production costs and retail prices, the government intends to reach an agreement with the trade unions providing for a reduction of 10 percent in wages."

The drive of the capitalist class against the standard of living of the working class, for the abolition of even the meager "dole" is coming to a head. The social democracy, in the Mueller coalition government, in the yellow trade unions, has supported this drive by the most revolting acts of treachery and deception. But as yet not even the most elementary steps have been taken to organize the proletarian defense which would reveal the true countenance of fascism and social democracy before the workers.

The Role of the Thaelmanns

Confined in its stifling atmosphere of self-deception and illusion, the Party leadership has failed to do its duty. It is not yet too late to regain lost time, to repair the Party and prepare it for the historic battles to come. Our German Opposition comrades are leading in the fight to unmask the incapable epigonic Thaelmann-Neumann leadership before the Party, to instigate the membership to throw off the shackling theory of "social fascism" and all its tactical deductions, as well as the whole dangerous playing with "national-Bolshevik" phrases, to rehabilitate and reconstitute it as the weapon of the working class, now more indispensable than ever.

The struggle to follow, the fight against unemployment, for the seven hour day, for credits to the Soviet Union, for a broad defense against wage cuts, will in Germany, as here and everywhere, prove the justice of the policy of the Left Opposition. We, the Leninists of the entire world, know the import of the coming class struggles in Germany. It is for this reason that we look ahead with such anxiety towards the progress of the German Party, fighting for its renovation and the Comintern's, in order to help that "international success of the Soviet movement" which alone can forever tear up the Versailles Treaties, the Young Plans and every other remnant of capitalist class rule.

—SAM GORDON

READ No. 14

BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION
(Entirely in Russian)

25cents a copy 18 cents in bundles

Order from
G. Clarke, 25 Third Ave., Rm. 4, N.Y.C.

Perspectives and Tasks of the Chinese Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

truth that their bourgeoisie can not, and does not want to, and never will fight either against the so-called "feudalism"—since the latter constitutes the most important part of its own system of exploitation—or against that imperialism, of which it is an agent and under whose military protection it operates.

As soon as it became evident that the Chinese proletariat, in spite of all the obstructions offered by the Comintern was eager to get on its own independent revolutionary road, the bourgeoisie, with the help of the foreign imperialists, demolished the workers, beginning at Shanghai. As soon as it was clear that the friendship with Moscow was not able to paralyze the uprising of the peasants, the bourgeoisie shattered the peasant movement. The spring and summer of 1927 were the months of the greatest crimes of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Frightened by the consequences of its mistakes, the Stalinist faction tried at the end of 1927 to make up at once for what it had let slip up for a whole period of years. Thus was organized the insurrection in Canton. The leaders assumed that the revolution was still on the rise. In reality it was already completely on the decline. The heroism of the advanced workers could not prevent the disaster caused by the adventure of these leaders. The Canton insurrection was drowned in blood. The second Chinese revolution was completely demolished.

We, the representatives of the International Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists, were from the very beginning against joining the Kuo Min Tang and for an independent proletarian policy. From the very beginning of the revolutionary rise we demanded the organization of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets. We demanded that the workers should stand at the head of the peasant insurrection and lead the agrarian revolution to its end. Our course was rejected. Our supporters were persecuted, expelled from the Comintern and those in the U.S.S.R. were arrested and exiled. In the name of what? In the name of a union with Chiang Kai-Shek.

The Crushing of the Revolution

After the counter-revolutionary coup d'Etat in Shanghai and Wuhan we, the Left Communists gave insistent warning that the second Chinese revolution is over, that a period of temporary triumph of the counter-revolution had supervened, and that an attempt at an insurrection of the advanced workers in face of the general depression and weariness of the masses, will inevitably bring a further criminal extermination of the revolutionary forces. We demanded a transition to the defensive, the strengthening of the underground organization of the Party participation in the economic struggles of the proletariat and the mobilization of the masses under the slogans of democracy; the independence of China, the right of self-determination of the different nationalities in the population, a national assembly, confiscation of the land, eight-hour working day. Such a policy would have given the Communist vanguard the possibility to emerge gradually from its defeat, to re-establish connection with the trade unions and with the unorganized masses of city and country and be ready to meet later in full arms the new revolutionary rise.

The Stalinist faction denounced our policy as that of "liquidators" while itself, as has happened before in its history passing from opportunism to adventurism. In February 1928, when the Chinese revolution was at its extreme decline, the IX Plenum of the E.C.C.I. announced in China a course towards armed insurrection. The results of this madness was a further defeat of the workers, extermination of the best revolutionaries, a split in the Party and demoralization in the ranks of the workers.

The decline of the revolution and the temporary weakening of the fight between the militarists, made possible a certain economic revival in the country. Strikes began over again. But they were conducted independently of the Party, which, not understanding the situation, was absolutely unable to show the masses the new perspectives and unite them under the democratic slogans of the transitory period. As a result of mistakes, opportunism and adventurism, the Communist Party at present

counts in its ranks only a few thousand workers. In the Red trade unions according to the data of the Party itself, there are about 60,000 workers. In the months of the revolutionary rise there were about 3,000,000 of them.

The counter-revolution left its mark directly and much more ruthlessly on the workers than on the peasants. The workers in China are not numerous and are concentrated in the industrial centers. The peasants are protected to a certain degree by their numbers and their diffusion over vast spaces. The revolutionary years trained up in the country quite a few local leaders, and the counter-revolution did not succeed in exterminating them all. A considerable number of revolutionary workers hid themselves in the country from the militarists. For the last decade a considerable number of arms were scattered all over the country. In conflicts with local administrators or military units, these arms are produced by the peasants and companies of Red irregulars are organized. In the armies of the bourgeois counter-revolution, agitations often take place, and at times, open revolts. Soldiers with their arms desert to the side of the peasants, sometimes in groups, sometimes in whole companies.

The Peasant Uprisings

Hence it is quite natural that even after the defeat of the revolution, waves of the peasant movement continued to roll up to the various provinces of the country and at present have burst out with special force. With armed hands, the peasants drive out and exterminate the local landlords, as many as are to be found in their regions, and especially the so-called gentry and Tuchuns, the local representatives of the ruling class—the bureaucrat-proprietors, the usurers and the rich peasants.

When the Stalinists talk about a Soviet government established by the peasants over a considerable part of China, they do not simply show their credulity and superficiality, but obscure and misrepresent the fundamental problem of the Chinese revolution. A peasantry, even the most revolutionary, is not able to create an independent government. It can only support the government of another class, dominating in the cities. The peasantry in all decisive moments follow either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. So-called "peasant parties" can only disguise this fact, but they cannot annul it. Soviets are the organs of power of a revolutionary class antagonistic to the bourgeoisie. This means that the peasantry is unable to organize a Soviet system by its own force. The same is true of an army. More than once the peasantry has organized in China as well as in Russia and other countries, guerrilla armies, which fought with incomparable courage and obstinacy. But these were only guerrilla armies, attached to a local province and not fit for centralized strategic operations on a large scale. Only the dominance of the proletariat in the decisive industrial and political centers of the country creates the necessary premise for the organization of a Red army, and for the spreading of the Soviet system to the country. To those who are not able to understand this, the revolution has remained a book closed with seven seals.

The Chinese proletariat is just beginning to come out from the paralysis of the counter-revolution. The peasant movement is moving at present, in a considerable measure, independently of the workers movement, according to its own laws, and its own tempo. Meanwhile, the whole problem of the Chinese revolution consists of the political coordination and organizational combination of the proletariat and peasant uprising. Those who talk about the victory of the Soviet revolution in China, if even in separate provinces of the South only, in face of the passivity of the industrial North, ignore the dual problem of the Chinese revolution, the problem of cooperation of workers and peasants and the problem of leadership of the workers in this cooperation.

The vast flood of the peasant revolt might undoubtedly serve as an impetus to a revival of political struggle in the industrial centers. We firmly count upon it. But this would not mean in any case, that the revolutionary awakening of the proletariat would lead immediately to the conquest of power or even to the struggle for

power. The awakening of the proletariat might in its first steps assume the character of partial economic and political, defensive and offensive fights. How long a time would it take the proletariat, and especially the Communist vanguard, to grow up to the role of the leaders of a revolutionary nation? At any rate more than weeks and months. The command of bureaucratic leaders can not replace the independent growth of a class and of its party.

The Chinese Communists need at present a policy of far aim. Their task consists not in scattering their forces among the isolated fires of the peasant revolt. Small in its number and weak, the Party will not be able to get hold of this movement. The duty of the Communists is to concentrate their forces in factories and shops, in workers' districts, to explain to the workers the meaning of what is going on in the country, to raise the spirit of the tired and the discouraged, to form groups of them for the struggle to defend their economic interests, and for slogans of the democratic and agrarian revolution. Only in this way, i. e., through the awakening and the uniting of the workers will the Communist Party be able to become a leader of the peasant insurrection, which is to say, of the national revolution as a whole.

To support the illusions of adventurism and to disguise the weakness of the proletarian vanguard, the Stalinists say: The matter in question is only a democratic and not a proletarian dictatorship. In this central point adventurism is relying in full on the premises of opportunism. Not satisfied with their experiment with the Kuo Min Tang, the Stalinists are preparing for the future revolution a new means of putting to sleep and enslaving the proletariat under the name of the "democratic dictatorship".

The Slogan of Soviets

When the advanced Chinese workers promulgated the slogan of Soviets they meant by it: We want to do what the Russian workers did. Only yesterday the Stalinists replied to them: "No, you must not, you have the Kuo Min Tang, and it will do what is necessary." Today, the same leaders answer more cautiously: "You'll have to organize Soviets not for a proletarian but for a democratic dictatorship." By this they tell the proletariat that the dictatorship will not be in their hands. Then there is some other, as yet undiscovered force which will be able to realize the revolutionary dictatorship in China.

Thus the formula of the democratic dictatorship opens the gates for a new deception of the workers and peasants by the bourgeoisie.

To clear the way for the "democratic dictatorship", the Stalinists represent the Chinese counter-revolution as "feudal-militaristic and imperialistic". In this way they exclude from the counter-revolution the Chinese bourgeoisie, i. e., idealize it, as they did before. In reality, the militarists express the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie, which are inseparable from the feudal interests and relationships. The Chinese bourgeoisie is too hostile to the people, too closely tied up with the foreign imperialists, too afraid of the revolution, to be eager to rule in their own name by parliamentary methods. The militaristic-fascist regime of China is an expression of the anti-national, anti-revolutionary character of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The Chinese counter-revolution is not a counter revolution of feudal barons and slave-owners against bourgeois society. It is the counter-revolution of all property holders—and first of all bourgeois proprietors—against the workers and peasants.

The proletarian insurrection in China can and will come only as a direct and immediate revolution against the bourgeoisie. The peasants' revolt in China is much more than it was in Russia, a revolt against the bourgeoisie. A class of landlords as a separate class does not exist in China. The landowners are bourgeoisie. The gentry and Tuchuns, against whom the peasant movement is immediately directed, represent the lowest links of the bourgeoisie, as well as of imperialist exploitation. In Russia, the October revolution at its first stage opposed all the peasantry as a class to the class of the landlords, and only

after a number of months began to introduce the civil war into the peasantry. In China every peasant uprising is from its very first step, a civil war of the poor against the kulaks, i. e., against the village bourgeoisie.

The middle peasantry in China is insignificant. Almost 80 percent of the peasants are poor. They, and they only, play the revolutionary role. The question is not of uniting the workers with the peasantry as a whole but with the village poor. They have a common enemy: the bourgeoisie. No one but the proletariat can lead the poor peasants to victory. Their mutual victory can lead to no other regime but the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only this regime is able to establish the soviet system and organize a Red Army which will be the military expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasants.

The Stalinists say that the democratic dictatorship, as the next stage of the revolution, will grow later into a proletarian dictatorship. Such is at present the teaching of the Comintern not only for China but for all countries of the East. It breaks completely with the teachings of Marx concerning the state and with Lenin's conclusions as to the part the state plays in revolution. The democratic dictatorship, differs from the proletarian by being a bourgeois-democratic dictatorship. The transition from a bourgeois dictatorship to the proletarian can not nevertheless be realized by the way of peaceful "growing into". The dictatorship of the proletariat can come into the place of a democracy, as well as of a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, only by way of armed insurrection.

The peaceful "growing" of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is possible only under the dictatorship of one class—namely, the proletariat. The transition from democratic measures into socialist measures took place in the Soviet Union under the regime of proletarian dictatorship. In China, the transition will happen much faster, as the most elementary democratic problems in China have a still more anti-capitalistic and anti-bourgeois character than they had in Russia.

The Stalinists evidently need one more bankruptcy, paid by the workers' blood, in order to make up their mind to say: "The revolution has reached the highest stage, the slogan of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Towards the Third Revolution

At the present moment, nobody can say how much a reflection from the second revolution is combined in the present peasant insurrection with the far-off lighting of the third. Nobody can foretell now whether the hearths of the peasant revolt will be able to keep a fire burning continuously through all the long period of time which the proletarian vanguard will need to gather its own strength, bring the working class into the fight and coordinate its struggle for power with the general offensive of the peasants against their most immediate enemies.

What distinguishes this present movement in the country is the eagerness of the peasant to give it a soviet form, or at least a soviet name, and to make their own guerrilla armies as much as possible like the Red Army. This shows how intensely the peasants are seeking a political form which might enable them to escape from their scatteredness and impotence. On this foundation the Communists can build successfully.

But it must be understood beforehand, that in the consciousness of the Chinese peasant the vague slogan of Soviets does not by any means signify the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasants in general can not speak for the proletarian dictatorship a priori. They can be led to it only through the experience of a struggle which will prove to them in reality, that their democratic problems can not be solved any other way except through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such is the fundamental reason why the Communist Party of China can not lead the proletariat to the struggle for power, except under the slogans of democracy.

The peasant movement, although adorned with the name of Soviets, remains disintegrated, local, provincial. To lift it (Continued on Page 8)

What is Social - Fascism?

Radek has his novitiate to serve. Towards this end, he writes long-winded feuilletons in *Pravda* on "social fascism". "What is this, a rope?" as the philosopher said among the Chemnitz folk. And since the trouble is the readers of the numerous articles on "social fascism" disastously forget all the excellent arguments of the previous investigators, it is up to Radek to begin from the beginning. To begin from the beginning means to declare that Trotsky stands on the other side of the barricades. It is possible that Radek had to insert this sentence upon the special request of the editorial board, as a moral honorarium for the publication of his article.

But still: what does the essence of "social fascism" consist of? And wherein lies its difference from avowed Fascism? It appears that the difference lies in the fact (who would have thought it?) that social fascism is also "for the carrying out of the fascist policy, but in a democratic way". Radek explains in long words why nothing remained for the German bourgeoisie than to carry out the fascistization policy through parliament "with an outward retention of democracy". Then what is the matter in question? Up to now the Marxists were of the opinion that it is democracy which is the "outward" disguise of the class dictatorship—one of its possible disguises. The political function of the present social democracy is the creation of precisely such democratic disguises. In nothing else lies its difference from Fascism which, with other methods, other ideology, in part also with another social basis, organizes, insures and protects the same dictatorship of imperialist capital.

But—Radek seeks to prove—it is possible to maintain decaying capitalism only with Fascist measures. In the long run, this is entirely correct. From this, however, does not flow the identity of social democracy and Fascism, but merely the fact that the social democracy is compelled in the long run to clear the road for Fascism, during which, reaching the end, it does not deny itself the pleasure of battering in a considerable number of Fascist heads. Such objections, however, are declared by Radek to be an "extenuation of the social democracy". This terrible revolutionist apparently thinks that to rub out the bloody tracks of imperialism with the brush of democracy is a higher and more eminent mission than to defend the imperialist coffers with blackjack in hand.

Radek cannot deny that the social democracy clings to parliamentarism with all its feeble power, for all the sources of its influence and welfare are bound up with this artificial mechanism. But, protests the inventive Radek, it is nowhere said that Fascism requires the formal dispersal of parliament. Just look! But it was precisely that political party which, in Italy for the first time, destroyed the parliamentary machine in the name of the Praetorian Guard of bourgeois class rule, that was called Fascism. This means nothing, it appears. Fascism as a phenomenon is one thing, its essence is another. Radek finds that the destruction of parliamentarism is, apparently not the kind of democracy is taken as such. "What is this, a rope?"

But since he feels that this does not pass off so smoothly, Radek adds with still greater inventiveness: "Even Italian Fascism did not disperse the parliament right away (!)". What is true, remains true. And yet it did disperse it, without sparing even the social democracy, the finest flower in the parliamentary bouquet. With Radek it looks as though the social fascists dispersed the Italian parliament, only not right way, but after reflection. We are afraid that Radek's theory does not quite explain to the Italian workers why the social fascists live in the emigration. The German workers, too, will not easily grasp who it really is in Germany that wants to disperse the parliament: the Fascists or the social democrats?

All of Radek's arguments, like those of his tutors, imply that the social democracy is in no way an ideal democracy (that is apparently not the kind of democracy that Radek saw in his roseate dream after the reconciliatory embraces with Yaroslavsky). The profound and fertile theory of social fascism is not built upon the foundation of a materialist analysis of the particular, specific function of the social

democracy, but upon the foundation of an abstract-democratic criterion which is peculiar to the opportunists even when they want to or must occupy the extreme wheel of the extreme barricades (here they usually turn their backs to the wrong side and hold the weapon at the wrong end).

There is no class difference between social democracy and Fascism. Fascism as well as social democracy are bourgeois parties, and not bourgeois in the general sense, but such as protect sinking capitalism, which sustains itself less and less, not only with democratic forms, but also with the least firm legality. That is precisely why the social democracy is condemned to sink down to nothing, giving way to

Who Is «Betraying» Labor Defense Unity?

In the *Daily Worker* (September 29-30, 1930), Sam Darcy, one of the Stalinists, appointed to ruin the International Labor Defense, vents his feeble spleen at the Opposition for having joined with the I.W.W. in New York to commemorate the death of James McInerney, the I.W.W. Centralia prisoner who recently died in Walla Walla, Washington penitentiary while serving his term with the other Centralia men.

It would be time wasted to engage in a dispute with this individual who knows little and cares less about the struggle for the class war fighters whom capitalism snatches out of the ranks and confines in its penitentiaries—if it were not that Darcy's whole outlook is so typical of the wrecking crew the I.L.D. has had foisted upon it.

Against what does Darcy direct his dull shafts? Against those who for the narrowest factional reasons sabotaged the united front for labor defense? Of course not. That would mean an attack upon his own masters in the Central Committee of the official Communist Party. He strikes out instead, against the Left Opposition for having sent a speaker to the New York memorial meeting for McInerney, arranged by the local I.W.W. which Darcy—either through inexcusable ignorance or deliberate malice—pretends to identify with the reactionary "Emergency Program" section of the I.W.W. (now outside its ranks) which controls the Central Publicity Committee.

At a time when the I.L.D. flourished, and was recognized by every honest worker in the labor movement as a genuine united front for the defense of class war fighters, the I.L.D. had to fight and did fight successfully against those elements its struggle was in quite a different direction in the I.W.W., in the Socialist Party, among the anarchists, who sabotage the class unity of the workers' defense movement. This struggle, carried on essentially in the interests of the working class and its victims, was successful. In this fight for unity, the I.L.D. was built and strengthened. Look at the former National Committee of the I.L.D.—when it was headed by precisely those comrades—the Opposition whom Darcy now calumniate—and one will find, for example, the best

representatives of the I.W.W. (as well as other groups) functioning on it (Gurley Flynn, Cline, Fred Mann, Ralph Chaplin, Charlie Gray, Dick Brazier, etc.) despite the hardly concealed antagonism to the International Labor Defense displayed by reactionary elements within the I.W.W. at that time. Then look at the "national committee" of the I.L.D. today under the direction of Messrs. Bowder, Engdahl, Darcy and associated incompetents, and every one of its 20 members is a Communist of the Stalin brand!

Darcy writes: "While in the C.P., Cannon, the leaders of the Trotskyites, for years correctly fought against the syndicalist conceptions of the I.W.W." But this did not prevent—rather it assisted—as from uniting in one defense front with the revolutionary elements in the I.W.W. Now, however, the agglomeration of Darcy's "fight syndicalism" so "correctly" that it has succeeded in alienating every synerate with the Communists in the labor dicalist workers who was willing to coop-defense movement.

But the impression should not prevail that Darcy's Marxism is outraged at the idea of speaking at one meeting with I.W.W. members. The truth of the mat-

Fascism at one pole and to Communism at the other.

The difference between blondes and brunettes is not so great, at any rate substantially less than the difference between men and apes. Anatomically and physiologically, blondes and brunettes belong to one and the same species of life, can belong to one and the same nationality, also one and the same family, and finally, both can be the same scoundrels—and notwithstanding, the skin and hair coloring has its significance not only in the police pass but in living relations as a whole. Radek, however, in order to earn the hearty applause of Yaroslavsky, wants to prove that the brunette is at bottom a blonde, only with dark skin and black hair.

There are good theories in the world which serve to explain facts. So far as the theory of social fascism is concerned, it is only fit for serving out the novitiate of capitulators.

—ALFA

ter is that when Herbert Mahler, of the New York I.W.W., telephoned the I.L.D. National office for a speaker at the McInerney meeting, he was told that the I.L.D. "can get along all right with the I.W.W." but they wouldn't speak from the same platform with "the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites who are stabbing us in the back". The anarchist and S.P. representatives' presence did not disturb the Darcys; but they were ready to hurt still more the name once gained by the I.L.D. if only it soothed their factional rage against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

The I.L.D. can never regain its prestige until it has rid itself of these miserable masqueraders.

Besmirching the IWW

We have received a copy of a leaflet issued on the Philadelphia waterfront in English and Polish, signed by the "Marine Transport Workers of the I.W.W." In the last paragraph we read:

"The I.W.W. is now as it was then, against any politician's attempt to organize LABOR Unions to war against Churches and governments and this is the hidden program of the Communists."

One would have to go far and wide to find a similar pronouncement in any of the literature issued by the I.W.W. in its long career. In fact, it contains the word and spirit of the most reactionary elements in the American labor movement, and has not the slightest thing in common with the whole tradition of the I.W.W. To the contrary. A glance at the past publications of the I.W.W. will show that they conducted a systematic campaign of education "against Churches and Governments"—the latter as the political instrument of the capitalist class and the former as the befuddler of the working class. It is quite true that no labor union can make "anti-churchism and anti-governmentism" a pre-requisite for membership; but a trade union that calls itself class conscious and revolutionary must carry on a daily campaign of enlightenment among the backward workers to explain to them the reactionary role of capitalist government and its whole system of religious superstition.

The leaflet in question does precisely the opposite. It plays down to the most reactionary and mystical prejudices of the backward workers. Its author sinks to the lowest levels in the proletariat, instead of remaining on class conscious grounds and endeavoring to enlighten these workers. The I.W.W. should condemn the leaflet and its author or authors out of hand. We are convinced that there are still sufficient militant, class conscious elements in the I.W.W. to see to the repudiation of this whole reactionary business. That sort of thing should be left to the capitalist agents in the A.F. of L. on whose lips it sounds more customary.

PEARLS OF PRICELESS PURITY

"The Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill is the center of our Party's election campaign. Every worker is either unemployed or threatened with unemployment. Every worker should be made to feel that ONLY BY ELECTING COMMUNISTS TO CONGRESS can a REAL battle be waged for unemployment insurance." (*Daily Worker* editorial, 9-20-1930, our emphasis.)

A Case of Base Ingratitude

A piteous wailing is being heard from the editorial offices of the *New Masses*. Teeth are being gently gnashed, and hair artistically torn. The bald and toothless sit around the wall and reflect philosophically that in this world at least there is no justice, and worse yet, no gratitude. The more politically minded artists are advocating the passage of a law. The more violent among them are urging individual terror. Bedlam reigns over the recent article in the *Daily Worker* by Max Bedacht, M.A.* entitled "The 'New Masses' and Proletarian Literature".

Says Bedacht, in reply to Michael Gold's recent musings on the lack of American "proletarian literature":

"There may be an underproduction of so-called 'light' proletarian literature in America: but this is due primarily to the barrenness and sterility of the self-styled 'American proletarian writers'. Most of what they produce does not breathe the spirit of the proletariat. Most of these writers do not understand the worker, and do not know the workers' thoughts. They cannot reproduce and interpret in literature the American worker, his world and his aspirations, and the process of revolutionary transformation of them. If the publishers and editors of the 'only magazine dedicated to proletarian literature in America' would study a little more intensely and follow a little more closely the contents of the literature published by the 'stodgy and unenterprising' International Publishers** it might fecundate the proletarian quality of their literary productions, as well as their literary style."

We will generously omit commenting on how the proletarian quality and style of Bedacht's productions have been "fecundated". But we cannot refrain from asking why the temperate Swiss barber should launch into such a tempestuous assault upon a loyal group of artists like those in the *New Masses*? Is this the gratitude the Party polcom shows to Michael Gold, who worked so hard in the sewer to bespatter Trotsky in one issue and sock Lovestone in the next? Isn't this the same Gold who told us, while Bedacht and the other Browders nodded benign approval, that it is Trotsky who doesn't understand the workers, that he is . . . an aristocrat? Yes, yes, it is the very same Gold and the identical *New Masses*.

We cannot honestly say that this attack, conducted with the fury that only a Bedacht is capable of, takes us by surprise. Only two months ago we wrote in the *Militant*, warning Gold that the raw deal meted out to another Stalinist valet, Barbusse, would soon hit him, too. We said of Barbusse: "The Stalinists have now rid themselves of that embarrassing baggage. Were Gold one-tenth the sage in politics he imagines himself, he ought to be able to read handwriting when it is written on the wall." As we see, he wasn't able to or didn't want to. He has only himself to blame. Or maybe he doesn't give a hoot. It's not at all impossible that "Jews Without Money" has relieved Gold of the necessity of worrying about what all the Bedachts multiplied by two control commissions say about him in the Party press. He who lives will see.

*Master of Agit-Prop.

**Free advertisement by M.B.

JUST RECEIVED!

KLORKEIT No. 6
(Jewish Organ of the Left Opposition)

Issue Number 6 contains:

The Strike in Northern France, by A. Cornette. Manifesto of the International Left Opposition to the Communists of China and the Whole World. On the Eve of the German Elections, by Felix. The "Third Period" of the Comintern's Mistakes by L. Trotsky. "Aid" for the Soviet Union, by A. Reinhardt. And numerous other articles of great interest.

10 cents per copy

Order from the Militant

25 Third Ave. New York, N Y

Stalinist Antics in California

LOS ANGELES—

An unemployment council was organized here and at one time it had 1200 members. But suddenly the order came to "dissolve the council: Have every one join the T.U.U.L." A meeting of the 1200 was called to tell them the good news and to elect delegates to the Unemployment Convention in Chicago. But where were the 1200—for only 50 showed up.

And really what was the use of coming to the meeting! Who did not know in advance what happened will and must happen. Eva Shaffran read a list of nominees and they elected this list for there was no other to elect.

Is there any wonder, after a council of 1200 members was reduced to 50 who joined the paper unions of the T.U.U.L., that at the September 1st demonstration some two to three hundred Party members, Y.C.L. and Pioneers were out while not one unemployed worker out of the 150,000 in L.A. took active part in it. The Stalinists say that this is due to police interference—but why were the masses not afraid of machine guns on March 6 when the Unemployment Council was still in existence?

* * *

The cloakmakers are on strike, 400 out of 500 of them, and the decision of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is this: All those working in shops where the Right wingers are in the majority—go out on strike; all those who work in shops where the Left wing is the majority—remain at work! And although the strike is being conducted by the arch-reactionary Breslau of New York, and the police seem to be in cahoots with Breslau to permit picketing, and although we know that the I.L.G.W.U. strike is more of a strike to organize the bosses and sell them unionism than it is for the workers—the double bookkeeping of the Left wing remains ruinous. Strike and scab at the same time! The Left wing never was and never will be built this way. —B.B.

A Persecuted Socialist

The New York *Telegram*, semi-official organ of Heywood Broun, socialist candidate for Congress in New York, publishes the following heart-breaking account of the murderous brutality with which the New York police are attacking the noble socialist defenders of the working class. The Communist leaders are sent to prison. Here's what happened to Broun when "arrested for picketing" in the Fifth Avenue garment workers' strike:

"Broun went along but not as the officer had expected. He hired a cab and took the policeman with him, directing the driver to proceed to the E. 51st St. station . . . Magistrate Ford on Levy's (Broun's attorney) motion, dismissed the complaint.

"I got a big kick out of reading your column about my friend, Judge Brodsky," he said to Broun.

"I'm very glad you did, said the polite opponent of Brodsky.

"Then to prove that no one held a grudge, Broun and the policemen posed for photographers. Broun's arms were around the cops . . ."

We patiently await the account in the next issue of the *New Leader* to learn whether Broun and the cops sang the "International" or just "Sweet Adeline".

Weisbord's Statement

In the last issue of the *Militant*, an omission was unfortunately made in the beginning of the final installment of comrade Alber Weisbord's statement. The omitted section read as follows:

"An analysis of the present situation cannot be complete or correct without a thorough study of all basic international questions. Only the movement headed by L.D. Trotsky has stressed the necessity for a truly international point of view, has fought the tendencies of national socialism, and has made such an international viewpoint the prerequisite warp and woof of every sectional thesis. The Left International Opposition (Trotsky) alone has correctly fought the opportunism embodied (1) in the theory of socialism in one country, (2) in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affair, (3) in the Chinese Kuo Min Tang adventure. Nevertheless in view of the recent international events, it is necessary to make an independent analysis here of the chief international situations."

Our National Tour

Good Meetings for Saul in Mid-West Cities

Comrade George Saul, who has just reached Chicago by this writing, has been having a number of successful meetings in his national tour for the Communist League. Beginning in Denver, comrade Saul organized three street meetings virtually by himself. All of them were highly successful, and at the end of the third, many workers in the audience asked him to continue holding the meetings. Comrades of the official Party asked many questions which comrade Saul answered thoroughly. As a result of the Denver meetings, a beginning has been made in the work of organizing a local branch of the League. Proceeding to Kansas City, comrade Saul spoke at three meetings there also, one of them in a hall on the subject of "Class Persecutions in the South", the other on a prominent street corner, and the third with the local members of the League. Saul's visit to K.C. had a lively effect upon the local comrades who write enthusiastically to the national office about the interest was been awakened, among new elements as well as among old-timers.

In St. Louis, comrade Saul spoke before a meeting of the Workers' Alliance,

and another public meeting arranged by the Communist League branch. A lively discussion took place at these gatherings, with comrade Saul elucidating the position of the Left Opposition on the important problems of the movement, and in particular on the perspectives for the trade union movement in the United States. As a result of the second meeting, eight workers made application for membership in the League.

In Springfield, Illinois, en route to Chicago, comrade Saul met with a number of Opposition comrades and leaders of the Left wing miners' movement. Throughout the whole Southern Illinois territory, the once powerful Communist and Left wing movement has been thoroughly shot by the ruinous policies of the official Party. Efforts will be made now to assemble the Left wing forces again for concerted action. Some gratifying developments may be expected in Southern Illinois in the near future.

From Chicago, comrade Saul is to visit Detroit, Cleveland Youngstown, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia before coming to New York.

Quotations That Somehow Do Not Tally. . .

"Stalin is not a dictator. He is the foremost leader of the Russian Communist Party, indeed, of the world revolutionary movement. He is 'the best pupil of Lenin', the clearest Marxian of the present day. Stalin enjoys great prestige. This he has won by his life time of splendid revolutionary service. Especially has his work been outstanding since the death of Lenin in 1924"

Wm. Z. Foster, *Daily Worker*, October 2, 1930.

* * *

"Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated an enormous

power in his hands. And I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution . . . Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of general secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

—Lenin in his "Testament", January 4, 1923.

"It is significant that during the year and a half of bitter struggle in the South during which our organizer at Bessemer City, Ella May, was shot through the heart and killed by a mill owners' mob, during which our organizer George Saul was sentenced to the chain gang for attempting to hold a meeting; while another of our organizers Ann Burlak, now faces the electric chair at Atlanta, Georgia, for merely protesting to the police against the breaking up of a meeting, that during this entire period there has not been a single desertion of importance from the defense struggle under the leadership of the International Labor Defense."

(—Statement by the I.L.D., J. Louis Engdahl, secretary, *Daily Worker*, September 22, 1930.)

The Left Opposition and the Chinese Events

Continued from Page 6)

to the level of a national movement is possible only by connecting the struggle for land, against tax-oppression and the burden of militarism, with the ideals of the independence of China and the sovereignty of the people. A democratic expression of this connection is the plenipotentiary National Assembly. Under this slogan the Communist vanguard will be able to unite around itself the vast masses of workers, the oppressed small townspeople and the hundreds of millions of poor peasants, for an insurrection against foreign and native oppressors.

The organization of workers' Soviets can be attempted only in presence of an obvious rise of the revolution in the cities. Meanwhile we can only get ready. To get ready—means to gather strength. At present we can do it only under the slogan of a consistent, courageous, revolutionary democracy.

In the meanwhile we must explain to the advanced elements of the working class that a National Assembly is for us only a stage in the revolutionary road. We are steering our course towards the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet system.

We do not shut our eyes to the fact that such a dictatorship will put before the Chinese people the hardest economical and international problems. The Chinese proletariat constitutes a smaller part of the population of China than the proletariat did on the eve of the October Revolution in Russia. Chinese capitalism is more backward than Russian capitalism was.

But difficulties are conquered not by illusions, not by a policy of adventure, not by hopes of a Chiang Kai-Shek, nor of a "democratic dictatorship". Difficulties are conquered by clear thinking and a revolutionary will.

The Chinese proletariat is coming to power not in order to resurrect the Chinese Wall and under its protection to build a national socialism. By conquering power the Chinese proletariat will conquer one of the most important strategic positions for the international revolution. The destiny of China, as well as the destiny of the U.S.S.R. can not be considered except in relation to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. This is the source of greatest hopes and the justification of the highest revolutionary courage.

The cause of the international revolution is the cause of the Chinese revolution. The cause of the Chinese revolution is the cause of the international revolution.

THE PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION:

Rosmer, Landau, Markin
Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists):

L. Trotsky
Communist League of France (Opposition):

A. Rosmer

United Left Opposition of the German C.P. (Bolshevik-Leninists):

K. Landau

Spanish Communist Opposition:

Andrade, Gorkin

Belgian Communist Opposition: Hennant

Communist League of America (Opposition):

Shachtman

Communist Left of Austria: D. Karl, C. Mayer

THE MILITANT NEEDS AID!

A couple of months ago, the *Militant* announced that during the summer period it would be compelled to go back to semi-monthly publication, after which it would resume its weekly appearance. The summer months have drawn to a close and we are anxious to make every effort to publish the *Militant* as a weekly once more.

With its initial appearance, the *Militant* set itself the aim of reaching the workers with the truth. To tell the workers the truth about the capitalist system and the capitalist class is to liberate them from the mental slavery under which they live. To tell the truth about the situation in the revolutionary and labor movements is to liberate them from the illusions and deceptions practised against them by false leaders. To analyze and foretell events, by the teachings learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, is to help arm the working class in its fight for final emancipation. The *Militant* has one this systematically and with perseverance.

We have already accomplished a great work in clarifying the ranks of the revolutionary movement. But the big tasks we have set ourselves have only been begun. We are not deterred by the difficulties, nor by the malicious slanders of our adversaries in the labor and Communist movements. The powerful apparatus and machinery they possess cannot overcome the which the strength of the *Militant* lies.

The coming months will be filled with events of international importance. The class struggle grows more intense in China, in India, the Soviet Union, in Germany and Austria, in the United States and elsewhere. The *Militant* will strive to the utmost to inform its readers truthfully about what happens and analyze and interpret these events from the revolutionary point of view. In this country, it is a work that the *Militant* alone is doing.

But its semi-monthly publication is a great handicap. Our paper was created and maintained for almost two years by the efforts of a small group of rebels. Upon their shoulders has been placed the burden of support. Very little effort has been made to appeal for assistance to the militants outside our organization.

We want to re-establish the weekly as soon as possible. Towards this end, a fund must be created that will secure its regular publication. Every reader and friend of the *Militant* can and should contribute to this fund. Financial support can be rendered in two ways:

Send in a donation immediately as your share; or

Pledge and pay a sum regularly every month for the next six months. Twenty five to fifty cents a week (\$1.00 to \$2.00 a month) will not be a burden upon an employed reader, but a few score of such pledges will mean a weekly *Militant*.

We are appealing to every reader of the paper. Respond generously and quickly. The moderate assistance of every comrade added together, will make a Fund that will supply the needed foundation for the *Weekly*. Send bills, checks, or money-orders to the *Militant*, 25 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. Do your share in the drive!

.....

Communist Party of Austria (Opposition)

Frey

"Internal Group" of the C.P. of Austria

Frank

Czecho-Slovak Left Opposition: W. Krieger

Italian Left Faction: Candiani

New Italian Opposition: Santini, Blasco

Mexican Left Opposition: Negrete

Φ

In this day of standardization, we offer the following form statement of self-criticism to be used by order of the Central Control Commission for rank and file members of the Party who are chosen to be the scape-goats for blunders initiated by the leadership: "I, the undersigned, do hereby acknowledge that the reason for our weakness in the . . . district has been my outrageous opportunism, covered with equally outrageous Leftism. All the mistakes that were made are due to my inherent scoundrelism. My principal error was my failure to realize what a smart bunch of comrades we have in the Political Bureau. I know better now. I request that I be severely punished (you can't be too hard on me), and should anything go wrong in the future I offer to take all the blame for it in advance. You see, I'll be blamed for it anyway".

SEAMEN RANK AND FILE REVOLT AGAINST THE STALINIST BUREACRACY

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOL. III, No. 32,

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 1, 1930.

PRICE 5 CENTS

13 Years of Russian Revolution!

The socialist fatherland is thirteen years old this week! It is worth reminding those who have come to take it for granted, that the first stormy days of the Russian revolution were the days of those false prophets in the camp of the capitalists and their "socialist" assistants who predicted that the "Russian chaos" would dissolve in a few weeks into a peaceful capitalist democracy. The few weeks became a few months. The few months gave way to a few years. The capitalist class, so firmly convinced that their services as masters are indispensable to society, could not imagine the working class not only taking the state power into its own hands, but running it successfully for more than a decade and organizing a classless society. The social democrats, steeped in their parliamentary-democratic prejudices, and reflecting the hopes of the master class they really serve, refused and still refuse to give sanction to a proletariat that came to power by any means other than that of the MacDonalds, the Hillquits, the Vanderveldes, the Noskes and Muellers. The thirteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution adds another tombstone over these rotten prophets. The proletariat has shown its ability to seize power, to hold it, and to lay the foundations for a new society, thus opening a new chapter in the history of human kind.

THE OBSTACLES IN THE ROAD

To the Russian proletariat and its party, the Bolsheviks, go the honor of being the first. They have drawn with bold, majestic strokes the outlines of the road the working class everywhere must travel in order to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalist enslavement. Never before has a ruling class been subjected to such arduous tasks, or confronted with such apparently insurmountable obstacles. The wrack and ruin of the imperialist war; the oppressive heritage of czarist backwardness, ignorance, bureaucracy; the devastation of the civil war organized by the domestic reaction and backed by foreign imperialism; the direct military intervention of Wilson, Poincare, Benes, the Milkado, the Kaiser, Lloyd George and Co; the economic and then the credit blockade; the ravages of the famine—the plagues of biblical times could hardly have been worse than these.

Added to these obstacles, which a state where the few rule could never have overcome, have been difficulties of another nature. The Russian proletariat came to power under the Red Flag, the banner of the international working class revolution. It calculated upon the rapid and indispensable development of the revolution in other countries to come to its aid. A combination of circumstances—some of which might have been averted by correct Bolshevik strategy—set back the revolutionary movement, and compelled the Russian working class and peasantry to continue the work of defending and strengthening the proletarian fortress by their own direct efforts. That enormous progress has already been made since the day when power was taken, in the face of the burdensome, unwanted heritage of the past, is eloquent proof of the giant's vitality of the proletariat, its immense capacities, and the inspiring power of the socialist ideal.

THE TREACHERY OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

At the same time, it is implicit with the truth that the state aid of the revolutionary proletariat of Europe would have changed infinitely more the complexion of society today, would have produced successes before which those attained on a national scale would shrink into insignifi-

ficance. The treachery of the social democrats, who sold their proletarian ideals for the right to serve the capitalist class in the ranks of the working class, is revealed in truly monstrous proportions in the lights of this fact. Their effective work in stemming the revolutionary tide—frequently at the safe end of machine guns—is the historical crime that has set back society for a decade and threatens to set it back for another.

But these are not the only difficulties of the Soviet power. To ignore the others, today more acute than ever, is to do that peculiar, detestable dis-service to the revolutionary cause for which a whole section of the Communist movement and its

leadership primarily, has been selected. The infuriated cries of these courtiers and courtesans, who regard revolutionary critics as *lese majeste*, make this criticism all the more imperative, for its absence is a guarantee of decadence.

The threat to the Russian proletarian revolution to which we refer is a reflection of the whole capitalist encirclement of the U. S. S. R., of the pressure of imperialism and the war danger from without, and the upward strivings of the capitalist elements within the Soviet Union itself. The danger is embodied in the ruling regime within the Bolshevik party, the corrosive course of Centrism oscillating between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,

embodied in the dominant Stalin faction. The Party and the revolution have been sincerely punished by it.

For proletarian internationalism, the Stalinist usurpers have substituted a petty-bourgeois nationalism, a "consoling" philosophy of socialism "in one country." For the live, pulsing, vigorous proletarian Party, Stalinism has substituted a hideous caricature in which all that is retained of democratic centralism is an exaggerated bureaucratic domination, where the Party worker does not dare to criticize or speak his mind. For the fighters and leaders of the October revolution whom it has sent into Siberian exile, in the prison, into banishment, it has substituted a servile group of incompetent yes-men. For the policies of Lenin, triumphant at every time, it has elaborated a revisionist concoction which produces only defeats and setbacks, and that not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the world revolutionary movement. In undermining the revolutionary proletarian base of the Bolshevik party it is undermining the October revolution. It has led the workers' republic from one crisis to another, barely escaping catastrophe only because it adopted, at the last minute, one part or other of the platform of the Leninist Opposition it persecutes so rabidly. Our allegiance to Bolshevism, our fealty to the October revolution which has changed only by becoming more profound and staunch, compels us to aid the cause of the world revolution by indicating the danger threatening it and organizing the struggle against it.

THE MEANING OF THE OPPOSITION

The proudest heritage of the world proletarian vanguard, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the foundations of the Bolshevik revolution, are embodied in the Left Opposition. It is pledged to defend them tenaciously, without yielding to the assaults of capitalism or its socialist retainers, or to the ravaging attacks of Stalinism. The vanguard fighters hail the 13th year as the victory of Bolshevism, but not of Stalinism. Our warmest greetings to the proletariat of the U. S. S. R.! Our warm and comradely salute to the courageous fighters of the Bolshevik Opposition whom a usurpatory clique has confined in dungeons and exile, and to their leader and ours, comrade Trotsky!

Long live Bolshevism and the world revolution!

—S.N.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

Outstanding in the national elections just concluded is the enormous increase of Democratic party strength in the country, raising it to a power it has not enjoyed since the days of Woodrow Wilson's administration. To state it more accurately, it should be said that the most significant feature was the almost unprecedented defeat of Hoover administration.

Hoover and his party were swept into office with an immense majority in 1928. Traditional Democratic strongholds in the South were captured for the first time since the Civil War. Despite the relatively huge vote for Smith at that time, the Democratic party seemed to have received a blow at its very vitals.

The 1928 Hoover was the great monument to the unparalleled "prosperity", the fat years of American capitalism.

The Democratic Sweep

Speaking volumes for the jerky and abrupt rapidity of events and changes in our times, less than two years in office were required to deliver an even more crushing blow to the administration than Smith suffered in the presidential elections. Lost fortresses have been retaken by the Democrats. The most extravagant predictions of Democratic leaders pale before the actual returns. As colorless a candidate as Roosevelt succeeded, in spite of the stigma of Tammany Hall, in piling up an absolutely unprecedented plurality. Mossy Republican states like Ohio, Illinois, Kansas and elsewhere went Democratic. In Minnesota, a Democratic Senator was returned for the first time in almost three-quarters of a century. The Democrats took over most governorships and lost but one. They have changed the relationship of forces in both houses of Congress, where it appears at this writing that they may be sufficiently represented to organize both houses for themselves. In a word, Hoover and the Republican Party were almost everywhere heavily snowed under.

In 1930 Hoover defeat is the first political tombstone erected to mark the passing of prosperity.

The fierce crisis, with its mass unemployment, has made its mark on the elections. Even the hardy perennial of American politics, prohibition, took a distant second place. The intoxication even of the masses with a delusive prosperity which produced the tremendous Hoover majority, has given way a blind dissatisfaction of the masses with the crisis and its ravaging effects. The Democratic party was "endorsed" only in the most purely parliamentary sense. In actuality, the Democrats were not so much the recipients of an endorsement as the Republicans—short-sighted held solely responsible for the crisis, instead of being regarded as one of the pillars of capitalism which produced the crisis—were the recipients of a

condemnation.

Hoover is the staunchest representative of capitalist reaction, as is the principal opposing party—the Democratic. The revolt against the Republican party was not led by the big bourgeoisie, but by the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class so brutally hit by the crisis. The middle class led the mass of the workers and poor farmers behind it, directing the futile revolt into the stagnant pool of the second capitalist party.

The profound dissatisfaction of the masses is incontestable. Equally incontestable is the fact that the proletariat in the United States has not yet taken the first big steps to break away from the ideological and organizational dominance of the bourgeoisie. If the votes for the Democrats do not prove this sufficiently, the votes for the Communist and Socialist parties do.

The Socialist vote must have been a great disappointment to those who received it. In spite of the contemptibly petty bourgeois, reformist campaign it conducted—revolting to any class conscious worker—it only superficially doubled its vote (according to reports at hand up to now). We say superficially, because in reality, it did little more than stagnate. In New York City, for instance, the standard bearer, Weldman, doubled his 1928 vote, it is true, but recorded no increase over the 1922 vote, not to speak of Thomas' mayoralty vote last year, or Hillquit's 1917 vote. For a so-called "radical" party today to double, or even treble its vote in comparison with a pre-crisis i. e. 1928 or earlier, vote, is no achievement at all. The S. P. received thousands of petty bourgeois votes; its disgraceful Jewish-nationalist campaign in some districts ("every good Jew should vote for Vladeck") brought it many nationalistic votes. But the distribution of its vote nevertheless shows that this petty bourgeois party of capitalist democracy gained a majority of its support from workers.

The Communist Vote

This is all the more noteworthy in face of the poor showing of the Communist Party, a penalty for which Stalinism makes our Party pay. In New York City (the only count at hand at this writing) Foster got 15,560 votes more than double the Weinstein vote of last year. But that was a humiliating low point for the Party. The Party's banner bearer this year did not succeed, however, in even doubling the 1928 gubernatorial vote, that is, a vote cast before the crisis or the unemployment! The tottering S. L. P., with less than one-tenth the Party's apparatus or influence, quadrupled its 1928 gubernatorial vote!

We will return more exhaustively to the results of the elections in the next issue.

In the Next Issue

Pressure of space, due largely to the need of publishing the declaration of the Marine Workers' Opposition, compelled us to omit from this issue a number of very important articles: the A. F. of L. convention in Boston, a complete analysis of the elections, the continuation of Trotsky's article on Stalin as a theoretician, and many others. They will all appear in the next number of the paper, which will be printed in about a week in order to make up for the delay in publishing the present number.

See p. 6

The Coming Dressmakers Strike

The Bureaucratic Leadership Fails to Make Real Preparations

The situation and the problems confronting the needle trade workers and the N. T. W. I. U. at present need a sober and careful evaluation. For years now, the needle trade workers of America have fought against the bosses, against the treacherous brand of leadership, and for a working class trade union. But all their unheard-of sacrifices and hard won conditions, were sold by the Right wing fakers for a few pieces of silver to the bosses. The consistent policy of the Right wing clique, in working hand in hand with the bosses, has been carried on at the expense of the workers.

For years the Left wing, under the leadership of the T. U. E. L. has gathered and molded the discontent and rebellious spirit of the needle trade workers into an organized sentiment. As a result of that work, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union came to life, representing all the branches of the trade and endowed with the faithful devotion of thousands of class conscious, experienced fighters.

Since its inception, the N. T. W. I. U. has had a number of very instructive experiences, which must serve us as a guide in discussing the tasks facing the union at present. Not one of the lessons, whether it was a victory or a defeat for the workers, can be lost sight of in our present preparations for a general strike of the dress makers, who are a very important branch in our union.

The Strike Plan

The demands and the plan for preparation of the dress strike to be called this coming February, were adopted by the shop delegates' council on October 6, followed by a meeting of the membership a week later. There is no doubt that the question of the strike in its entirety must time and again be elaborated upon and discussed in a far different manner than it was at the delegates council. The discussion certainly did not reflect the importance of the strike issue. On the contrary, there was no desire on the part of the delegates supporting the official point of view to open the discussion, which reveals the very abnormal situation that must be remedied. Why was there no spontaneous desire on the part of the delegates to discuss the plans and demands? Why did the voice of the shop have no desire to speak? Because the atmosphere is stifling, hostile to any view opposing the official decision and leadership — mechanically controlled to such an extent that there is no more place for reason.

New and undesirable precedents are gaining a foothold in the council. No more reports, which should properly precede the discussion. Just "concise" minutes as a matter of record. The reports have been eliminated so that the manager—or as at present, the secretary of the executive committee of the staff—should be assured of not making any deviations.

The discussion that takes place is invariably centered upon an attack on those opposing the official "minutes", thereby undermining the interest of the council delegates. The lack of attendance of the elected delegates has caught the eye even of the official leaders—blind as they are to existing facts and conditions.

The demands for the strike and the plan for preparation was brought down to the council on a string of thin air, completely detached from objective and subjective conditions existing at present in the trade and the union. There was not even an attempt on the part of the leadership

to give the delegates a bird's eye view of our strength, the strength or weakness of the enemy (the bosses and the Right wing), the general situation, etc. The demands brought down to us, were not in conjunction with, nor an outgrowth of, a thorough analysis. They were handed down to the council in the same manner as changes in organizational forms and personnel were previously handed down. Take it or leave it—like it or not.

The Strike Demands

The demands are the following: Week work, seven-hour day, minimum wage for various crafts, unemployment insurance. Is there anything wrong with the demands? The dress makers have fought real militant battles for the abolition of piece work. We all know that piece work is degrading for the worker, that it is a source of more profit for the bosses and fierce exploitation for the workers.

It is high time for the Left wing to sound the need for week work, and lead the workers in a struggle for it.

Equally with the seven-hour day, warranted by the surplus number of workers as well as the simplified processes of production. More than that: even a still shorter working day would be applicable to the needs of the workers.

Unemployment insurance is on the order of the day.

Then why such apprehensions on the part of the membership? Why such fear at the outcome of the strike? And here is the key to the situation.

The N. T. W. I. U. convention last June decided that our orientation must be towards a general struggle in the various branches, separately or a few together, to be judged by prevailing conditions and circumstances. Four months passed and what was done in the union to raise the sentiments and inspire the workers for struggle under its leadership? Those were months of changes not for the better, but for the worse. Instead of expansion there has been a diminution of our forces. Instead of a further penetration of unorganized shops, the Right wing shops, instead of giving leadership to the workers against the treason of the Right wing officialdom we have narrowed down our base. All for the sake of securing unquestioned "unanimity"—the last thing a labor union should strive for.

The feeling of desperation that the needle trade workers received from the last strikes of the cloak and fur workers has not been wiped out by any constructive and systematic organization work.

The needle trade workers are quite aware of the fact that the International or the Amalgamated will not solve their problems, will not lead them in struggle for better conditions. But they are also convinced that the wrong policies and criminal neglect of constructive work for our union has given the A. F. of L. fakers a breathing space too long.

We see a report in the press that many hundreds of cloak makers, unemployed furriers, come to a mass meeting. They come to hear the message of the Left wing because they have no faith in the A. F. of L. fakers. The cloak and fur workers have their hope in the Left wing that lead them in such great struggles during, and some time after, the Joint Action fight. But all these workers are out of our ranks organizationally and don't entrust their daily struggles to us only because the Industrial Union leadership has made so many blunders.

To regain the faith and trust of the workers, the Industrial Union must begin real organization work. Every member, regardless of political beliefs, must be drawn into the work. Wide-spread, immediate colonization of union members in non-union shops colonization and concentration on a substantial number of shops controlled by the Right wing. The outcome of the strike will also depend on the strength of the wedge that we will success in driving into the International, shop conferences from organized and unorganized shops; not fake, spectacular press reports, but well prepared and carefully planned conferences as will raise the spirit of the workers rather than dampen it.

Preliminary strikes in shops with comparatively worse conditions, street meetings, especially in Italian and Spanish languages. The building up of an active

on as the moving force during the period of preparation and the strike itself. General meetings in all localities, bulletins and systematic publicity, and a number of other means must become the task of the day.

The Danger to the Strike

In a word, it is not in the demands that the trouble lies, as the critics of the Lovestone group would have us believe. The principal danger confronting the strike is the one that was so ruinous in the last strikes of the Industrial Union: bluff instead of solid preparations. It must be said now, and quite openly: Unless our union begins with serious work of preparation, drawing in all elements ready to

International — demanding organization — are organized into groups by us to carry on a systematic fight against Schlesinger; unless the Left wing changes its disastrous policy of regarding every worker outside the Industrial Union as a "social Fascist"; unless these steps are taken—the coming dress makers' strike is certain to end just like the furriers' strike: in a debacle.

It is up to the serious Left wing militants in the union to compel serious preparations. The conditions of the workers make it possible to have a successful strike. What is needed is that the Industrial Union fulfill its tasks.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER

Sylvan Pollack for the Opposition

In response to a demand for a reply to the questions mentioned below, comrade Sylvan A. Pollack sent the following statement to the Central Control Commission of the Party. His endorsement of the standpoint of the Left Opposition is a further indication of the ferment taking place in the Party, and the refusal to swallow the opportunist-adventurist policy and leadership foisted upon the movement. Comrade Pollack, editor of *Solidarity*, the official organ of the Workers International Relief, and its agit-prop director, has been a member of the Party since its foundation in 1919, and active in its ranks and in the class struggle in various fields. While in the anthracite coal region as district organizer for the International Labor Defense this July, he was arrested, charged with sedition, and is now out on bail awaiting trial. For a couple of years, he was on the *Daily Worker* staff, and assisted in the relief work during the Passaic, Gastonia, and New Bedford strikes. Militant readers will recall the series of articles on the textile situation he wrote under the pen-name of Frank Bromley. Comrade Pollack, in past internal Party disputes, was a supporter of the old Ruthenberg group. His study of the question since the first expulsion for "Trotskyism" have convinced him, like many others, of the correctness of the Opposition standpoint, and the need for its adoption by the Party.

In your letter of October 9, you ask me three questions which I will reply to point by point.

Question 1. "What is your opinion about Trotskyism and the Trotskyite group in the United States?"

The "Trotsky" group (Left Opposition), is conducting a campaign for the reestablishment of the Leninist line in the American party as well as in the Communist International. For that reason I agree with the program of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and believe that all party members and Communist sympathizers should support it. As one who has been a member of the Communist Party since its formation in September 1919 and who has always actively participated in the class struggle, I have, after long and objective study, come to the realization that only by supporting the Left Opposition and adopting its point of view will the international Communist movement regain the strength it had when led by Lenin and Trotsky.

Question 2. "What in your opinion, is their line and activities in relation to the Party and the Comintern? And in relation to the class struggle in general?"

The Left Opposition, under the leadership of Comrade Trotsky internationally and the Communist League here in the United States has formulated the correct policies that must be followed by the Communist movement, that is, a return to the program of Lenin. The national socialism that has been substituted for the Leninist position of the Comintern since Stalin usurped power, must be ended, together with his un-Communist program of "socialism in one country." Comrade Trotsky and the other exiled members of the Russian party must be reinstated and allowed to participate freely in the work of the Party in the Soviet Union. The same rights should be given to the Opposition in the American Party as well as in all other Communist Parties. The expelled members of the American Party should be reinstated and give their aid in the American class struggle. With the unemployment situation becoming more serious and the possibility for mass work especially bright, a Communist party united on Lenin-

ist basis is of paramount importance.

Question 3. "Do you have any sympathies whatsoever, with them, or do you agree with the Party that they must be exposed and fought relentlessly as enemies of the Party and of the Comintern and as enemies of the working class, with whom we can have no fraternization, no sympathies whatsoever?"

As my reply to the other questions point out clearly, I do not consider the Left Opposition as enemies of the party or of the working class. In my opinion, the program of the Left Opposition, which is the program of Lenin, will help the Communist movement recuperate from its defeats of the recent past and go forward to victories. Instead of being "renegades," as the supporters of the Left Opposition are called in the official Party press, they are the real defenders and exponents of Communism. In supporting the Left Opposition, I am only continuing the line of revolutionary Marxism I adopted when joined the Communist Party at its foundation in 1919, the same line defended by Lenin and the real founders of the international Communist movement. Instead of putting ridiculous, "Inquisition" questions to Communist militants who differ with the ruling group, we should raise the demands that the Party must eventually adopt:

Reinstate Trotsky and the other expelled Bolsheviks to their rightful places in the ranks of the Communist International!

End the campaign of suppression of all working class expression in the Communist movement!

Stop the false estimation of events that have become the order of the day in the "third period"!

For a real, and not a stupid, bureaucratic struggle against the liquidators of the Right wing.

Unite the Communist movement for an offensive against the capitalist class!

Long live the international Communist movement! Long live the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

SYLVAN A. POLLACK

As we go to press, we receive word from Chicago that comrade Ida Levin has been expelled by the Stalinists for her support of the viewpoint of the Left Opposition. Expulsion, ignorance, and terror—these are the answers the Party leaders give to the militants who raise questions of principle.

N. Y. OPEN FORUM

EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT

Nov. 8: The Results of the Elections
—MAX SHACHTMAN

Nov. 22: Thirteen Years of the Russian Revolution
—JAMES P. CANNON

Nov. 29: Unemployment and Revolutionary Tactics
—MAX SHACHTMAN

Dec. Prospects for the New Unionism
—JAMES P. CANNON

at the Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

All Invited : : : : Admission 25c

Auspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Second Anniversary of the MILITANT

ENTERTAINMENT

At Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St., and 2nd Ave.
On Saturday, November 15, 1930, 8 P. M.

SPEAKER : MUSIC : REFRESHMENTS

All Invited Admission 25 Cents

Given by the New York branch of the Communist League.

THE MILITANT Vol. III. No. 32 Nov. 15, 1930. Published twice monthly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cent per copy. Bundle rates 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879 (Total No. 57)

On the Proposal for a New Farmer-Labor Party Fraud

In this letter we wish to elaborate on the brief and hurried note sent to you on September 27. We are in a better position to act now because we have had the opportunity to think more thoroughly of the questions involved, because we have received the point of view of comrade Swaback, and the minutes of your executive committee meeting of October 8 1930.

Four questions are involved, which are all connected with each other and touch upon our fundamental principled position, for maintaining which the Foster group of Centrists combined with the Lovestone Right wing to expel us from the Party and hound us in the revolutionary and labor movements. If we approach these questions from the standpoint of expediency, the need of snap decisions someone compels us to make by a certain date, or from an allegation that a combination of circumstances exists in which our theories and principles are not supposed to hold, we are guaranteed in advance to make terrific blunders, to retard our progress, and compromise our movement. Our point of departure in these as in other important questions can only be that of revolutionary Marxists who do not yield on principles.

I

What Party shall we support in the Minnesota elections: the Communist Party or the Farmer-Labor Party? We believe that the decision of the Minneapolis branch on this point is absolutely correct. We support the only Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, and oppose the petty bourgeois Farmer-Labor Party and in this we have the approach, not of a faction, but of our class. The official C.P. is not merely the only political organization in the elections that speaks for Communism and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, it is the only Party that represents and defends the interests of the proletariat. Does it do this intelligently, or correctly at all times? There is no dispute among us on that point! It does not. The marionette leadership imposed upon the Party is distorting and discrediting the cause and name of Communism, it defends the proletariat's interests badly at times, and even inflicts great damage upon the cause of the workers. But in spite of that it differs from all other parties by the fact that it DOES defend these interests and the workers who come to its support do it not because of the Reeves and Browders but in spite of them. That is precisely why we, who represent the future of the movement today urge the workers to support the Communist ticket at the same time that we subject the Party leadership and its destructive policies to a merciless criticism. By refusing to take responsibility for the blunders of Stalinism, we uphold the cause of Communism before the workers. The Farmer-Labor Party, on the other hand, represents and defends the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie in the cities and the better off elements among the farmers—the latter dominating the Party in alliance with the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and careerist bourgeois politicians a la Shipstead, Olson and Co.

Take the characteristic case of Lundeen. In which direction has he gone? Unmistakably to the Right. Yesterday, he collaborated with the Communists at least in the so-called "anti-imperialist" work and in the political movement. Today he opposes the Communists and collaborates with the leaders of the Party, which from the letter of O'Flaherty himself, is dominated by the Backus power and lumber interests, and willy-nilly he serves as a mask for these interests. (Lundeen, it is well to bear in mind is to be one of the fathers of the new movement planned for the Northwest.) If it really is a question of what "tail we should ride"—and in actuality it is not at all—then we unhesitatingly choose our Party as against that of Backus-Shipstead-Lundeen. What divides us from Stalinist Centrism is how to make the revolution; what divides us from Farmer-Laborism is why to make the revolution. The one division can be bridged, the other cannot.

II

The official Party is not a fetish with us. Our relations to it depend upon a multitude of circumstances which differ at various times and places. In general, our attitude is pressure from within the Party

The letter printed on this page was recently sent by the national committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to its Minneapolis branch. The occasion for the letter was a proposal made to the League to participate in the founding of a "general Left wing paper" in Minneapolis, to be launched after a conference on October 13 1930, at Superior, Wisconsin. The conference was initiated by the directors of the newly-founded "Farmer-Labor Party of Montana", a movement centering around the *Producers News* of Plentywood, Montana, edited by Charles Taylor and T. J. O'Flaherty, and has been endorsed by the leaders of the Finnish cooperatives in Superior (Halonon and others recently expelled from the Communist Party), by the Lovestone group, and by a scattering of individuals formerly active in various Farmer-Labor Party ventures. The significance of the conference does not at all in any "mass movement" it represents, because it doesn't, but in the thoroughly opportunist conceptions inspiring it. Not the least important of its features is the growing reapproachment between the Lovestone faction and the Right wing Finns who find a common basis in such opportunists adventures, as well as in their general conceptions.—Ed.

by those workers whom we convince of the correctness of our position and by class conscious militants outside the Party. This means a firmly welded Opposition movement, which it must be our primary duty to strengthen. Particularly in Minneapolis, where the relation of forces is very advantageous to us, our efforts should be concentrated upon recruiting revolutionary workers directly into our ranks. We are not building a second Party, so we have little to worry about from the empty accusations to that effect made against us by the Party bureaucrats whose own policies and acts have systematically cultivated the seeds of opportunism and social democracy within and without the Party itself. In this sense, the action of comrade Cowl is incorrect.

Why should this position be construed as leading to "isolation", to "sectarianism"? All analyses that conclude in this manner may be based upon conjecture and upon a sound refusal to become disconnected from the masses, but they are surely not based upon the experiences of the movement, not in one but in many countries. Where has the impatient desire to become a strong movement over night and at any price, led other groups in the Opposition before us? The hostility towards the official Party shown by the Paz group, and its contacts with the Right wing in an attempt to build some sort of a bloc led not to mass contact but to Paz's isolation. Brandler's "mass movement" and conferences for "unity" with Left social democratic elements, his open opposition to the official Party in the Saxon elections led to the inevitable result: thousands of workers who originally followed the Right wing deserted it.

Our position, on the other hand, like that of our French and German comrades, has strengthened us. We have gained new and invaluable recruits from the Party ranks (and we will gain more, and in addition, we have won the organizational adherence and sympathy (especially in New York) of revolutionary workers outside the Party.

III

As to the "Left wing" paper to be published in Minneapolis, as proposed by Taylor and O'Flaherty, in what way can we involve ourselves in responsibility for it? In your minutes of August 9, 1930 it says: "The policy of the paper according to O'Flaherty will be that of a **general Communist organ** with a humorous touch. **Will not be the organ of any faction**, although he proposes to work in harmony with the local E.C. and the N.E.C. of the League. Wants the paper to cover the Northwest class struggle with a **national and international perspective**. Expects to solicit the support of prominent **Farmer-Laborites like Lundeen** and others." The proposal of O'Flaherty for the character of the paper is the principal "humorous touch". It will not be the organ of any faction (that is, presumably, of neither our Group nor Lovestone's) but it will have a national and international perspective. What kind of a perspective? Lovestone's? Ours? The two differ sharply. Or will it be "national and international perspective", i. e., its political outlook and policy, be neither Lovestone's nor ours nor that of the official Party? Then whose will it be?

Comrade Cowl raises a pertinent question when he envisages an editorial board "let us say composed of O'Flaherty, Taylor, Halonon, Gitlow and Dunne or Skoglund" (and maybe, Lundeen!). What will the policy of such a board be towards "two-class parties", towards the Indian or Chinese revolution, towards the dispute in the Communist movement towards the cooper-

ative's role in the class struggle towards the "new unions", in a word towards the whole complex of world and domestic problems which cry out for solution? We think the envisaged composition of the editorial board is a guarantee that the paper will be anything but "in harmony with the local E.C. and the N.E.C. of the League". How will we be able to assume responsibility—without indelibly compromising ourselves—for a paper which sways helplessly between the Left Opposition and Lovestone or the Superior Finnish movement, or the Lundeenites or similar nondescript elements.

We are not opposed to a popular paper which concentrates upon agitating among the workers for a certain minimum program without being definitely and avowedly stamped as the organ of any specific section of the movement. We have had such papers in the movement before, and they have been of service. But at the same time it must be dominated by a distinct political conception and guidance, which will not and cannot be the case with the proposal under consideration. The paper will either be torn to pieces by contending viewpoints as soon as an important question arises, or else it will go along with the Right wing combination represented by Lovestone, Halonon and others, and compel us to fight it openly from the beginning.

IV

1. The proposed paper is only the literary expression of the other proposal: the formation of a "Farmer-Labor Party movement in the Northwest". Upon what and whom is the movement—which is in our opinion enormously exaggerated by the Montana people—based? All evidence points to the farmers and not the workers. The so-called "movement" has begun in Sheridan County, Montana, where it is avowedly based upon the farmers, as can be gathered by a reading of the *Producers News*. The only other "concrete" instance is North Dakota, where a handful of individuals, formerly associated with such movements has been revived. The exclusively agricultural nature of that state needs no exposition. With the exception of a really insignificant movement among a small group of miners in Illinois, these two (Sheridan County and the North Dakota tempest in a teapot) are the only instances adduced to prove the spread of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. Both of them are farmers' movements in every sense.

As we pointed out in our note of September 27, "The base of the Communist movement is the industrial proletariat. It is not our task to organize the farmers politically into a party. The Comintern everywhere (and in the U.S. particularly) almost broke its neck in similar adventures which had nothing to do with Marxism". Is it not of great significance for us that the further East one goes, i. e., the further one goes towards the section of the country where the industrial proletariat predominates there is less and less of any distinct labor or farmer-labor movement afoot?

2. What becomes of our principled position on "two class parties" in this situation? Has it lost its validity? We think not. Do the adventures with Raditch in Yugoslavia, mean nothing? Does the criminal gamble of Stalin-Bucharin with the "four class" party of the Kuo Min Tang, which wrung the neck of the Chinese revolution and set back the world revolution for years, bear no warning for us? Does the "two class party" formed by Stalin-Bucharin-Roy in India, which has left the Indian proletariat without revolutionary leadership especially in these critical days, teach

no lessons? And finally, are the instructive and rich experiences with "two class parties" in the United States, from 1924 to this day, to be lost not only upon Lovestone and the Stalinists but upon us Marxists as well? The articles on the lessons of the Minnesota F.L.P. written for the *Militant* by our Minneapolis comrades, are worth re-reading, especially comrade Dunne's and comrade Hedlund's recent article endorsed by the Minneapolis branch. What great change has occurred since Hedlund's article?

This whole venture, therefore, is born under an inauspicious star: the two class party. The fact that Taylor and O'Flaherty, who declare their agreement with us on most other questions, are making arguments today so vehemently for a two class party should be already sufficient to make us hesitate. Taylor's arguments are reminiscent of Bucharin in the worst days of the Kuo Min Tang adventure. According to him, the Montana farmers (at least) are virtually proletarians by now! What should make us hesitate even more is that Taylor writes that Gitlow "remarked that he was surprised if the Trotskyists acquiesced, because of the Trotsky position against the 'two class Party'." And good grounds for surprise if we were to cast overboard our elementary principled position on this question for the sake of a bloc with Gitlow and the Superior Finns, who, like Taylor see nothing wrong with Communists not only joining a two-class party (and "so-called" is a correct adjective, for in reality it is the petty bourgeoisie that runs these parties), but in **advocating their initiation and organization**. They see nothing wrong in it, because they also agreed and still do agree with the Kuo Min Tang policy of the Comintern, and Roy's policy in India, and the rest of the decalogue of the Right wing in the Communist movement and evidently with the whole Pepperistic conception of the "revolutionary farmers", and Federated Farmer-Laborism. But that is no reason for our supporting such a reactionary hotch-potch.

It is true as comrade Dunne says, that Pepper cannot be credited with originating the idea of a farmers and workers party (that probably goes to Stalin), but Pepper can be "credited" (together with Lovestone and Co.) with having led the American movement through all the disgraceful adventures with Farmer-Laborism in America, with the ideas of the notorious "August thesis", that every political party has a farmer-labor party of its won, that out of the F. L. P. would develop the "mass Communist Party" over night that the Communists—confronted with the "third American revolution"—would become the unblushing hangers-on to the LaFollette kite, etc., etc. Lovestone wants to repeat the yesterdays that should never have occurred. O'Flaherty and the Finns apparently want to turn backwards the wheel of Communist experience and history while we want to move it forward. In that sense we stated before: "It is not our job to revive Pepperism in the northwest but to liquidate all remnants of it."

3. Finally, the Superior conference. We are decidedly opposed to any participation of our group in this conference, just as we are opposed to participating in the formation and promotion of the new paper and "the movement" rising out of it. Our position must be stated categorically and without concealment, so that this agglomeration of opportunists is prevented from carrying out its negotiations and dickering behind the scenes. What unity could we possibly expect to establish there? The conference is the second inauspicious star of this new "movement". Our position is not determined geographically, and we do not condemn a unity or bloc with the Right wing in Germany, or in New York, only to accept it in Wisconsin. It is proposed to unite all the Communists "not under the organizational whip of Stalin". But being in that state is no particular virtue in itself? At Superior it is proposed that the variegated elements represented there should form a "Communist" nucleus, a "caucus" to represent Communist policies and interests in a "broader Left wing conference". What sort of Communist policies will be represented by a caucus embracing the Lovestone liquidators, the Superior business cooperators (we reiterate the appellation, because it is entirely true), the two

Continued on page 8

Marine Workers' Rank and File Revolts

AN APPEAL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION

For some time conditions in the Marine Workers Industrial Union have been very bad. They are going from bad to worse all the time. It is necessary to look into these conditions, to find out what's been happening and why it's been happening—and to find a way out of the crisis in which our union finds itself. It is the duty of every member of our union to face the facts squarely and to make proposals for improving the situation and really building our organization into a genuine militant union.

It is in this fight that we present the following criticisms, suggestions, and recommendations. We hope that the fellow-workers will see it this way and will rally to our support, back up this appeal and fight for the proposals we are making.

OUR AIM

1. Our aim is to build one powerful industrial union uniting all the marine transport workers in the country.

2. Any worker in the marine transport industry regardless of race, creed, color or political opinion, should be eligible for membership in our union.

3. The purpose of the union must be to fight for the bettering of the conditions of the marine workers, to raise wages, shorten hours, improve living conditions, fight against the speed-up, for bigger gangs on the docks and bigger crews on the ships and lighter draughts on the docks for longshoremen, for better food, etc.

4. We are against the whole capitalist system which is responsible for the misery of the workers in all industries. We are unalterably opposed to all imperialist wars. We believe in the international solidarity and militant action of the marine workers to insure better conditions, to fight against imperialist wars, and for the defense of the Soviet Union, today the only workers Republic in the world. We are for a workers Republic in the United States.

5. At this time the most serious problem facing the marine workers is unemployment. There are more than 250,000 marine workers (longshoremen, harbor workers, etc.) jobless and hungry. The economic crisis and the speed-up system are continually increasing the army of unemployed by leaps and bounds. That is why all our activities in building up our union must today center around the fight against unemployment. While fighting for unemployment insurance we must not forget that we must get immediately for ourselves food and shelter—actual instant relief.

TACTICS

6. We must mobilize the workers first of all for the struggle for our immediate needs, for the improvement of our working and living conditions. Only in this way can we get the greatest number of workers into the fight against the bosses. In rallying workers to struggle we must resort to education, organization of our ranks, strikes, organization for the unemployed, organization of the unorganized, and similar tactics to build our union.

7. We must work to build a powerful Left wing movement in all other organizations of the marine workers, thus making possible their unification into one industrial union in the industry. In the craft and conservative unions there are thousands of workers whom we must win over to our program for militant industrial unionism.

If the marine workers are to wage a successful struggle against the ship owners, we must have unity in our ranks. The sectarian policy now being pursued by the Marine Workers Industrial Union only results in segregating the class conscious workers from the masses of less advanced workers, leaving them to be used by the reactionary officials of the conservative unions against a revolutionary class struggle program.

The rank and file members of the International Seamen's Union must be won over to a class struggle program for their union and for waging a relentless struggle against the reactionary leadership (Furuseh, Olander) and to replace them by class-conscious workers from the rank and file.

The workers' opposition in the International Longshoremen's Association must be supported in their fight to oust the reactionary leaders (Joe Ryan) from their union and an educational campaign must be carried on within their ranks to win them over for the cause of the revolutionary class struggle.

The membership of the Associated Marine Workers who are already in rebellion

against their reactionary leadership (Captain Maer) must be won over to our cause and a vigorous campaign must be made to unite these key men with workers on the ships and the docks in one great and powerful industrial union so that a more effective fight can be made against the ship-owners for our immediate demands and to hasten the day of complete emancipation for the working class.

8. Name calling and abuse are not the methods for winning over workers to our class struggle. Only by patient hard work in the fight for the every-day needs of the working men can we win their confidence and bring them around to our viewpoint.

9. All strikes must be prepared in advance and properly organized. The workers should first be convinced to strike. Strikes, in order to be genuine, must come through a demand of the workers themselves and not mechanically declared or forced upon the workers.

10. A union in order to be alive must consist of active members. Everything must be done to develop self-confidence

to appeal to the unemployed. Although revolutionary, a program incorporating more concrete demands is necessary if the unemployed army is to be marshalled for the class struggle. . . .

We herewith present the following facts from the life and experiences of our union which entirely substantiate our criticism and which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that only by following the constructive program we have outlined can our union become a real mass union and fight effectively for the interests of the marine workers.

BACKGROUND OF THE WRONG POLICIES OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Starting out as a club, functioning as a propaganda group in existing marine workers organizations, we failed to carry out the original program of the R. I. L. U.

This failure to build strong Left wing groups in the existing organizations was due primarily to the opposition of the leadership of our union to such a policy as first proposed by the R. I. L. U. This resistance to the original policy of the R. I. L. U. to build Left wing groups in

The Origin of the Document

The document which appears on these pages is the result of a struggle that has been going on for some time within the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Party fraction within it. The document itself is only a re-statement and elaboration of one presented by Party members to the marine workers fraction, which Mink, Johnstone and the rest of the Party and T. U. U. L. bureaucrats dealt within their characteristically contemptuous manner. The Stalinists have been pursuing a course in all the unions controlled by them which has put one after another of them on the rocks. The situation in the Textile Workers Union, the Miners' Union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, are only repetitions in other spheres of the crisis now rending the Marine Workers Industrial Union. The bunglers and worse who direct the destinies of these organizations, virtually all of which began with splendid prospects for growth and influence, have conducted such a policy of arbitrariness, mechanical control, alienation of Left Wing militants not members of one Party faction, bureaucracy, and radically false policies, that they have left a trail of ruin wherever they have stepped in. Testifying to the immense vitality of the "new union" movement, however, is the rank and file revolt expressed in this document. Out of the 17 signers who are the most active spirits in the M. W. I. U., 14 (all those marked with stars) are members of the Party. The Minks, Hineses and Harveys are now planning to expel these militants not only from the Party, but from the Union as well! At all costs this must be prevented. Such tactics can be safely left to Lewis, Sigman and Co. Let the workers discuss the situation objectively. They are capable of deciding and deciding correctly. They have no need at all for the Minks, Johnstones and Fosters to do their thinking for them, especially when "their thinking" is but a mental echo of their masters in the central apparatus of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U.

and initiative among the rank and file. Without genuine democracy in the union there can be no real live union. Bureaucracy has no place in a real union and only destroys all possibilities for building up the union, for making every member a conscious responsible, active member.

11. The leadership of our union cannot be won and should not be sought by mechanical, artificial, bureaucratic methods. Sound leadership can be won only through gaining the confidence of the workers by tireless activities and sacrifices in the everyday struggle. Leadership based on clique control, on favoritism, on stifling opinion or strangulating all the rights of the rank and file can only hurt our union.

BANKRUPTCY OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP AND ITS POLICIES

We indict the present leadership for its policies on the following grounds:

1. The present leadership pursues an adventurist, sectarian, utopian, unrealistic program.

2. Transforming the Marine Workers Industrial Union into an impotent sect instead of building a mass organization, a genuine union.

3. Following wrong and irresponsible organization methods.

4. Entirely neglecting and dropping all work for the building of a powerful Left wing movement in the craft and conservative unions. Substituting for such important work name calling and merely denouncing as social fascists, etc., all those who are today not in the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

5. A criminal bungling of strikes, following policies of pure adventurism; using the worst bureaucratic methods, actually sabotaging strikes and here and there even resorting to methods which are dangerously provocative.

6. The leadership has foisted upon the union a terribly bureaucratic regime and wiped out all semblance of democracy, of rank and file control in the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

7. The program for the unemployed, formulated by the T. U. U. L. and adopted by the unemployed convention at Chicago, July 4th, has proven to be too abstract

the existence marine workers organizations resulted in the unconscious sabotage of the slogan "A Seaman's Club in Every Port." . . .

Upon the returning of the T. U. E. L. representative, (comrade Mink) from Moscow, he made his report with the recommendation that a new industrial union of the marine workers be formed, but comrade Foster suggested a transitional step. During the transitional stage, "The Marine Workers Progressive League" was organized. The League members were to carry our program of class-struggle into the conservative unions and wage a fight against the reactionary leaders, and to popularize the slogan of amalgamation. Comrade Foster also laid particular stress on those points of our policy which dealt with work in the existing unions, and that this work should be intensified.

Despite the fact that "The International Seamen's Club" had a considerable membership, the name of Mink was never submitted to the club members before he was sent to the R. I. L. U. Conference by the T. U. E. L. In a like manner, Foster gave the club members the "decision" that Comrade Mink was to be head of all Marine organizational activities for the T. U. E. L. This so-called "decision" was a piece of highhanded, bureaucratic conning of Foster upon which the club members were not even allowed to discuss. Who made the decision? Where did it come from? Why was it made? Why weren't the members considered or consulted?

Our activity in the existing marine workers organizations was discouraged by the leadership which told the membership of the League that membership in the existing marine workers organization was not necessary. Not only did the leadership say that it was unnecessary to belong to and carry on work in the existing unions but it even ordered all those who were members of these unions to withdraw from membership. The opposition objected to this wrong arbitrary move of the bureaucracy on the ground that the Left wing group in the Marine Firemen's Union International Seamen's Union) was in a favorable position to oust the reactionary

leaders of this union and to replace them with class conscious workers from the rank and file. Mink's only answer to the opposition was:

"The quicker you comrades are expelled from them phoney unions, the quicker we'll build the League and the better I like it." . . .

INCOMPETENCE AND IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The opposition had put forward the program of spreading out in the port of Greater New York and opening up halls in other ports as rapidly as possible. Under the pressure of the opposition composed of comrades Morgan, Golden, Anderson, Shelligan, Horn, Russell, Fanning, Peltzer, Aaronson, Haigney, McGrath, and others, the leadership was forced to consent to the opening up of a hall in Baltimore. Accordingly comrade Morgan, Port Delegate for New York, equipped comrade Peltzer with a credential and supplies. Comrade Peltzer under very great difficulties and after making many sacrifices succeeded in carrying on propaganda and work for some months without receiving any financial assistance from the T. U. U. L. Despite the opposition of the leadership, comrade Morgan and Aaronson were sent by the rank and file to help comrade Peltzer in the organization work in Baltimore. After having been ousted from Anchorage Seamen's Institute) and having been set upon by the B. & O. bulls, and prevented from boarding the ships it was decided that comrade Morgan should proceed to New York and force the leadership to consent to open a hall as a base for operations, as a rallying center for organizational work.

After comrade Morgan made his report to the League meeting, the members decided in defiance of the leadership over the protest of the bureaucracy, to open a hall in Baltimore. But when the hall was finally opened the rank and file members who carried on the work without any financial assistance from the leadership were recalled. Then Hines was chosen by the bureaucracy to replace the active rank and file workers. . . . Though receiving a subsidy for seven months Hines departed from Baltimore and left nothing but an empty hall on which the rent was due. Whatever progress had been made was completely destroyed by the bureaucrats who instructed Hines to take over the New York Club as soon as he returned from Baltimore.

THE BUREAUCRATS HOLD MASSES IN CONTEMPT

The leadership of our union has nothing but contempt for the great mass of marine workers. This bureaucracy has not shown any real interest in the actual struggle of the marine workers, and has thrown away many good chances which these struggles afforded us for building up the Marine Workers Industrial Union. This contempt for the marine worker masses is shown in part by the following facts:

The leadership failed to take advantage of the opportunity to make contact with members of the Associated Marine Workers before the expiration of their agreement with the Tugboat Owners. This lack of interest shown by the bureaucrats in the struggle of these workers against their reactionary officials and the bosses really lost these workers for the cause of militant unionism.

The leadership neglected for two and a half months after the convention which launched the union, to issue any membership books or publish the "Marine Workers' Voice," our most effective means with which to acquaint the workers with what happened at the Convention. . . .

After the launching of the Union the rank and file made considerable progress among the longshoremen of Baltimore. We held a meeting in front of the I. L. A. halls. But the bureaucracy pursuing a disruptive line of tactics destroyed all our work—destroyed everything which was accomplished. Comrade Harvey acting more like a disrupter than a union organizer antagonized the longshoremen instead of trying to win them over to the cause of militant unionism. This criminal action destroyed all the progress that we had made. It broke up all the contacts which we had made with the rank and file members of the International Longshoremen's Association.

The same contemptuous attitude towards the workers was shown by Mink in New Orleans. The silly and childlike action of comrade Mink in showing off in braggadoccio manner donation checks to workers whom we were just drawing in as new members of our union in New Orleans

Against the Stalinist Union Bureaucracy!

went a long way to demoralize these workers. Comrade Mink showed off his extravagance by staying at a swell hotel while in New Orleans, while the active organizers slept on deck of the union hall and went hungry while they were doing organizing work on ships and docks. This caused many workers to raise embarrassing questions to the organizers who had to sleep on the decks. When comrade Morgan and others asked Mink why this extravagance—Mink could offer no other answer than the excuse that it was orders from the Communist Party. Another case showing the neglect of the workers by the bureaucracy, is to be found in the Independent Tide Water Boatmen's Union which has a membership of 1250 workers. It can conduct activities among 15,000 workers in the Harbor. Comrade Golden informed Mink and Hines of the League about the reported vote of the I. T. B. U. to affiliate with the Marine Workers League. But Mink and Hines just neglected to do anything about it. They even refused to get in touch with the I. T. B. U. or make any effort at all to win over workers in this organization. Thus the bureaucrats threw away another fine opportunity for winning workers to our ranks. Their contempt for the workers again showed itself. In fact this leadership even went so far as expelling members for going into the I. T. B. U., for example, Willy Lang. . . .

THE "LEADERSHIP" RUINS STRIKES

In June the opposition proposed that our union should make preparations to lead a strike of 16,000 longshoremen and seamen in the port of New Orleans in the fall of the year which is the busy season. The board of the union adopted this proposal. Comrades Morgan, Haigeny, Golden, Seaganik and Evans, were chosen to proceed to the New Orleans Port immediately. However, no funds were provided for these comrades and no support whatever was given them in order to enable them to carry out the decisions.

Despite the fact that these comrades had made many contacts in the port of New Orleans and were familiar with the situation, two other comrades totally unfamiliar with the situation in New Orleans were provided with ample funds and rushed down to New Orleans to replace the above comrades originally chosen. Under orders from the bureaucratic leadership of Hines, Harvey and Johnstone, these two members proceeded shortly after their arrival in New Orleans to call a premature strike for which no preparation whatsoever had been made. The result of this strike was to discredit the union in the eyes of the marine workers in that port. Harvey's circulation of a false news release to the effect that a 20% increase in wages was won, only further discredited our organization with the longshoremen. . . .

Yet, this fiasco which the bureaucratic leadership performed in New Orleans was advertised at the last Fifth R. I. L. U. Congress as one of the big achievements of our union. Such bluff is very costly and only hurts the best interests of the marine workers.

Exactly the same bureaucratic adventurist sabotaging policy was followed by the leadership in the recent Philadelphia strike. The night before the Atlantic District United Front Conference in Philadelphia, Sep. 20, 21, there was held a Bureau meeting of the union. Gardos, the District Organizer of the Communist Party of Philadelphia, was present. Comrade Hines was present also. Here it was decided that we should go to this united conference to propose active preparations for a strike. The workers were to go back to their jobs and set up their dock committees and take all the necessary steps for a strike.

Right after the conference there was held in Philadelphia a bureau meeting of the marine workers. There were present at this meeting in addition to the eight National Bureau members of the marine workers seven representatives of the Communist Party. Among these special representatives were Gardos, T. U. U. L. representative, etc. Gardos immediately proposed the withdrawal of the organizers from the Philadelphia field. These workers were Soderburg and Johansen. But the Bureau members protested against this proposal of Gardos. A hot discussion followed. Hudson supported Gardos by making his motion for the withdrawal of the organizers from Philadelphia field. Comrade Hoben amended this motion to the effect that the organizers should stay.

There soon followed bitter fights as to who is and who is not a bureau member. Gardos gave himself a vote. Hines and Hudson voted with him. But that was all the votes that Gardos's proposal could muster. The rank and file were against Gardos and Hines. Gardos then said:

"I, as the District Organizer of the Communist Party, over-rule the decision. This is only a fraction meeting of the Communist Party."

Later the organizers were forced out by a sort of rump meeting which Gardos and Hines set up themselves. The New York members of the union protested against this action. To cover up this high-handed action and to escape the wrath of the rank and file the bureaucracy decided to call a strike in Philadelphia.

Within three days after the recall of these organizers the Party ordered the return to Philadelphia and without calling any meeting of longshoremen to agitate them and convince them for a strike, without having any strike vote of longshoremen, without setting up any strike com-

mittees, the bureaucracy issued a mimeographed leaflet calling on the workers to strike. The only meeting that was held before the strike call was issued, was a meeting of about 10 Communist Party members who were seamen and voted for the longshoremen to go out on strike. When these comrades went down to the docks to call the strike the longshoremen bitterly resented it and beat them up. Furthermore, instead of going to the docks of the coast-wise shipping where we had some strength, these comrades went first to the I. L. A. piers, where we had no strength. Without any previous preparations they notified the longshoremen that there was to be a strike.

This outrageous bureaucratic procedure in our union, this utter disregard of the most elementary rights of democracy in our union destroyed all the sentiment which we had succeeded in building up for our union, wiping out all our gains which we had won only through many months of very hard work. All the results which we had previously achieved by our great sacrifices were destroyed by this adventurist policy.

BUREAUCRACY CRIPPLES OUR UNION

The situation in our union is intolerable. Things simply can't go on the way they are now going. Anybody who criticizes Mink, or even raises a question to him is immediately picked out as a target. A whispering campaign is opened against him in the fraction of the Communist Party and in the Union.

Altho comrade Morgan was elected to the National Committee of the Union by the rank and file delegates of the Convention and the National Committee elected him to the Executive board, yet, the bureaucracy didn't even think it necessary to call an executive board meeting when they decided to expell him from the Executive Board of the Union in June, 1930. Not only

was comrade Morgan removed from the Executive Board of the Union but he was removed from all leading committees and not even allowed to function in the capacity of organizer, Morgan's spotless record as an organizer notwithstanding. Mink made the slanderous accusation against comrade Morgan charging him with refusal to go to the Gulf and with drunkenness. Comrade Harvey even proposed in the Bureau of the Union to expel comrade Morgan from the Party and the Union. Johansen seconded this motion. Hines proposed in the Bureau of the union that this question be referred to the Party and the T. U. U. L. Morgan tried to appeal against this. But he failed. The ridiculous and outrageous character of the charges against Morgan is shown by such indisputable facts as Morgan's being arrested more than one dozen times in New York, Houston (unemployment demonstration), New Orleans, etc., for his activities in trying to build up the Marine Workers Industrial Union. But Harvey found nothing but ridicule for these arrests. Comrade Mor-

and without keeping any accounts. . . .

But the Communist Party leadership chose a handpicked committee and after some delay only whitewashed Mink and Hines and company of the charge of running the lunch counter as a private affair.

How the bureaucracy tried to terrorize workers is clearly shown by their tactics towards comrade McGrath. Comrade McGrath who is a good worker and who mobilized the Philadelphia delegation for the National Office was asked to give a statement endorsing the leadership of the union. This statement was to be printed in all the Party papers. But comrade McGrath refused. Steps were then immediately taken to kill him politically. He was removed from all leading committees. He was shelved. Comrade McGrath became disgusted, naturally so.

The various organs and departments of our union don't function. They are dead. The committees don't meet. Insufficient and even false information is sent out. Altho the Executive Board has held meeting after meeting, the membership has never been acquainted with the proceedings or has had a chance to consult the minutes of these meetings. Nor are minutes from other ports available to us. Members are kept in ignorance about the activities of other ports. The bureaucracy prohibits the discussion of the activities of other branches.

OUT WITH THE DESTRUCTIVE BUREAUCRACY — FOR CORRECT CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES TO BUILD THE MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION.

It is because of these wrong policies, it is because of this denial of democracy in the union, it is because of this terrible bureaucracy, that no new members are being gotten into our union and old members are not paying dues. Today our union gets no response from longshoremen or seamen.

Highhanded political conniving can only hurt our union as it has already done. It must be stopped. We are against such arbitrary ways of working as was done in the setting up of a special bureau to control the convention. There must be an end to the sectarianism in our policies which has caused the marine workers to speak of our union hall merely as: "Communist hall." This tends to narrow our base of activities amongst the marine workers. There must be put an end to the bureaucratic incompetence which showed itself in the failure to do anything at all to provide adequate defense and attention for Ralph Duncan, the literature agent of our union after his arrest on September 20 in union hall. This is an example of the disregard of our incompetent leadership for the welfare of our union and its membership.

We, members and active workers in the union demand an end of this state of affairs. We demand a thorough-going house cleaning. We demand that our union should begin to consider national affairs. We demand that our union should take steps to strengthen itself, to build its ranks, to wipe out bureaucracy, to establish rank and file control, to have democracy in our union. We demand correct policies. We demand an end to adventurism in the conduct of strikes. We demand responsibility in handling organization questions. We demand the removal from leadership of the present bureaucracy—Hines, Mink, Harvey. We demand that the rank and file should be given a chance to discuss the policies of our union, to adopt correct policies and to elect a new leadership which will have the confidence of our rank and file and will be able to lead in the building up of the Marine Workers Industrial Union into a mass militant union.

It is only by making such a thorough-going house cleaning, by facing and examining the facts frankly, by merciless self-criticism and correction that we can unite our forces, strengthen our organization and succeed in our aim which is the building of a powerful industrial union uniting all the marine transport workers in the country.

Marine Workers Industrial Union
Rank and File Committee

Larry Murphy*
M. Soderstrom*
W. Crockett*
John Starkovitch*
Joe Cass*
Joseph Murphy*
Aal Erickson*
A. Fransen*
C. H. Rorr*

Ernest Lobart*
John S. Morgan*
Joe Golden*
John Anderson*
Henry Williams*
S. M. McDonald*
Edward Simmons
Ralph Duncan

The Outlook for the New Movement

What are the prospects for the movement in the marine workers' Left wing which is expressed in the document we publish here? The outlook for growth, influence and prestige is unusually excellent—providing the movement remains on the path of the revolutionary class struggle. No greater harm, nor swifter decline and degeneration, can threaten this splendid rank and file revolt than to have it turn into an anti-Communist, or anti-Communist Party movement, especially when it occurs under the outworn or hypocritical slogan of "away with the politicians" or "we want to build a trade union movement" or "this is not a party fight." The bulk of the active workers in this movement are Communists or workers wanting to be Communists. They are being and will constantly be provoked by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the hopes that they react towards an indefensible position. That cheap game of the Minks and Johnstones can be fought by persistently maintaining a revolutionary class position, by working to win the whole Left wing movement (not only the marine workers) to the cause of the rank and file opposition, by refusing to be cut loose from this Left wing for the sake of some fantastic and futile ends. That is what the Party bureaucrats are after—to isolate this promising movement, which they fear immensely, from the general Left wing and to provoke it into an anti-Communist movement. Giving aid and comfort (whether they realize it or not) to the Party bureaucrats is a small group of syndicalists who are hoping to re-create a second edition of the I. W. . . . The Left wing as a whole has learned from the rich experiences of the I. W. W., but these neo-syndicalists apparently have not. Away from the Communist movement, away from the Left wing, towards a second (and miniature) edition of syndicalism—this road is sure to lead the rank and file opposition group to a futile existence, ever-diminishing, and easy marks for the blows of the Stalinists. Those who advocate this road, and they are the ones also who have back of their minds the idea of "playing with Lovestone" and other shady liquidationist elements, are helping to weaken and nullify the new movement. There are unfortunately a few of this element in the new movement. An intelligent policy by the Communist forces will not make it difficult to deal with this danger, which has been manufactured by the criminal policies of Stalinism bureaucracy, but which can be successfully eliminated by an honest revolutionary course. This obstacle overcome, and the movement will triumph irresistibly over the little Minks as well as the "bigger" Minks who give them their brief moment of power.

gan was conducting his work under very severe difficulties. For instance, in Houston, comrade Mink collected more than \$200 in cash but he left Morgan penniless in the field. Yet within two months comrade Morgan succeeded in opening up a hall and in electing a delegation to the National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union consisting of six Negroes and five whites. This was the only bona-fide delegation of longshoremen elected to the convention besides Philadelphia. All other longshoremen delegates were not elected but were handpicked.

For six months Hines was the New York organizer, got the full support, moral, financial, from the union bureaucracy. Yet he couldn't manage to get a single longshoremen delegate for the conference (April 1930). This mess made by Hines in New York came upon the heels of his staying in Baltimore for seven months and doing exactly nothing. Hines, Mink and Harvey have made it a practice to slander individual members when they are not around.

As soon as a member raises his voice in criticism he is immediately made a scapegoat for everything bad that happens. No organization reports, no financial reports, no records of the membership, no activity reports are ever given and to ask for them and press for them means to face a barrage of abuse and attacks.

THE IRRESPONSIBLE METHODS OF WORK AND ORGANIZATION

The criminal bungling and the mismanagement of the organization, the general irresponsibility of the bureaucracy are disrupting our union. For instance, after the club did away with the lunch counter in the headquarters because it attracted very many bad elements to the hall then Mink on his own hook reopened it in defiance of the club members' decision. He conducted it as a private enterprise

A Concrete Program on the Unemployed

Continued from last issue

In the proletarian quarter alone can be affected the widest mobilization of the unemployed and of the workers generally. Here is the place where the poorer sections of the petty-bourgeoisie can be neutralized and in part won over. Here is the place where the relatives of the unemployed who may be working elsewhere can be drawn into the movement. Since the proletarian quarters usually surround large factories whose workers live in the neighborhood, here is where a living unity between employed and unemployed can be consummated and strikes of all the factories in the quarters most easily affected. Finally here is where the police are weakest and the workers strongest!

4. The fourth difference is that such a method as the proposed insures the development of leadership from among the workers and the activation of the non-Communist council members. In this respect the Party can show no worthwhile results whatever. But since large sections of workers, with the exception of those not yet expelled by the Party are "fascists", "social-fascists" or worse, what can be expected? Under the plan proposed, however, this will be changed through the small block unemployment council. Real business will be conducted by the members themselves, their own officers and executives will be elected, small dues will be paid, meetings will be held regularly, responsible work will be assigned to all, delegates will be elected to higher bodies, reports will be regularly made, policies will be initiated and understood by the rank and file, the terror of the police will be minimized, the leaders tested. In short the unemployment group becomes the real leader of its block.

We come now to the question: how is it that these simple considerations never entered the heads of the Party officials, that no such work was ever done? The answer is clear. The leaders of the Party are amateurs and worse. They never won their spurs of leadership through doing mass work in a Communist way. The few who tried mass work (like Foster et al.) did so as so-called "fascists", that is as CONSCIOUS AND LOYAL agents of the Gompers in the American Federation of Labor. The Party has never really chosen its leaders. Foreign federationism, factionalism, and the C.I., saw to that. Finally, the Party never was and never developed into a real Communist Party in the United States. Under the able "leadership" of past and present "leaders" such a development was impossible.

III

The unemployment movement must have a comprehensive and concrete program of activity, far different from that of the faker-leaders of the party, a program that will answer the question of the workers: "What are we to do when we are hungry, are being evicted from our homes, are out of a job?" How indeed shall the hungry be fed and evictions stopped? The Party shouts "Work or Wages" or "the Insurance Bill" reminding one sometimes of the English Chartists, who, misguided by the English bourgeoisie in 1832 used to shout for "The Bill! the Bill! Nothing but the Bill!"

First a few words on the slogan "Work or Wages." Since when do Communists demand "work" from the capitalists? The "Right to Work" was never a Marxist slogan. After the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship makes it plain that every person had the DUTY to work, but before the proletarian revolution, while work means work under capitalism. work that strengthens capitalism, only A. F. of L. fakers, opportunist socialists, or worse, demand for labor "the Right to Work." But perhaps the Party is only supplementing the "theory" in Browder's pamphlet "Out of a Job" that if the capitalists recognize Russia, there will be work. "Recognize Soviet Russia and get a job goes hand in hand with the slogan "we want work!"

The new slogan "Social Insurance Bill" is a clumsy method of correcting the error in "Work or Wages" so as to throw the weight of the demand not on "work" but on "wages".

Spreading Parliamentary Illusions

It is plain to all conscious workers that the Party's social insurance bill can never be carried out in America without a proletarian revolution. This is not made clear by the Party. The Party, by making the campaign in the way it is doing, is

By ALBERT WEISBORD

helping only to spread opportunist and parliamentary illusions. Besides while the workers must raise the question of social insurance in the sharpest manner, making it also a slogan for building a labor party) a social insurance bill proposition can not give bread to the starving nor shelter to the evicted. How can we answer the question of the hungry and evicted jobless? ONLY BY ANSWERING: SELF HELP WILL GIVE YOU BREAD AND SHELTER! The proletarian revolution will do so permanently, seizure of food and shelter will do so immediately.

We must boldly say to the starving and destitute poor that the whole immediate objective of the unemployment movement is to seize the things necessary to live. The careful organization work in the proletarian quarters, the carefully prepared street demonstrations must all be with the thought firmly in mind of leading to that situation where the workers are enabled to help themselves of the things they need!

If the immediate major objective of the unemployment movement is the seizure of the necessities of life, the entire program of the unemployed movement must be based on getting food and shelter for the jobless. The formation of Tenant League must be started by the unemployment movement on a large scale. Desperate resistance of every kind must be put up to every eviction that takes place. Here we can learn a great deal from the tactics used in the Passaic, New Bedford and Gastonia strikes. The widest movement of resistance, including making it unprofitable for landlords to evict, the boycott, picketing mass resistance street demonstrations and strikes can be aroused on the question of evictions and non-payment of rent. Such movements are the best teachers for the revolution.

Hand in hand with the formation of Tenant Leagues should go the formation of cooperative restaurants—we hasten to add, not like those of the "Proletcos" in Union Square, or of the "co-operative houses" in the Bronx, and not like the "soup kitchens" proposed by Party members—but real workers co-operative restaurants that will cost but very little to establish that will sell a few simple dishes at cost (and thus help those who while not destitute have but very little money), that will help compel "contributions" from other stores and restaurants, that will help to support a movement for the extension of credit by storekeepers to workers families out of work, that will wipe out the color line most effectively etc.

The question of food and shelter involves the question of wages. The unemployment movement must be closely bound up with the movement for resistance to wage cuts and worsened conditions. The unemployment movement must help in the organization of the unorganized and in the creation of a strong Left wing to win the workers in the reactionary unions to a militant policy.

The immediate program of non-payment of rent, resistance to evictions reduction of the cost of living extension of credits, seizure of food etc. as well as the fight for social insurance can be enforced only by means of street demonstrations. It is to this important question that we now turn.

Street Demonstrations

Street demonstrations and street fighting in America have an extraordinary significance. Especially at the present time, "food riots" breaking out in New York City, Chicago, Detroit, or the other large cities of the United States would be of truly enormous international importance.

This puts upon the Communists in these cities an extraordinary responsibility to prepare and to organize these demonstrations. Nothing more exposes the phrase-mongering of the Party bureaucrats than their "demonstrations". In phrase—"Fight the Police", in practice—put the workers in such a position that they could not fight. In phrase—"Seize the Streets", in practice—hold a meeting in a business district in an open square, get a lot of pictures taken buy a lot of ice-cream cones and candy sold by street vendors peddling in the very midst of the crowd all through the meeting and call it a "demonstration", etc. In New York City all main demonstrations have been held in Union Square. In Newark and most other cities they are staged before the city halls. "This politicizes it don't you know."

The Party wants to fight the police. Good. But then why not think HOW to fight the police? Do the fools leading the Party ever think of this? Let us analyze the meetings at Union Square, New York City, or City Hall Newark. 1. It is in a commercial neighborhood. 2. It is a huge open square. 3. It is far from the big factories. 4. It is far from workers' neighborhoods. 5. The police entirely surround the meeting. Can you imagine a general calling on his troops to fight, who isolates his vanguard from his reserves and places them in a regular police trap? Maybe this was the way Browder fought Chiang Kai-Shek. eh? Poor Chiang Kai-Shek! If the leaders of the Party were stool-pigeons—to use the favorite expression of Browder—they could not betray a fighting movement better.

How then, should street demonstrations be organized. a. Mainly, through the block groups in proletarian neighborhoods. Here, the streets are often more narrow. Here, if fighting takes place, the workers have a chance. The buildings can be used advantageously. Here the fight can spread. The police can not easily surround it. The widest masses, wives, families, storekeepers, students, clerks, employed workers, etc. can be drawn in. Shops and factories can be pulled on strike and swept into the battle. In short, here the police are weakest and the workers strongest. Through the fighting squads organized by the block groups, a whole section of the

city could be held.

b. Demonstrations should be held not merely on "ritual days" mechanically set by Moscow for the whole world, but at times when there are burning local issues to meet. The evictions of families, or a local strike, or the picketing of shops that have raised prices or a similar event, can very well become the starting point.

c. But besides that general huge demonstrations should be held so arranged that they can result in the workers helping themselves to food! This is of paramount importance, a fact that the lovers of Union Squares and City Hall Parks entirely fail to see. Such demonstrations must be most carefully prepared.

d. Marches from the proletarian quarter in mighty disciplined formations marks naturally the highest stake of the struggle to a central point or to the City Hall and should be held when the movement is widespread and well organized and when there is the greatest determination to meet the stiffest police attack. Under some circumstances, in some countries such a stage of the struggle may very well mean the beginning of the issuance of the slogan for Workers Control of the factories, etc.

The organization of such a movement can not be done without the creation of the widest united front of the workers. Of this the Party "leaders" with their theories of "Fascism" and "Social Fascism" are incapable. But it must be done. This is a test also for the Communist Opposition groups. Come, when will you mobilize your forces? When will you join hands on this issue? When will you issue a broad united front call? When will you begin the work the Party criminals can not do?

Urgent Appeal!

As our readers will note by the date of the present issue, we were compelled to skip publication of the October 15th number. The omission was caused by the bad financial situation of the Militant which forced us last summer to go back from weekly to semi-monthly publication. To skip even a single issue of the paper now is a heavy blow to us. It means that the many of the problems with which the Militant deals regularly, the questions it takes up, the information it presents that is contained in no other revolutionary paper in this country must be neglected.

The need the Militant fills in the movement is being understood by an ever-increasing circle of workers. The Militant is more and more becoming the organ of the most conscious and thinking section of the Communist and Left wing movement. In the marine industry, in the coal miners' struggle in Illinois, in the needle trades, in the reviving Left wing in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—in a dozen other situations, the Militant is doing pioneer work of immense significance. It is not only a semi-monthly that is required: we must have a weekly as soon as possible!

The temporary setback in regular publication which we have suffered does not at all correspond with our growth in influence and membership. On the contrary. Our ranks and influence are growing. Our activities are multiplying. BUT OUR COMRADES AND SYMPATHIZERS HAVE NOT YET REALIZED THE FINANCIAL BURDEN THAT MUST BE CARRIED. The omission of the last number must serve to remind them sharply of this problem that must be solved by all. We can and must rely only upon our members and friends. It is they who must relieve the pressure of the financial difficulties that prevents us from executing many of the tasks that confront us so imperatively.

These of our supporters who are working must give doubly. Those of them who are out of work must give their aid by soliciting donations from other workers and friends. UNLESS WE RECEIVE SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND HAVE OUR REGULAR INCOME INCREASED IMMEDIATELY, THE EXISTENCE OF THE MILITANT IS DIRECTLY THREATENED.

We need five hundred dollars right away! It is not a large sum, but it will enable us to push ahead with our work. Every comrade and friend must aid—generously, swiftly, with a realization of the burning need. Check up on all unpaid bills! Make a substantial donation by mail immediately! Collect contributions from your fellow workers! Get subscriptions for the paper! Bear in mind that the Militant is in serious danger!

Send all funds immediately to the of-

fice of The Militant, 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

OUR STUDY CLASSES

Two successful classes have already been organized by the New York branch of the Communist League of America, each with an average of 25 worker-students. One is conducted by James P. Cannon, on "A History of the American Labor Movement" and the other by Albert Weisbord, on "Marxian Economics". More students have registered for the Weisbord class than there was room for, and others who registered cannot attend on Friday night which is when the class meets. To accommodate them, another class has been opened for them on Thursday nights with comrade Weisbord as director. This class begins on Thursday, November 13. Workers who have not yet registered for this course can do so by getting in touch immediately with the Militant office, at 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, New York, N. Y. The classes meet at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue: Weisbord's every Friday and Thursday, Cannon's every second Wednesday. The tuition fee is purely nominal. Make registrations immediately.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912.

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1930.
State of New York:
County of New York:

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Editor: None.

Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Business Manager: Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Max Shachtman, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Arne Swaback, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities, in a capacity other than of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Max Shachtman, Managing Editor.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of October, 1930.
M. R. Keefe, Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 30, 1931)

Where Is Thaelmann Leading the German Party?

By KURT LANDAU

BERLIN—

On September 14 1930. the German working class suffered a serious defeat, whose lessons must be soberly drawn.

At the elections in May 1928, 9,150,000 votes were given to the Socialists and 3,263,000 to the Communists out of a total vote of 30,000,000; altogether 12,413,000 votes were given for Communism and reformism. It is clear that the millions of workers who follow reformism do not do it because of Noske and Scheidemann, but in spite of them, for they have not yet grasped the bourgeois character of the S.P.G., the reactionary character of reformism.

Altogether, the C. P. G. and S. P. G. received 40.4 percent of the voters in the elections.

On September 14, 1930, the number of votes cast rose from 30,700,000 to 34,942,854. The C. P. G. got 4,587,807 votes, the S. P. G. only 8,572,000; together, it is about 13,150,000 votes out of the total of 35,000,000, which is only 37.5 percent. that is, a decline of 3 percent. or expressed in numbers, about one million votes! The question as to who benefitted by this decline is the decisive question we pose, for it signals the most serious dangers, it shows just the thing that the C.P.G. leadership as well as the S.P.G. conceals: That Fascism succeeded to penetrate into the proletariat.

Our Party gained about 1,300,000 votes. Since the electorate was larger. and the total number of votes rose about 15 percent, then about 500,000 votes must be taken off the 1,300,000 which are to be reckoned to the increased participation in the election. The actual increase of the Party then amounts to 800,000 votes.

(The S.P.G. compared to 1928, lost 600,000 votes, that is about the same amount as the increase of the C.P.G. Did our Party then collect the loss of the S. P. G.? That is just what is not the case in large measure!

Out of the 30,700,000 votes in 1928, the S.P.G. got 9,100,000. To remain relatively as strong, it would have had to get about 15 percent more votes—in view of the increased electorate of 3,500,000—or, in round numbers 1,400,000. Its total loss therefore amounts to 2,000,000 votes, it having declined from 29.8 percent of the total to 24.7 percent. Out of these 2,000,000, the C.P.G. got only 800,000. Sixty percent, that is 1,200,000, fell to Fascism! This may be drastically demonstrated in a series of instances. In Berlin, for instance, the S.P.G. lost 38,100 votes in the Friedrichshagen, Kreuzberg, Tiergarten, Schoenberg districts—despite the increased electorate—and the C.P.G. gained 29,250 votes in the same districts. About 10,000 votes, and new voters at that, were lost to the Fascists. In the country as a whole, this inroad of the Fascists into the workers' camp comes to light even more plainly. In the Breslau election district, for example, the S.P.G. lost more than 50,000 votes compared with 1928, the C.P.G. gained 40,000; 10,000 votes, plus the increased voting, that is, about 50,000 votes, went to Fascism, which swung from 9,262 to—259,225 and became the second largest party. In the proletarian section of Merseburg, the S.P.G. held fairly to its 1928 position. The C.P.G. won more than 40,000 votes through the increased voting, but the Fascists rose from 40,693 to 243,896, and pulled to themselves the share of the S.P.G. in the increased voting, that is, proletarian votes. In the North Westphalian election district, the Fascists rose from 12,118 to 161,723. The S.P.G. lost about 30,000 votes as against 1928, which the C.P.G. absorbed. The increase in votes came to the good of the Fascists exclusively.

An exact analysis of the election results confirms the fact that Fascism won far more than 1,000,000 proletarian votes which it cornered for itself and did not take from the reservoir of the bourgeois parties.

That the Fascists have become the heirs to the bourgeois parties requires no special evidence, that is demonstrable immediately by the figures themselves. The German National Party, which split up a few months ago, lost about one million votes, after counting off what was taken by the People's Conservatives Christian Nationals, etc. The German People's Party lost more than a million as against 19.8. These 2,000,000, plus the 15 percent increase in votes, which corresponds to almost another million, fell to the Fascists.

To this must be added about a million votes they took away from the bourgeois "splinter" parties. then the 1,250,000 proletarian votes gained, and the 800,000 which the Fascists got in 1928. These are the factors that make up — according to an approximate and schematic survey — the election figure of the Fascists (6,401,210). The Fascists became the strongest bourgeois party—as we foresaw it. Besides them, there is only one other bourgeois party the Center (Catholics) that remained stable and with a gain of 500,000 votes and 7 mandates retained its share of the increased electoral figure.

In East Prussia (235,463), the Fascists became the strongest party in the election districts of Breslau, Liegnitz, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Thuringia, Schleswig-Holstein. Weser-Ems, East Hanover, Brunswick, Hessen-Naunau, Cologne, Aachen, Coblenz-Trier, Palatinate, Dresden, Bautzen, Chemnitz-Zwickau, Baden. Hessen-Darstadt, Hamburg and Mecklenburg, that is, in far more than half the election districts, they became the second strongest party. They outstripped the C.P.G. (135,210) in Hamburg with 144,584 votes, the same in Chemnitz-Zwickau, etc.

It is the greatest self-deception to believe that the 4,500,000 Communist votes are already won for the revolutionary class struggle. To educate them to this—there lies one of the principal tasks of our Party. Today a large part of our electorate is composed of the despairing and discontented and there are doubtlessly hundreds of thousands among them who, gained in a purely parliamentary election campaign, expect an immediate improvement of their condition from the simple electoral success of the C.P.G.

The S.P.G. suffered a heavy reversal. But it would be wrong to speak of its "annihilating defeat" (see *Rote Fahne*) or to contend that it is "the beginning of the end" of the S.P.G. (Brandler's *Arbeiterpolitik*.)

In many places, the S.P.G. showed itself to be relatively able to offer resistance, as in Saxony, where it gained 120,000 votes in comparison to the Landtag elections in June, in South Germany, etc. The foundations of the S.P.G. were not shattered by the heavy reversal.

Just as wrong is the hope that Fascism will break up of itself, of its internal contradictions. When the *Rote Fahne* writes on September 15: "Yesterday was Herr Hitler's 'greatest day,' but the so-called election victory of the National Socialists is the beginning of their end," then this is an all too cheap consolation which is only exceeded by the sagacious prophecy on September 16: "September 14 was the high point of the National Socialist movement in Germany. What comes after can only be decline and ebb."

Whether that is how things will turn out, or Fascism will succeed in taking over the political power in the state, will not depend upon the prophecies of the *Rote Fahne*, but upon the policy that our Party adopts in the class struggle. The hopes placed upon the self-disintegration of Fascism is as deceptive as it is reformistic, for it overlooks the decisive factor in political development: the policy of the revolutionary party.

We warned against illusions when the Party leadership declared the splitting away of the petty-bourgeois group of ideologists around Otto Strasser to be the be-

ginning of the collapse of Fascism. We came out against the naive idea that Frick's participation in the Thuringian government would by itself rapidly expose Fascism. Such hopes and illusions are unworthy of a Communist.

The general crisis of capitalism is being accentuated in Germany by the Young Plan. It was the most ruinous mistake of our Party leadership that it did not understand in the summer of 1929 to develop a genuine revolutionary mass movement against the Young Plan. In our appeal to the Saxony elections, we wrote (June 1930):

"The Party leadership does not recognize that the central aim of the class struggle in Germany is the organization of mass resistance to the Young Plan; to the extent that the masses of Germany enter this struggle, they overcome their illusion and recognize from their own experiences that there is no other way of eliminating this intolerable slave pact than the revolutionary way: the overthrow of capitalism itself."

This failure of the Party permitted Fascism to organize a mass movement against the Young Plan as a counter-revolutionary, chauvinistic action, with the aim of leading the masses in this way for an active imperialistic war policy for the new German imperialism. When the Party leadership—after Fascism had already begun its victorious march through Germany—recognized this ruinous negligence, it leaped to the opposite extreme, as its nationalistic programmatic declaration shows: it entangled itself in nationalistic phrases and high-sounding promises.

The struggle against the Young Plan and in the final analysis against Versailles, can only be conducted by the collaboration of the international proletariat. The Thaelmanns, who in 1929 "forgot" to fight against the Young Plan, and now roar hysterically and nationalistically against it when they see the growth of Fascism as a result of this "forgetting", are no less guilty than the Stalins, Molotovs, and Manuilskeys, who have shown themselves incompetent to see the problems of the international class struggle at all, and to organize the joint struggle of the German, French, English and Polish Communists, of the whole Comintern, against the Young Plan.

Our Party has strengthened its influence in the working class in spite of the destructive mistakes of the leadership. The elemental discontentment of the workers with the brutal dictatorship regime, the general capitalist process of dissolution which is taking place before our very eyes, the hatred against the treasonable policy of reformism, brought us new masses. But that Fascism succeeded to grow at an incomparably swifter tempo—and not least of all among the proletarian youth—must be an alarm signal for our Party.

Only when the Party executes a genuinely serious turn, will it be in a position to repel the Fascist wave, to lead the masses forward in bitter mass actions, to put the proletarian, revolutionary, solution of the crisis on the order of the day.

Thaelmann—that is not a person, but a personification of the political regime in our Party: vacillating, reeling from illusion to illusion, fulminating phrases for the masses, impotent in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and Fascism, powerful and self-conscious within the Party when it is necessary to trample serious

proletarian criticism under the iron heel of the apparatus. This political and inner-Party regime is now getting drunk on the election success. The intoxication is brief, the awakening inevitable. It will soon be seen how far the power of action of the Party exists in the coming strike struggles. In the struggle for the jobless, in the struggle against Fascism.

To call a halt to the stormy Fascist tide, to repulse it, requires: Swiftest consolidation of the ideological foundation of the Party, which is being destroyed by national-Bolshevik phrases and theories on "social-fascism." The Party must adjust its internationalist, class front, every Party member must recognize that we must win the social democratic worker in tenacious struggle in order to erect together with him the class front.

All illusions must be given up, things must be seen as they are in all their seriousness. It is not yet too late. The social democratic workers are beginning to think. The threatening Fascist danger is strengthening the urge to unity in the working class. A correct Leninist policy must lead to united revolutionary fighting front between the C.P.G. and S.P.G. workers. A correct policy, that is, one that understands precisely now how to burst the contradiction, by means of the united front tactic, between the social democratic workers who want to fight and the counter-revolutionary leaders.

The election victory will enormously increase the impact of Fascism. In the factories, on the streets, its hordes will advance against the proletarian mass organizations. The more it shows itself to be incapable of fighting for work or bread for the deceived masses, the more it will drive them forward against the class conscious workers. In the blood of the proletarian vanguard it seeks to benumb the hunger of the backward sections of the proletariat.

The most decisive weapon in the struggle of the working class is the revolutionary party. The mistakes of our leadership will be paid for by the working class with just as many victims as the betrayal of the reformists.

The responsibility that lies upon us is growing. Our struggle has not become lighter, but heavier. We exerted our efforts to assist the Party to success. The cadres of the Left Opposition who worked in every part of Germany side by side with the Party comrades, have every reason to be joyous at the success attained by our Party. But they renounce hymns of victory, they see the threatening dangers, and they will have to increase their efforts tenfold in order to help the Party, which has not yet grasped the whole import of the situation, to fulfill its duty, to organize the proletarian revolution in Germany.

IN JEWISH JUST RECEIVED FROM POLAND My Life

By LEON TROTSKY

In Two Volumes of 700 Pages

Five Dollars for Both Volumes

Order from

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue . . . New York, N. Y.

THE LATEST PAMPHLET BY COMRADE LEON TROTSKY

The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation

JUST WRITTEN : : JUST PUBLISHED



A keen analysis of the latest turn in policy of the present leadership of the Communist International in connection with an examination of the results of the recent elections in Germany. Comrade Trotsky reveals the relationship of forces between the proletariat, the big and small bourgeoisies, and their political parties, and presents the perspectives for the great dilemma in Germany: Communism or Fascism.

10 cents a copy : : 7 cents in bundles.

Order Now From

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue New York, N. Y.

Young Vanguard

On Saturday October 11th a conference of young needle trades workers was held in New York by the Youth Section of the N. T. W. I. U. The latter, after having carried on no real activity since its organization, suddenly decided to organize the mass of needle trades youth. This was to be one of the accomplishments of the Y. C. L. leadership under its "shock plan."

Preparation for such an affair is of utmost importance. Since no previous work had been carried on among the youth, because of the general weakness of the N. T. W. I. U.; the fact that the mass of the youth in the industry have never been in any union; these are some of the conditions which necessitate well organized, persistent, conscientious preparatory activity. However the "shock plan" had (!) to be carried out; another "youth conference" had to be added to the record; an almost countless number of conferences of young workers in the various industries were to be held before September 30.

The Needle Trade Youth Conference was therefore originally called for September 21. Two or three afternoon open air meetings were held, a leaflet or two issued, the Shop Delegates Council of the N. T. W. I. U. was notified and preparations were completed! But when the hour for the opening of the Conference arrived, even the official leadership could not go through with it. The handful of delegates who assembled were told that the Conference had been postponed until October 11.

However, very little additional agitation had been carried on. A few more afternoon meetings were held, a notice now and then in the *Daily Worker* and little more. At an open air meeting held a day before the Conference in front of the International Tailoring Corporation, at Fourth Ave., and Twelve Street, no leaflets were issued; the youth speakers did not even know the hour that the Conference was to be held. This in spite of the fact that the head of the National Youth Dept. of the N. T. W. I. U. was present! An otherwise good meeting ended with no organizational results. We do not know whether this is a typical case, but the showing at the October 11th Conference seems to indicate as much.

Of the fifty or so delegates present, the overwhelming majority were from Left wing controlled shops or were previous members of the Union. An insignificant handful were new delegates from completely unorganized places, or obtained during the campaign (?) for the Conference. There were apparently no representatives of large shops.

Called for 2:30, the Conference opened after 4. Most of the time was taken up with talk. Not the kind which would make the delegates feel that they were running the Conference, deciding on policies, etc., but on the contrary, orders were given, telling what should be done, how to do it, how not to function. This was followed by the chairman asking the young workers present to join in the discussion. The

delegates were naturally reluctant. Several of the more experienced rank and filers spoke.

The tone of the reports and comments by the so-called leaders of the Conference was: the youth should be in the leadership of the movement; the young needle workers are the most militant section in the industry; the Youth Dept. of the N. T. W. I. U. is making great efforts to win over the youth; the young workers will be especially needed in the front ranks of the coming dress strike.

The fact that the youth is the most militant, the most active section of the industry has much truth in it, but whether it should lead the struggle is highly questionable. Especially in a class-struggle union, it should be the most experienced, the most theoretically advanced who should lead. And this is usually found among the adults rather than the youth.

Then the time came for a report and discussion on the Program (the draft of which was distributed to the delegates) the chairman was notified by the janitor that the room had to be vacated—the rental time had already expired. The Program Committee report took up a few minutes: It suggested that the Draft be accepted subject to minor changes to be made by the incoming Executive. With no discussion, the report was accepted including a "Plan of Action," (where have we heard this before?) The latter consisted of eight tasks such as the establishment of a functioning Youth Committee of the Union, and a Youth Delegates' Council; the organization of four functioning youth sections of buildings in various crafts of the industry; formation of four shop committees in large places employing young workers by December 15; establishment of training school; support of clothing workers' sports club; of *Needle Worker*; founding of a bi-weekly Youth Bulletin by Nov. 15th, etc. In a word a general plan, which is not very difficult to put on paper, but even if good, required correct strategic and tactical policies to put in practice as well as correct leadership.

After the acceptance of the Program, several of the delegates pledged specific sums of money for the coming dress strike. Motions suddenly came from the floor on Greetings to Minor, then one to Foster, Amter, Raymond; suddenly some one rebuked the Conference for forgetting Harry Eisman the young Pioneer serving at Hawthorne.

A motion was then carried endorsing the Communist Party in the election campaign. The next and final point was the election of a Youth Executive. The main business of the conference squeezed into about ten minutes; the delegates listened; the "leader laid down the line." No genuine steps forward had been taken by the Conference.—J. F.

(The next issue of the *Young Vanguard* will carry a criticism of the Program and the Plan of Action accepted at the Conference).

On the New Farmer-Labor Party Proposal

Continued from page 3

class party people from Montant, A. C. Miller who still sees nothing wrong with running in the Republican Party primaries—and the Left Opposition? It is not difficult to decide.

We would go there only in order to tell them that we shall have nothing to do with their movement—and for no other conceivable purpose. Whom would our agitation and point of view concert in this quiet, confidential conference? Workers, or their rank and file representatives? They will not be present. Or do we expect to convert to a Marxian position the Lovestoneites who seek to liquidate the Communist movement, who feel like fish in water when they are toying with "mass" petty bourgeois movements? Or the Finnish leaders who knowing better, raised their hands to the skies in the Party to expel us, and only broke with the Party when the latter's leaders—under pressure of the Left sentiment in the Party—began in their characteristically clumsy, stupid and ineffectual manner, it is true to deal with the opportunist corrosion eating into the vitals of the Finnish Communist movement in the Northwest. Let the Finnish business men seeking political cover for their opportunism and the corrupt adventurers in the Lovestone camp who are violating every Communist principle once respected in the movement—go their way. We will build seriously and substantially on the founda-

tion of the class struggle.

4. It is asked: What role have we to play in this "movement"? That was the question put by the great strategists of the Pepper-Lovestone-Bedacht school in relation to the LaFollette movement. Only with the aid of the Comintern, at that time under the direct pressure of the Russian Opposition, was the correct answer given. We can give the same reply now. Our role is to disclose the character of this movement publicly to the workers, to reveal its adventurist and opportunist nature to fight intransigently against its deceptions. If Pepperism in 1924 was a tragedy, this pitiful caricature of 1930 will undoubtedly be and is, a farce. We want nothing to do with it.

Our moment, which arose and is developing in the merciless struggle against the revisionism of Marxism in the revolution and its twin adventurism, against all varieties of fakery, exaggeration, of inflated, boosted and "promoted" movements which collapse of their own emptiness can only gain from adopting such an attitude. We are confident that our Minneapolis comrades will concur in our point of view which is dedicated solely by concern over the interests and future not only of our group in particular but the working class movement as a whole.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)
Per Max Shachtman

The Civil War in Brazil

Brazil is the fourth South American country to overthrow the government in the course of the last three months.

In Bolivia and Peru, with the sympathy of the great masses, the liberal bourgeoisie staged triumphant movements, and supported by British imperialism managed to defeat the feudal elements which for years, while in power, had worked hand in hand with Wall Street financial interests.

In Argentina the pro-British government of Hipolito Irigoyen was turned out by a military coup of the big bourgeoisie supported by American imperialism. A virtual reign of terror was then instituted against the proletarian organizations. The Communist and anarchist press has been suppressed and several anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders have been executed.

The Brazilian revolt, however, is in reality a much more complex affair than either of the other three countries mentioned. Brazil is in area the largest country in the Western Hemisphere and has a population of 39 million, concentrated principally in different parts of the east and the south. Throughout this immense area the industries and agricultural products are quite diversified and the local governments which have a surprisingly great amount of local autonomy, even to the point of having their own armies) represent generally speaking the respective interests of the local exploiters. The principal crop in the country is coffee, with rubber as an important second and cacao, livestock, grain, mining, etc., also quite important in their respective regions.

The deposed Brazilian government was above all a representative of the coffee interests as was quite natural with coffee as the outstanding commercial product. Brazil produces the bulk of the world's coffee. During the period of crisis which, especially inasmuch as coffee is concerned, has been very long, the government of Washington Luiz has attempted all sorts of schemes to protect, by artificial means, the interests of coffee growers. First came the valorization plan by which the surplus product was stored to force a rise in prices on the market. After the failure of this scheme, loans were secured in BOTH Great Britain and the United States for the protection of these coffee raisers and to relieve the crisis in the industry. The liberal bourgeoisie whose interests conflict violently with those of the semi-feudal coffee producers protested energetically against these extensive foreign loans which benefited the coffee industries alone.

The recent rebellion was brought about by a combination of all the opposition forces, especially those of the petty bourgeoisie, and representing generally the interests of most of the secondary industries of the country. Counting on a wide mass support, which was natural as a result of the years of dictatorial rule under the Washington Luiz regime, the rebellion was initiated by the action of several states and after some fighting was enabled within a few weeks to dominate the country. As the ship was sinking, the army, (whether acting for the coffee growers or not still remains to be seen) threw the president overboard and attempted a compromise with the rebels. The compromise being rejected, the army officers, glad to have saved their own brave hides, were obliged to cede to the demands of the new regime.

A False Analysis of the Situation

The Communist Party of Brazil, and in imitation of it, the American Party also, have continually painted the Washington Luiz government as being pro-British, picturing the interests of the semi-feudal coffee interests as identical with those of British imperialism. Although they quite correctly point out that British investments in Brazil are double those of the U. S., they fail to consider that the enormous majority of the Brazilian coffee crop is marketed in New York. This is an entirely false and over-simple analysis of the real case, as both imperialisms are deeply interested in Brazilian coffee, while the secondary industries are controlled some by one imperialism and some of the other. Inasmuch as the rubber industry is concerned, the Washington Luiz regime has shown decided favoritism to the Ford interests as against their British rivals.

Our comrades of the Leninist Left Opposition in Brazil, through their monthly organ *A Luta de Classe* have demonstrated clearly the incorrectness of the official Party's analysis, and have further pointed

out that in Brazil, due to the complexities of the economic structure, with the existing diversification of products, each region having its staple, and a mutual though conflicting interest on part of both imperialisms as regards the most important product (coffee), it is impossible to say that either of the two leading imperialist powers actually supported, in the true sense of the word, either one of the two Brazilian parties. Both imperialisms made pacts and agreements with both groups as the particular situation required.

The action of the Wall Street government in rushing to the aid of the old Brazilian regime on the eve of its collapse, undoubtedly induced to lend its support in exchange for promises of future juicy concessions, demonstrates the falsity of the C. P.'s analysis and goes a long way towards confirming that of the Brazilian Left Opposition. Only acrobats can believe the analysis which declares, in the October 21 issue of the *Daily Worker*, that Wall Street, after having supported the rebellion, turned a triple somersault and flew to the aid of the regime that had already been fatally weakened through its own efforts. The Wall Street millionaire are shrewder politicians than certain of the *Daily Worker's* star reporters and are certainly not fools enough to do that.

The official press of the American Communist party has dealt very absurdly with the whole problem from the outset. Until the appearance of the aforementioned article the *Worker* and the other Party organs, shouted loudly that the rebellion was supported by Wall Street. The most ludicrous instance of bureaucratic stupidity of the really naive kind to be found in this already too-much-abused "Third Period" appeared in the *Freiheit* (Oct. 11, 1930), in an article informing us that a "Mass Communist Uprising Captures the Third Largest City in Brazil." Nothing was said in the *Daily Worker* concerning an event, which were it true, would have been of enormous revolutionary significance. In reality all that happened (we were forced to find out through the *New York Times*), was that during a street demonstration of workers in Bahia, several plate glass windows were smashed and a few street cars were overturned. (We will be called counter-revolutionists for saying this, as we are almost every other time that we tell the truth).

The Party Putsch

In Rio de Janeiro however, it seems that the party comrades, staged a melee, in an attempt to "capture power" . . . and were suppressed with numerous casualties, after a couple of hours by the troops and police. The *Daily Worker* commenting on this last isolated outbreak, which bears all the ear marks of a suicidal putsch, says in its issue of October 28, "The fight of the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil shows the deep going radicalization of the masses and the fact that the workers and poor peasants are beginning to put forward their independent demands against their own bourgeoisie as well as against all imperialist forces."

The C. P. of Brazil has, unfortunately, already discredited itself before the masses because of its "anti-imperialist" adventures and its election fizzle with the "Workers and Peasants Block." It is incapable with its many opportunist and ultra-Left defects of leading the masses effectively in struggle.

Our small Left Opposition group in Brazil has already in its ranks a number of serious revolutionary fighters expelled from the Party for their consistent struggle against the opportunism of the leadership. The Bolshevik-Leninists of Brazil have before them the task of rallying about themselves the best proletarian elements of the Party in order to reconstitute and build the Brazilian Communist movement, for the organization of the working class and the struggle for Communism in Brazil.

R. BLACKWELL,

If the number on your wrapper is

57

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOL. III. No. 33

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 15, 1930.

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Plot Against the Soviets

Stalin Imprisoned the Opposition Bolsheviks and Allowed the Counter-Revolutionists to Get Into Positions of Power

Every worker conscious of his class interests must be profoundly alarmed at the exposure just made of the international conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government. With a dramatic sharpness, it snatches out of the realm of abstraction the cold facts of the inexorable hostility of the capitalist world to the workers' republic. It makes real and living the fact of the permanent state of war—open or concealed—that exists between the power of the proletariat and the power of the bourgeoisie. Contrary to the soothing theories which have been expressed even in the ranks of the Communist movement, the Soviet state cannot live peacefully by the side of the imperialist states: either the one or the other must be overthrown.

The "Denials" of the Plotters

The statements made by the Soviets, charging the existence of an international plot that involves the imperialist masters of half a dozen countries and hundreds of counter-revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union, cannot be taken lightly, or considered as a passing sensation. Only those completely out of their senses would make such charges involving such "respectable" names as Poincare, Briand, Churchill, Deterding, and the rulers of Poland, Finland and Roumania unless there were substantial evidence to prove them.

We do not, of course, give a fig for the "indignant denials" of these imperialist bandits. Have not a Churchill, Lloyd George, Poincare, Pilsudski, and all the others, spent millions upon millions of dollars, and thousands of working class lives, in previous attempts to overthrow the workers' republic by armed force? Can anybody, except one without a memory, forget the military intervention in Russia of all the imperialist powers after the end of the world war, an intervention conducted on a dozen fronts? Can anybody forget the millions given to the Georgian Mensheviks, to Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenitch, Tchaikovsky, Koltchak, to the Social Revolutionists, to monarchists?

Why should any sane man put any credence in the "denials" of the conspirators? There is no reason at all. It may be that this or that individual named in the charges—based on the confessions of arrested Russian conspirators—cannot have his connection proved, but the fact remains that international capitalism is constantly seeking to overthrow the Soviet government and to support those elements within the Soviet Union who represent the interests of the capitalist class.

The conspiracy has no accidental or passing significance. It is a symptom of a deeply-rooted evolution in the relationship of forces in the Soviet Union. How does it happen that thirteen years after the establishment of the Soviet power, there should be uncovered a well-knit counter-revolutionary organization of some 2,000 people, many, if not most of them, of prominence? They are people who did not become counter-revolutionists yesterday. Many of them have been in the Soviet apparatus for years. Their origin was known, their past recorded: ex-tsarist officers, technicians, manufacturers, nobles, Mensheviks, Cadets, etc., etc. How were these types able to reach such high posts in the Soviet apparatus, and perfect a centralized organization which converted into an actuality the possibility of a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the workers' dictatorship? They could not have started yesterday—such an organization must have required a few years; where was the G. P. U. in the past, where was the proletariat's secret service to unearth these people and bring them to proletarian justice?

It was too busy framing up Left Oppositionists with the aid of provocateurs and "Wrangel officers"—as may yet be done in the present case—to pay attention

to the growing danger of counter-revolutionary gangs.

We must answer flatly and openly: The responsibility for this development lies principally upon the present Stalin regime in the Communist Party and upon the Stalin-Bucharin regime that preceded it! The credit for exposing these counter-revolutionary nests lies principally with the Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists!

The Opposition's Warning

For years past, the Opposition raised the cry of warning against the "Thermidorian danger," that is, the dangerous growth of those capitalist elements in the country, who were even pressing down upon the party, and whose aim was to undermine the proletarian dictatorship—in other words, the counter-revolutionary danger embodied in the kulaks, the Nepman, the bourgeois "specialists", the concessionary, and the Right wing inside the Communist Party. For this warning, the Stalinists and the Bucharinists slandered the Opposition. They denied the Thermidorian danger. They shouted down the Opposition as "alarmists" and people who "speculate on the overthrow of the dictatorship." The Fosters and Lovestones in this and every other country still attack the Opposition for its warning against the

Thermidorian threat to Russia. While these epigones centered their attack upon the Left flank of the movement, the Right flank, the counter-revolution took the opportunity to perfect its sinister plans.

The strategy of the counter-revolution was and is: First, we crush the Left Opposition, the proletarian heart of the dictatorship—then comes our day. The club with which to do the crushing was the usurpatory faction of Stalin-Bucharin. A thousand facts prove this.

Among the main leaders of the conspiracy is the chief of the so-called Peasants' Party, Kondratiev, now imprisoned. Almost three years to the day before his arrest by the G. P. U. comrade Trotsky spoke before the Party Central Committee (October 23, 1927) on the proposal by Stalin-Bucharin-and-Co. to exclude him from that body:

"... The thoroughly opportunist faction which has dragged behind it in recent years and still drags behind it the Chiang Kai-Sheks, the Feng Yuhsiangs, the Wang Chin Weis, the Purcells, the Hickses, the Ben Tillets, the Martinovs, the KONDRATIEVS and the Ustrilovs, this faction cannot tolerate us in the Central Committee, not even one month before the Congress. We know why."

In a dozen other speeches and articles, Trotsky warned against the Kondratievs by name and by species. The Kondratievs were kept in the apparatus where they plotted the overthrow of the dictatorship; the Oppositionists who fought them were sent to prison or exile.

Among others arrested in the plot are people like Ramzin, who was nothing less than Fuel Power Director, and Kalinnikov, a commander of the Central Military Academy. How did these two, and countless others reach these high posts, of such immense strategical value to the Soviet power? What Oppositionist was removed, expelled, imprisoned, exiled or killed, in order to make room for the Ramzins and the Kalinnikovs? Did the latter take the places of comrades Ochotnikov, Kuzmitchev, Broldta and Capel, to mention only a few of the Oppositionists—valorous fighters in the civil war and some decorated with the Order of the Red Flag—who were expelled from the Military Academy and the Academy of Aviation?

It is an incontestable fact, which all the rabid howls of the Stalinist penman will not succeed in shouting down, that the ruling clique in the Party was too busy hounding the Opposition to notice the silent advance of the counter-revolution:

The Stalin-Bucharin regime tortured Continued on page 3

For a Genuine United Front of the Millinery Workers

On Saturday, November 8, the Communist Party leaders gained another one of their customary "victories" in what was a horrible example of how a united front should be organized. The weeks of hard work by leading Left wing militants in the millinery industry in New York, who sought to find a common working basis in one of the most advantageous situations the Left wing has had for a long time, were nullified by the Party strategists with the mechanical, wrecking policies for which they have become notorious.

The Origin of the Movement

A few weeks ago, a group of operators, members of Local 24 of the A. F. of L. millinery union, who had found it impossible for the last few years to be part of the official Left wing in view of the prevailing Party policies, decided that the situation created by the threatened imposition of a "collective agreement" necessitated finding a working basis.

The millinery workers recall what the workings of a collective agreement mean to their standards. Up to a few years ago, such an agreement prevailed in the trade and all the workers remember its effects well. Now it is being proposed again. Zaritsky and the other Right wing union bureaucrats have been peddling about this proposal for a collective agreement as a means of "stabilizing the trade." They have pointed out to the manufacturers that it would put to a stop to the "hold-up tactics" of Local 42, the blockers, which has succeeded in raising working standards and wages to a fair extent. To accept the agreement would mean a general cutting of wages, a re-introduction and extension of piece work among the operators, the eventual increasing of working hours, and above all, the weakening of the safeguard of job control by "reorganization," which really means to furnish the bureaucrats and manufacturers with a weapon for discrimination.

Naturally, this situation aroused the spirit of the operators and blockers immediately. Resistance to the impending agreement was shown right away. It was expressed by the awakening of a movement among the operators, whose leading and most militant section organized as a Left wing group. This group approached and collaborated with the Left wing group

that had already been working and fighting in Blockers' Local 42 for some time in the past.

Then the group proceeded to negotiate with the official Left wing in the Industrial Union, which in essence means the Party. Endless discussion meetings were held, with the basis for discussion furnished by the need of working within the existing unions. After a number of deliberations, it was finally decided to call a joint meeting, consisting of all Left wing millinery workers, and the headgear department of the Needle Trades Workers I. U., to open up the question. The fact that the Stalinists consented to meet with militants in the old unions (who are theoretically "social fascists") is an indication of how the facts of the struggle compelled them to retreat from their untenable position.

The joint meeting, held three weeks ago, had a discussion of seven long hours during the Party's trade union position was riddled with holes. The "company union" theory and the rest of the stock in trade of the "third period" were conclusively revealed as false and unreal. The idea of coming before the 40 percent of the workers organized in the A. F. of L. union with the cry that the union they built up by struggle is a "company union", which must be left immediately—leaving the mass of the workers at the mercy of the bureaucracy—was shown to be quite untenable.

The Committee of Seven

After a series of maneuvers, a committee of seven was finally elected from the floor. It was shown that a really democratic committee selection was impossible at this meeting, composed of about 150 workers, 75-80 of whom were Party mem-

bers, representing only themselves, and bound in advance by decisions they had little part in making, while the others represented the overwhelming sentiment of the union under the stress of an impending collective agreement and a lockout.

The lockout threatened by the bosses for November 15, and the need of crystallizing the resistance of the workers, made it necessary for this committee to meet immediately to decide on a course of action. But there was a delay of almost two weeks, caused by the fact that the broad Left wing group had been meeting regularly and formulated the proposal to issue a program and call a meeting at a certain date regardless of the Party's stand. One day later, a meeting was called of the enlarged committee together with the trade committee of the Industrial Union, where, after another exhaustive discussion, the resolution submitted by the broad Left wing was accepted by the Party to be presented at an enlarged meeting on November 8.

The long-delayed meeting finally opened on that day. It appeared as if it were possible finally to create a unified basis for work in the reactionary unions, with the joint efforts of all Left wing militants, regardless of their political or factional affiliations. The resolution was presented, it having been understood that it was to be the only matter discussed. Suddenly Sonia Croll, organizer of the headgear department of the N. T. W. I. U., came forward, made a long, puerile analysis of the trade (an insult to a worker's intelligence), and re-stated the catechism: the existing unions are company unions; they must be smashed; the collective agreement will be put over anyway; that will convince the millinery workers of the futility of Continued on page 2

CONVERT CHRISTMAS TIME INTO MILITANT TIME

Collect for the Sustaining Fund

BUY A COUPON

SELL A COUPON

Get your friends and shopmates to

BUY A COUPON

SELL A COUPON

Are Walker and Lewis Going to Unite?

ILLINOIS MINERS

Howat and the Rank and File Movement

SPRINGFIELD—

Besides injunctions and more injunctions, court-room battles, street bouts, gun duels, slugging one another and local strikes among the Illinois miners, the most striking development is the various maneuvers of John Walker, the secretary-treasurer of the re-organized Miners Union. Like all self-seeking labor fakers, but more notoriously, Walker is dabbling and kowtowing with the most anti-union element of Illinois. Whether it is an American Legion banquet, a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Rotary Club dinner or some boss' political rally Walker is always conspicuous with his two large feet telling them what a great "labor leader" he is and how he has sacrificed and sacrificed and sacrificed for the Miners Union. The Miners call him "Weeping Jack." But there is a reason behind all of Walker's weeping. Walker has played the labor politician's game all his life and he still hopes to become a national figure.

It is only a few days ago that John Walker issued a statement to the American Federation of Labor convention at Boston, which read in part as follows:

"We will be glad to have the American Federation of Labor take any action that has for its purpose the bringing about a conference of the officials of both organizations to arrange for calling of a convention." (My emphasis).

Had the miners who are footing up the bills for the injunctions, lawyers and court costs anything to say about this statement? Is there any provision in the statement to have rank and file represented at the conference? Not at all. Everything is to be done by the officials of both organizations who have been hiring gunmen, fists and throwing verbal dynamite at each other for the last two years.

The Bureaucrats Unite

But Walker's statement is not the first time that this unity proposition sprouted out. During the recent Illinois Federation of Labor convention at Springfield, there were several locals of the re-organized Miners Union that sent delegates. When the question of seating these delegates came on the floor of the convention, Secretary Olander made the following announcement: "We came to an agreement with all parties involved not to seat the delegates from the re-organized locals of the Miners Union. We have done it so as not to create any bad feelings among those concerned. Because we hope to have both factions back with us in the near future." This was accepted by the delegates and even such "dead warriors" like John Hindmarsh who was a delegate from the re-organized union did not make a protest. Walker still had support in the Illinois Federation of Labor convention after the unseating of the miners delegates and if he were sincere in exposing John L. Lewis, this would have been a good time and place to do it. But, no, this could not be done or as Olander said, there had been an agreement reached.

Walker reads the handwriting on the wall. And that is why he is so active at the present time. He is playing a triple game. First, in case the miners put the boot to him, he will readily find a soft spot to land in the camp of the bosses. Second, trying in spite of everything, to become the outstanding miners leader and an "angel of peace" with the hope of becoming international president in place of Lewis and Howat at the fakers' unity convention. Third, he is running for the presidency of Illinois district, for which he not only has his flunkies busy working trying to capture the majority of the nominations to get at the head of the ballot, but also has the support of the Peabody Coal Co. mine guards: As for instance, in the Taylorville district where a Peabody mine guard walked into the local union meeting, put his gun on the table and told the members to nominate Walker for district president.

In the Miners' Rank and File

Will the rank and file miners agree to unity with the two sets of labor fakers or have John Walker for president of the re-organized Miners Union? The answer lies in which way the rank and file is moving and the situation on the Illinois mining fields.

In the Duquoin district the miners are working under the protection of mine

By JOSEPH ANGELO

guards, deputies and State Police. There one faction is trying to prevent the other faction from working. In Danville a similar situation prevails. Are the miners really doing this because they think that one faction is better than another? Not exactly. It is true that there are several local leaders that are bought and bribed by the one or the other faction and these flunkies are doing the bidding of their pay-masters. The rank and file miners see no hope in either faction and at the present time they are supporting the lesser of the two evils and wait for the opportune moment to rid themselves of both evils.

In the meantime the coal operators are reaping the harvest. Speed-ups, loading-machines, wages-cuts and worsening of conditions are the order of the day. In the Taylorville district, the Peabody mines are being guarded day and night by a herd of company gunmen, machine gun are being brought to the mine property and each miner is carefully scrutinized as he comes to work every day. (That is, every day the mine works, which is very few). There is no strike here, all belong to one faction. The coal-operators here are preparing more wage-cuts, because they think that they can use one faction against the other when the time comes.

Can Walker and Lewis unite the division in camp by any of their methods? The struggle has gone too far and the wounds too deep and now the whole struggle has simmered down to a fight against both officialdoms and only the rank and file movement can heal the wounds and unite the union.

The Position of Howat

What is the position of Alex Howat in regards to the present struggle? The Fishwick-Walkers and the remnants of Farrington are in complete control of the re-organized Miners Union at the present time. Due to the international constitution adopted at the Springfield convention the whole power of the international executive board lies in the hand of the district presidents. That is, the district presidents have one vote for each two thousands members. Thus, altho Fishwick is district president and Howat international president, Fishwick has twenty votes, to Howat's one. Howat still has the respect and confidence of the rank and file. The mass meetings of Howat's are attended by thousands of miners. At these meetings Howat has urged the necessity of militant policies, the election of rank and file officials, the reinstatement of all those expelled, unemployment insurance and a Labor Party.

At the Mt. Olive memorial meeting on October 11th, Howat replied to the unity compromise of Walker's by saying, "The re-organized Miners Union is more determined than ever to continue its fight against Lewis and his organization. The Lewis wing is a company union and a tool of the coal operators. If the coal operators asked Lewis for anything, they usually got it. Instead of begging from the bosses, the miners must organize a strong militant union." And in reply to one of Fishwick's attorneys that spoke at the meeting who told of what great suffering and sacrifices that Walker, Fishwick and Nesbit went thru, Howat said, "that it was not the officials that did the suffering and sacrificing. They were well paid for what they did. But it was the rank and file that did all the suffering and sacrificing and paying." The coming few months will again test Howat. The crack in the policies will either widen or close. Howat will either have to support the policy of the rank and file in deeds and not words, or the present officialdom. Howat must choose: either the Left wing miners and an open, clear fight on their side; or drifting along at the tail end of the Fishwick kite, and serving to cover up the faults of the "new union's" reactionary leadership. But regardless of where Howat chooses to go, the Left wing must rely on the miner's ranks.

In this whole struggle there is one hopeful spark and that is the development of the rank and file "educational bodies." The first educational body was formed at Staunton. Since then it has spread to Herrin, Pana and Springfield. They have adopted a broad militant policy, uniting

the progressive miners in both the Lewis and Fishwick union and carrying on educational work in both of the unions. Walker and Fishwick have already declared this a dual movement. These bodies are a healthy sign and they can be looked upon to play a big role in the future affairs of the Miners Union. They have already an important power, which is increasing right along. These rank and file movements are the cause of Walker and Lewis losing sleep and holding secret unity conferences. Will history repeat itself and Lewis and Walker unite as Lewis and Farrington did several years ago? The rank and file has other plans—plans which will put the

Millinery Workers Need Real United Front

Continued from page 1

fighting within the existing union!

The representatives of the broad Left wing group were once more compelled to speak. For hours they again argued against the false analysis and conclusions of the Industrial Union leaders on the subject of the so-called "company unions." But all to no avail. The Party decision had already been made. A phoney resolution was presented by the Party spokesman, and before any discussion could be had, it was jammed through with the aid of the Party's "packing." The resolution called for a committee to determine (after the weeks of discussion and work!) the nature of our work. The Left wing militants, not under Party discipline, refused to participate in this burlesque of a united front, and one by one declined membership on the committee. Thirteen Party and I. U. members were chosen, and thus ended the "united front" which is now being so widely advertised. No "social fascists," Lovestoneites, Trotskyites, or other non-kosher elements are to "contaminate" the committee.

Party's Arbitrariness

The whole situation spoke loudly of the fact that there is enormous vitality for the Left wing movement, and opportunities for real work. The Left wing workers in the main, understand the need of working unitedly with the whole Left wing movement and with the Party. They made every effort to work together so that prestige and strength would accrue to the Left wing and Communist movement. It was they who approached the Party, and sought united action. All the Party saw in this was a chance to "put something over."

The views of these militants, with years of experience in Left wing struggles, many of them former members of the T. U. E. L., men with standing among the workers, were coolly disregarded by the Party leaders, who thought to "rope them in," so to speak, by the cheap method of getting a mechanical majority in a packed meeting. The weeks of hard work merely demonstrated that the Party leaders will not yield from their untenable position, no matter what the requirements of the situation may be. "Either our line, or nothing."

Nevertheless, it would be a big mistake to stop the work begun by these militants, which was temporarily sidetracked by Party tactics. The position they took at the beginning remains sound: Work in the existing unions, collaborate with the organized Left wing, for unity of all the militants. The attempts by certain Lovestoneite elements to find an "easy road" for this movement by cutting it away from the official Left wing, have met with healthy and justified resistance from these militants who will not fight against the Communist movement but will help to redress its line and the line of the Left wing.

These workers are not taken in by the "simplified" Party theory of "company unions, which breeds passivity, sectarianism and defeatism. They are for a Left wing policy that will win the workers.

Organize the Left Wing!

The alternatives are not limited to either subjugation to the Party's false line, or no Left wing work at all. The Communist movement can and does transcend the stifling bounds of the Stalinist bureaucracy and Left wing militants can organize their work, and fight, without this bureaucracy if needs be, so long as they retain

Walkers, Lewises and others that go along with them where they rightfully belong.

In this whole gigantic struggle, where is the Stalinist Communist Party leadership? After all their glittering schemes, grand programs without ways and means for their accomplishment and wild plunges into ill-considered efforts, the "third period" chiefs enthusiastically greeted the miners by their absence. To-day, there is not a single Party unit functioning and Diogenes would need to look with a powerful microscope to find an active Stalinist.

It is due to the program and sober tactics of the Left Opposition that there is an awakening among the militant miners and a realization of the need for careful and substantial organizing of the Left wing in both of the Lewis and Fishwick unions and cutting a direct road past both officialdoms.

their contract with the bulk of the Left wing movement. The work of Left wing blockers in Local 42 amply illustrates that real work can be carried on in spite of Party muddling.

The urgent need now is that, on the basis of these experiences, there should be crystallized a broad Left wing movement, including all the militants in the industry for a struggle against the union bureaucracy, their capitalist masters, their class collaboration practises and theories, and for a class struggle policy and the unification of all the millinery workers. The immensity of the task demands bold and determined action.

—S. M. ROSE.

New Seamen's «International»

HAMBURG—

There has just been held here a supposed International Seamen's and Dockers' Conference, and we are told that delegates present represented nearly half a million workers. After a lot of revolutionary talk it was decided to set up a revolutionary international of seamen and dockers.

Now we will all agree that such an international is wanted, but any one in close touch with the above conference will have arrived at only one conclusion, and that is, a real international of seamen and dockers can only be brought about by a conference of representatives from bona fide seamen and dockers organizations and not by a meeting of a few paid functionaries of the Communist Party, seamen's clubs and dockers' group.

At the above conference it was claimed that representatives were present from Germany, Britain, France, U. S. A., China, South America, etc., etc. One seemed to find it difficult, however, to discover what organizations they represented. Why all this mystery when five hundred thousand workers were represented, I don't know.

The star turn at the conference was the notorious George Hardy, who long ago became a back number in the States. We next hear of him as a big noise in the Minority Movement in Britain, but he ultimately suffered the same fate there. During the 1925 seamen's strike, Hardy tried to call it off in London while the seamen were still on strike in Australia. And it's a good job for George, but a bad job for the movement, that the seaman didn't get hold of him, otherwise they would have dumped him in the dock.

Another interesting chapter in Hardy's history is his connection with the general strike in England. During the whole period of this strike, although he was the organizing secretary of the Minority Movement, George couldn't be found. (He was probably too busy fraternizing with Messrs. Purcell, Swales and Co. in the Anglo-Russian "Unity" Committee!—Ed.)

It was following this episode that Hardy was given the order of the boot. He now turns up here in Hamburg as the president of the seamen's and Dockers' International. As delegates were present at this conference from the U. S. A., it would be interesting to learn what seamen's and dockers' organization they represented and what voting power they carried numerically.

RED SEAMAN.

If the number on your wrapper is

58

then your subscription to the **Militant** has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

The Benefits of Hillmanism

By ALBERT ORLAND

Since the Amalgamated Clothing Workers embarked on the policy of class collaboration, a great change has taken place in the organizational and social outlook of that once radical labor union. From an organization whose chief concern was the well-being of its membership and whose social guide was the principle of the solidarity of labor, the A. C. W. has been transformed into an agency for the promotion of rationalization in the clothing industry, with the workers being the victims of all the concomitants of capitalist rationalization.

Militant Collaboration

The leadership of the Amalgamated has been selling this sort of unionism to all: manufacturers, workers and the "public." All are welcome to share in its benefits, and, we are assured, all are anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity wherever it has been given them by the generous hand of the A. C. W. leadership. Those who oppose the protection and the benefits of Amalgamated control, as we are enlightened, are either stupid or incorrigible fanatics and dogmatists. Not only have Hillman and his associates displayed sufficient courage and aggressiveness in following the line of class collaboration policy, but they have given it widespread publication as the last word in trade unionism. The A. C. W. has for years promulgated this policy in its official organs, giving numerous demonstrations of its workings and even taking pride in its achievements.

What is the essence of this Amalgamated "new unionism"? Who has benefited by it, and what are the real conditions of the Amalgamated members in the shops and out of the shops, as a result of the application of the new policy? Let us analyze this policy and look into the facts.

The principle of union-employers cooperation is not new. It has been advocated and practiced by all reformist unions. It consists of the recognition of the common interests of capital and labor and of the necessity of cooperation for the common benefit of both.

The A. C. W. leadership has not introduced any new elements into this conception to justify its claims to being the most "advanced" trade union in the labor movement. It has, however, proved able to camouflage this policy of class collaboration with such names as the "new strategy", "militant unionism", realistic militant unionism, etc., and for that it certainly deserves credit and admiration as no other trade union in the country.

In practice, the A. C. W. policy expresses itself in the following manner: The union and the employers cooperate in reducing labor costs by increasing production, eliminating waste, applying efficient methods, eliminating strikes and promoting peaceful relations between both parties. The workers are to receive the benefits of increased production in the form of union wages and hours.

What the Bosses Want

Any clear-minded person will easily understand that employers do not need the cooperation of a labor union in the rationalization of their enterprises, that technical management can be procured outside of trade union offices and that non-union shops are no less concerned about efficient methods of production than union shops. What an employer can, however, expect from a labor union is cooperation in eliminating strikes and securing uninterrupted production.

The A. C. W. entered the field of rendering that kind of service to the clothing manufacturers and has proved able to measure up to its task. It has even gone further than that. It has offered them the services of all the resources of the organization, cooperation in the shops by efficiency experts it maintains, credits from its banks in addition to guarantees of peace and uninterrupted production. The A. C. W. boastfully claims to have put the union shops in an advantageous position in comparison with non-union shops in regard to competition, that it has actually made the open shop a non-paying proposition for employers.

Hillman, surely, cannot be denied recognition for accomplishing these ends. In fact, he has been compensated for his achievements by high praise from all sorts of patriotic and reformist quarters and

was even accorded medals for his contributions to the cause of social peace. But what benefits have the workers in the clothing industry received in return for their cooperation? What has rationalization given them and what are their prospects?

Thousands of Amalgamated members have been thrown out into the streets, replaced by machinery or eliminated as "waste in industry" by A. C. W. efficiency experts. They are doomed to starvation, victims of Hillman's "militant efficiency unionism."

Is the A.C.W. officialdom aware of these facts? What are its answers to them? In *Advance*, official organ of the A. C. W., of March 14, 1930, we read from a speech delivered by an A. C. W. organizer at a conference of the Railway Clerks, the following reference to these facts:

"The policy of cooperation for efficiency meant the gradual elimination of the inefficient shops and with the dying out of these shops a good many people lost their employment temporarily. We were compelled to face that, and in the working out of the process the temporary hardships of the displacements have been compensated for a hundred fold in the tremendous improvements in wages and conditions that have been made possible in a more efficient industry."

Here is an open admission that the policy of cooperation is responsible for the great unemployment existing in the clothing industry. But the Amalgamated bureaucrat sidetracks this question by inserting the meaningless "temporarily" and making references to "tremendous improvements," apparently hoping in this manner to knock any possible critic off his feet.

What "Temporary" Means in the A. C. W.

But what has become of the "good many people who have lost their employment temporarily?" Have they been put back into the industry? Or were they eliminated "temporarily" until forced to drift into other occupations, or died of starvation? There was a case a few years ago with 150 cutters of the Chicago organization who were eliminated by the joint decision of the union and Hart, Schnaffner and Marx for a compensation of \$500 a piece, and eliminated permanently with admonitions never to come back because the industry did not need them any more. And the cutters were the aristocrats in the industry. This case can be characterized as the siren of "efficiency unionism." For what happened to the Chicago cutters a few years ago has since become a daily occurrence and a matter of routine in the clothing shops under Amalgamated control. Hundreds of cutters and thousands of workers from other branches have been eliminated without any compensation to face starvation and misery. There are today hundreds of "aristocrats" permanently unemployed in the New York market, members of the once powerful Cutters Local 4. The membership of this local has dwindled from 4,000 to 2,000, with more than one-third permanently unemployed.

Now how about the "tremendous improvements" in wages and conditions referred to by the A. C. W. organizer in his speech? Have the wage standards been raised or lowered as a result of the increased production? Are there any wage standards at all in A. C. W. shops outside of these fixed by the employers and sanctioned by the officials of the Amalgamated? Are there any price committees in the shops? And, by the way, why was it necessary to abolish the week-work system which has been so fiercely resisted by the workers and forced on them by the Beckermans and other agents of Hillman?

That the piece-work system has been forced on the workers as a scheme to increase the speed up and reduce wages is given testimony by the officialdom recently on the occasion of the introduction of piece-work in the Montreal market. In *Advance*, July 11, 1930, under the caption "News from Montreal" the following explanation is given by the Montreal officialdom:

"It has become increasingly important to give the manufacturers who are willing to stand by the union a fair chance to do business in competition with the 'illegitimate' (meaning the non-union)

manufacturers. The prevailing system of week-work in the Montreal market has placed the inside bona-fide manufacturers at a disadvantage in comparison with the 'illegitimate'."

Hillman Gives the Bosses a Break!

The manufacturers are given a fair chance through the piece-work system to cut the wages to the level of the non-union workers in order to be able to compete with non-union shops. The increase in efficiency does not seem, at least in this case, to warrant any "tremendous improvements" in wages. One can even conclude from the above explanation that this "efficiency" is produced by the speed-up forced on the Amalgamated members by piece work and other schemes.

And how about the hours of work? Has the A. C. W. made any attempt to shorten the hours, a reform so imperative at the present tie and surely warranted by an efficient industry? Except for adopting resolutions at conventions, nothing has been attempted in that direction.

The "new, militant, realistic unionism" of the Amalgamated, when stripped of its attractive coverings, emerges as a genuine reactionary kind of union-employer cooperation, a boomerang to the workers. This "militant" unionism has in a few years wiped out all the gains the clothing workers had enjoyed in past years as a result of their struggles, it has ruined their lives and hopes. This "unionism" can only be maintained by force and deceit. Such a regime has been established and perfected by the Amalgamated bureaucracy.

Hillman boasts of his banks, cooperative apartment houses, and office buildings. The workers know that all these have been built on their sweat and blood, and enjoyed by manufacturers and union bureaucrats, while they suffer and starve. The day is not far off when the clothing workers will arise to action and radically change the leadership and the policies of the Amalgamated.

Rose Karsner Bus. Manager

At a recent meeting of the national committee of the League, comrade Rose Karsner was appointed to take over the business and financial management of the Militant. Comrade Karsner has had a wealth of experience in the movement and her work will be of great assistance to the stabilizing of our paper. Plans are already under way for conducting a campaign to insure the Militant and make it possible to return to a weekly status. As a first step in this work, an appeal has just been made to the branches to raise a small quota for an emergency. The response to the appeal—which is only little over a week—has been good: The Minneapolis comrades sent in \$20.00; New York, \$22.00; Toronto, \$37.00; Chicago, \$23.00; Boston, \$5.00, and the others still to be heard from. We urge all our comrades and supporters to give the new manager the measure of cooperation that will make our further work secure.

"The Draft Program of the Communist International" by L. D. Trotsky is a thorough analysis of the principal theories animating the course pursued by the leadership of the International since 1923—the theory of socialism in one country and the question of the character of the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The American edition is 35 cents a copy and can be bought from the Militant at 25 Third Avenue, New York City.

IN JEWISH

JUST RECEIVED FROM POLAND

My Life

By LEON TROTSKY

In Two Volumes of 700 Pages
Five Dollars for Both Volumes

Order from
THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue . . . New York, N. Y.

The Anti-Soviet Plot

Continued from page 1

comrade Trotsky's secretary, Georgi Butov, to death, while Stalin's secretary was enabled to go abroad and turn White Guard.

The Stalinist regime stood comrade Jakob Blumkin against the wall and shot him—a dastardly crime they have never dared to defend publicly. Then Stalin appointed Mr. Agabekov to Blumkin's post. Agabekov went abroad to join the army of the counter-revolution!

An accusation is now made against Briand, and justly. But in 1927, when the Briands demanded the withdrawal of comrade Christian Rakovsky as Soviet ambassador to France, because he had signed the Platform of the Opposition, Stalin and Bucharin withdrew Rakovsky. Who replaced the Rakovskys? Bessedovsky, who helped to expel Rakovsky in the Party nucleus! Bessedovsky, who fled through the back window of the Soviet Embassy in Paris to join the ranks of the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship!

In the United States, Serebriakov, (who later capitulated) was taken out of the Amtorg. His place was taken by the Delgasses. Delgass has now joined the counter-revolutionary hue and cry against the Soviets; he has become the darling of the New York White Guards.

The charges name Lord Churchill. They might have added the name of his colleague Chamberlain, who said England would recognize Russia only when Trotsky is stood against the wall and shot. Is there any difference in essence between that command, and the reality—the fact that comrade Trotsky was finally deported to Turkey; the fact that comrade Rakovsky is in mortal danger in Barnaul, threatened with death by Stalin's refusal to transfer him to another climate; that Muralov, ex-military head of the Moscow district (what Kalinnikov took his place?), is desperately ill in Siberian deportation; that comrade Zinzadze wracked by tuberculosis, is kept in solitary exile; that hundreds and thousands of others are suffering the same fate?

We repeat that the Stalinist regime, with the whole state and party apparatus at its command, was so occupied with hounding and suppressing the Bolshevik Opposition as "agents of world imperialism", that the real agents of counter-revolution were enabled to mobilize the strength they have now been shown to have.

Stalin and the Right Wing

The Stalinist clique, which now admits that the conspirators were staking their cards on the victory of the Right wing (Bucharin-Rykov-Tomsky), was the intimate partner of this very same Right wing in the campaign to strangle the Bolshevik-Leninists. To the extent that this campaign was successful, it was a victory, not for the proletariat, but for the Kondratievs, the Ramzins, the Ustariakovs, the Chamberlains and world imperialism as a whole.

* * *

The capitalist press is making a sickly effort to minimize the whole plot. Naturally. They wish to lull the workers into a false security. But the vanguard will not be deceived. The Thermidorian danger, the danger of the growth of the counter-revolutionary forces, is a real one in the Soviet Union. Soviet Russia, isolated from the capitalist world, encircled by the might of world imperialism, still has a strong base for capitalist elements and capitalist restoration. The advances of the Soviet Union, while it liquidates some of these elements, sharpen the contradictions inherent in an isolated proletarian state and bring the restorationist dangers to a head. The Stalinist regime accentuates these dangers.

Oscillating between a proletarian line and a petty bourgeois line, Stalinism is unable to mobilize properly the international revolutionary resistance of the workers. This task, now more imperative than ever in the face of the recent exposures, requires a Leninist course, a Leninist regime in the Party, a Leninist policy towards the proletariat at home and towards the international movement. It requires a Leninist leadership. This leadership is dispersed, in prison and exile. It must be recalled and reinstated.

The counter-revolution has raised its ominous head. The Bolsheviks, the fighters and leaders of the October revolution, are needed in the Party to crush the threat to the Soviet Union and the international revolution.

—S-n.

The A. F. of L. Convention and the November Election

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Two recent events, separated by less than a month, furnish us with aspects in different fields of the position of the American working class. They are the "golden jubilee" convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston and the national elections just concluded.

The A. F. of L. Convention

It has become a commonplace to say of the former that it was "one of the most reactionary assemblages in its history." That trait, indeed, has come to be taken with an almost fatalistic certainty. The Boston convention did not seem to be illuminated with the faintest ray of light. The petty bourgeoisie and big bourgeoisie that dominated the A. F. of L. and its convention, its spokesmen who ranged from the principal executive of the American capitalist class, Hoover, to its scarcely concealed agent, Green, ruled the convention in dead-black serenity. The burning problems of the working class, crying out for solution, were either entirely ignored or else treated with a cold, dead hand.

Less than three out of the approximately forty millions of workers are organized into the A. F. of L. It is to the direct interests of the organized workers, and corresponds to the desire of the more conscious among them, to draw the other millions into the trade union movement, so that—even from the narrow standpoint of the trade unionist—the "bargaining power" of labor is increased. Two years ago, the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., walled in between the demand for organizing the unorganized that proceeded from within the unions and the work that was begun independently by the Left wing from the outside, issued the slogan of "double the membership," just as the Detroit convention before it issued the slogan of organizing the automobile industry. The history of this "campaign" is completed in two sentences: The Toronto convention repeated the "double the membership" slogan. The Boston convention tacitly attended the funeral where even its name was not mentioned. In place of the new forces from the immense reservoir of unorganized that has only to be tapped in order to flow torrentially, the convention had a new decline in membership to record.

Increasing millions of workers are unemployed in the country, suffering intense misery, starving in the golden storehouse of the world like Tantalus, surrounded by food and unable to avail himself of it. The debates on the subject of unemployment and relief were like the droning of monks cut off from the real world without. The only loud voices raised were those of the reactionaries who, like Green, considered it preferable for the workers to starve in the streets, than for them to want even that pitiful, bureaucratic social insurance that the liberals advocate as a sedative for social unrest. Thoughtful members of the capitalist class—more concerned with their own interests, to be sure, than with relieving working class misery—are looking with approval at some mild form of insurance, but not the hierarchy of the A. F. of L. Like the servile footman, the Greens are more concerned for the interests of their master than the master himself.

To bring out more distinctly the reactionary pall hanging over the convention, the "progressives" can be mentioned. Timid and pitiful though their bleating protests may have been—and they were worse than that—the manner in which even their supplicating and thoroughly respectful speeches and proposals were received (they might have been made in the arid deserts of Africa for all the attention they got in Boston) only emphasized the iron rule of the Greens, Lewises, Wolls and Hutchesons. And why should the barons of the A. F. of L. treat these people with less contempt? They occupy a miserable post akin to the Russian czar's "official Jew", the hof Jude who was kept at court to show that the emperor was not an anti-semiter.

What the whole situation demanded from one with the pretentious title of "progressive" was a vigorous denunciation of the whole bureaucracy and its system i. e., of capitalism and those who serve it in the labor movement. But when the "progressives" bear names like Zaritsky, whose claim to trade union leadership rest principally upon collaboration with the hat manufacturers and persecution of the Left wing minorities in his union, it would be asking for too much.

Despite all these features, which combine to produce the even monotony of con-

stantly deepening reaction at every year's convention, there are valuable aspects to this convention which crown the period that preceded it.

Labor's Dissatisfaction

A restlessness and discontentment is permeating the American working class. It is beginning to awaken from the luxurious dream of the prosperity days. It is not only feeling the scourge of unemployment, but the radical lowering of its living standards in a dozen different forms: wage cuts, lengthening of the working day, intensification of labor, "stagger systems" and the like. Directing the hostility at the boss, it also commences to discern behind the capitalist government the hazy figure of the capitalist class. In a word, the premises are present for the development of a clear class consciousness among the workers.

The bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., and its whole conservative machinery, are pillars of American imperialism—more visible today than ever. Without them, the security of the ruling class would be considerably diminished. The function of the bureaucracy is to prevent the workers from understanding the class nature of the government. That this function is being exercised by Green and Co. with more energy today than for many years past, speaks loudly for their fear of an imminent awakening of the American workers as a class, the consummation of which would be a landmark in revolutionary progress.

Thirteen years ago, the capitalist class required the solid support of the working class for the imperialist slaughter. It needed the official labor movement as a bulwark against the Red menace presented by the militant socialist and I. W. W. opposition to the war. It therefore took the unusual step of sending Woodrow Wilson to an A. F. of L. convention to enlist labor. In 1930, it needs its docile acquiescence because the crisis is to be "solved" at the expense of the workers. It needs the A. F. of L. more than ever as a barricade against the new Red menace of the Communist movement. It therefore recurs to the unusual step of sending a president to give a public demonstration of the unity of the official labor movement and the capitalist government. Hoover's speaking at the Boston meeting was not a sign of the confidence the capitalist class feels, but of its uneasiness.

The A. F. of L. Decline

There is an even more interesting phase of the A. F. of L.'s development, which is quite without precedent. Since it was organized in 1881, it has reflected, with greater or lesser accuracy, the alternating periods of boom and crisis. With virtually no deviation, it increased its membership with every economic rise (1889, 1899-1903, 1905-1908, 1911, 1913, 1915-1920) and declined precipitately with every depression or crisis. The depression commencing in 1920, found it at its un-repeated height: 4,078,740 members. With the crisis it declined to 2,865,799 in 1924. But the period of prosperity that followed, absolutely unprecedented in modern times, far from resulting in a growth of membership, actually shows a persistent decline that has continued to this moment—throughout the prosperity, down to the present crisis! The decline continued at the Boston convention, for while a formal increase of 27,000 members was recorded, both this "increase" and the real loss are accounted for by the calm report of the U. M. W. A., made by Lewis without batting an eyelash in which 400,000 members were claimed (when there are actually less than 100,000 miners in the Lewis union).

How is this record, which breaks with previous, allegedly "historical" precedents, to be explained?

American imperialism emerged from the war, from the post-war domestic crisis and the revolutionary crises of Europe, not only as a first-rate world power, but as the first world power. Its frenzied expansion after 1924 was an expansion beyond its boundaries. Its wealth and power rested, and still rests upon its dominant position in world economy. One may say that the relationship of the international working class was to the American working class as a whole what the relationship of the unskilled American worker is to the American labor aristocrat. American imperialism was enabled—for the first time on such a scale—to sustain a broad labor

aristocracy. The rise in the standard of living of this section of the workers, which counted millions in its ranks, was, so to speak, "granted without a struggle" by a bloated capitalist class. Unlike previous periods, labor's economic improvements were not squeezed out through the intermediary of the trade unions. With a "satisfied" working class at home, the fabulous super-profits extorted by American imperialism from the rest of the world, not only made these improvements possible but even profitable.

The Fall of the Strike Curve

This view is confirmed by the index of strike activities. Previous periods of prosperity and trade union growth have almost always been characterized by an increase in the number of strikes and strikers. The last period of prosperity and of improved workers' economic conditions showed a directly opposite process: strikes and strikers have been almost uninterruptedly on the decline not only from 1920 but from 1924. To use the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, repeated recently by the Standard American Corporation, we get the following table (Strike column includes lookouts):

Year	Strikes	Involved
1919	3,630	4,160,348
1920	3,411	1,463,054
1921	2,385	1,099,247
1922	1,112	1,612,562
1923	1,553	756,584
1924	1,249	654,641
1925	1,301	428,416
1926	1,035	329,592
1927	734	349,434
1928	629	357,145
1929	903	230,463

The current year shows a still further decline (about 40 percent less than the 1929 figure for the same months). And the tremendous unemployment attendant upon the present crisis does not indicate any increase in strike activity for the period immediately ahead.

From all that has been said above, it does not at all follow that the outlook for the American working class is so uniformly dark. It is an established fact that, especially in our time, apparently fixed precedents are broken, that the slow arithmetical progression of the working class is frequently interrupted either by abrupt geometric leaps or by a retrogression. So far as the radicalization of the working class is concerned, the last half a decade has shown a retrogression on the whole. But this very past has prepared the grounds for a penetration of the revolutionary idea into the consciousness of the proletariat.

There is an enormous working class discontentment in the country. Thus far it is blind and mirdirected, that is, politically, it is safely canalized into the bourgeois parties this time the Democrats. The bulk of the working class voted against Hoover and his administration as the embodiment of the crisis and the unemployment. So rapidly do profound changes in economic and political life take place in our epoch, that it required only a brief two years to secure a repudiation of a government swept into power with the biggest vote on record. From 1928 to 1930, the turnover of votes amounted to upwards of 8,000,000 (the total of the Republican plurality in 1928 plus the Democratic plurality this year). Neither the Wilson administration but the disreputable Harding regime suffered so humiliating and rapid a defeat as did Hoover.

What About Radicalization

But this discontentment is not yet a radicalization of the working class. So far as the latter was expressed politically, it was done largely through the tiny vote of the Communist Party (a bare doubling of the still smaller "prosperity" vote in 1928), to which should be added, of course, many thousands of disfranchised workers. But the results of the elections, plus the statistics of strike struggle—the two principal indices of working class radicalization—are a smashing blow at the monstrously exaggerated analyses of the Stalinists. Their contentions concerning the "mass upsurge of the American workers", the "widespread radicalization of the masses", "the workers following the Communist Party"—all these fall to the ground before the facts. To a moderate extent, the Left Opposition shared his error in the past. That is, it proceeded from the indisputable fact that the premises exist for a deep-going radi-

calization of the workers and drew the conclusions that the process was well under way. Closer examination and recent developments indicate that the pre-conditions for radicalization are even increasing, but the process is only at its elementary stage of development.

At what tempo will it proceed? What will be the extent of its sweep? Where will it end? That depends not only a series of economic factors, but in larger degree than is usually conceived, upon the ability of the revolutionists to take advantage of the premises in order to accelerate the process of radicalization.

There is no law compelling the working class of America to repeat the experiences of its own past or those of the European working class, at any rate, not for the same length of time. We live, as we have remarked, in an epoch of convulsions, developing jerkily and unevenly, replete with the breaking of precedents. All "precedent" showed that in this election there should have a large "third party" which, like the Greenbackers, the People's Party, the Progressive Party and the Labor Party movement of seven-eight years ago, would arise fatally on the basis of an economic crisis. But this "law" was violated: there was no real sign of a "third party" in the present elections. The dissatisfaction of the masses was almost wholly absorbed by the Democratic Party.

For many historical reasons, the American working class is a very violent one, and at the same time the least class conscious. With the whole atmosphere favorable for a swift development of this consciousness, what is mainly needed to achieve it is a Communist Party capable of seeing at what turn we find ourselves, and steering for the right road. But the Party leaders, who are really only approaching this road, conduct the Party and its policies as though the road were not only reached but already half-way travelled over. That is why we have one smash-up after another under the leadership of the "third period" specialists who cannot distinguish tomorrow from yesterday or today, and take the beginning of a process for its conclusion.

What is needed is a bold leadership, not a foolhardy or foolish one, with policies based on realities and not fantasies. Such a leadership could liquidate the liquidators of the Right wing without great difficulties, for it would oppose to the latter's policies those Bolshevik policies that produce successes and not the defeats that the Right wing feeds upon. The Lovestone group, recovering from its grudging and pallid support to the program of organizing the unorganized into industrial unions under the leadership of the Left wing, has become bold enough to raise the slogan "back to the A. F. of L."—its "clever" way of proposing an end to this "foolish business" of the new unions. Without wasting time arguing with the Right wing over the need of winning—from within—the A. F. of L. workers (a need which we, at least, take for granted), the Communist movement must proceed with the consolidation of the new unions, which have a tremendous future and great vitality, and all the conditions for which still exist. It is hardly necessary to emphasize here that we do not withdraw a syllable of our criticism of the Stalinists who, by their conduct in the Left wing unions, have done incalculable harm to the new movement. But even they have been unable to destroy it or its possibilities.

The Place of the Left Opposition

What is needed is a leadership capable of strengthening the Party, not keeping it stagnant or weakening it. What the present Party leadership does is to broaden the base for reformism and not for revolution: that is, its policies help to alienate the awakening workers from Communism and to drive them into the socialist or syndicalist camp. Out of the present Party leadership, which is thoroughly corrupted by Stalinism, no fundamental progress can be expected. That must proceed from the ranks of the Party and the Left wing around it, a process that the Left Opposition is helping to accelerate by building its own ranks and organizing the Bolshevik faction within the Party itself. Our struggle is inextricably bound up with the whole question of the path of the American working class, the question raised anew by the two events we have discussed: the revolutionary road or the reformist. Our victory is one guarantee that it will tread the former.

How Stalin-Bucharin Destroyed the Chinese Revolution

Dear Comrades!

Since I followed our comrades to found the Chinese Communist Party, I sincerely executed the policy of opportunism of the international leaders, Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and others making the Chinese revolution suffer a shameful and sad failure. Though I have worked night and day, yet my demerits exceed my merits. Of course, I should not imitate the hypocritical confessions of some of the ancient Chinese emperors: "I, one person, am responsible for all the sins of the people," take upon my own shoulders all the mistakes that caused the failure. Nevertheless I feel ashamed to adopt the attitude of some responsible comrades at times—only criticizing the past mistakes of opportunism and excluding oneself. Whenever my comrades have pointed out my past opportunist errors, I earnestly acknowledged them. I am absolutely unwilling to ignore the experiences of the Chinese revolution obtained at the highest price paid by proletarians in the past (from the "August 7" conference to the present time, I not only did not reject proper criticism against me, but I even kept silent about the exaggerated accusations against me.)

Not only am I willing to acknowledge my past errors, but now or in the future, if I have or should have any opportunist errors in thought or action; likewise, I expect comrades to criticize me mercilessly with theoretical argument and fact. I humbly accept or shall accept all criticism but not rumors and false accusations. I cannot have such self-confidence as Chi-Chiu Bai and Lee Li San. I clearly recognize that it is never an easy thing for anybody or any party to avoid the errors of opportunism. Even such veteran Marxists as Kautsky and Plechanov committed unpardonable opportunism when they were old; those who followed Lenin for a long time like Stalin and Bucharin, are now also committing shameful opportunism; how can superficial Marxists like us be self-satisfied? Whenever a man is self-satisfied, he prevents himself from making progress.

Even the banner of the Opposition is not the incantation of the "Heavenly Teacher" Chang (the head of the Taoist religion who has the "power" of driving out devils). If those who have not fundamentally cleared out the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, plainly understood the system of past opportunism and decisively participated in struggles, merely stand under the banner of the Opposition to revile the opportunism of Stalin and Lee Li San, and then think that the opportunist devils will never approach they are under an illusion. The only way of avoiding the errors of opportunism is continually and humbly to learn from the teachings of Marx and Lenin in the struggles of the proletarian masses and in the mutual criticism of comrades.

I decisively recognize that the objective cause of the failure of the last Chinese revolution is second in importance, and that the chief point is that the error of opportunism is the error of our policy in dealing with the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang*. All the responsible comrades of the Central Committee at that time, especially myself, should openly and courageously recognize that this policy was undoubtedly wrong.

* Stalin said: "Was the policy of the Bolsheviks in 1905 correct? Yes it was correct. But why did there exist Soviets and the correct policy of the Bolsheviks, but yet the 1905 revolution could not succeed? This was because the power of the feudal relics and the despotic government was stronger than that of the revolutionary movement. Cannot we say that the policy of the Chinese Communist Party has not improved the fighting power of the proletariat, made the relations between the proletariat and the broad masses more intimate, and increased the prestige of the proletariat among the masses? Very evidently, we cannot say so." The correct policy, of course, is not the only guarantee of success but erroneous policy is the chief guarantee of failure. If we think that the power of the enemy is stronger though there is a correct policy, and yet the revolution cannot succeed, then the failure of the Russian revolution in 1905 and the failure of the Chinese revolution in 1927 and all other failures of the workers' revolutionary movement, are pre-destined. I do not want to have Stalin defend the Chinese Party like this, and am even more unwilling to defend myself with Stalin's words.

A LETTER BY TCHEN DU HSIU

But it is not enough merely to recognize the error. We must sincerely and thoroughly acknowledge that the past error was the internal content of the policy of opportunism, what were the causes and results of that policy, and reveal them clearly. Then we can hope to stop continuing the errors of the past, and the repetition of former opportunism in the next revolution. When our Party was first founded, though it was quite young, yet, under the guidance of the Leninist International, we did not commit any great mistakes. For instance, we decisively led the struggle of the workers and recognized the class nature of the Kuo Min Tang. In 1921, our Party induced the delegates of the Kuo Min Tang and other social organizations to participate in the Far Eastern Workers' Conference, which was called by the Third International. The resolutions of the conference was that in the colonial countries of the East, the struggle for the democratic revolution must be carried out, and that in this

Soviet Russia stands on the side of the C.P.C. I shall oppose Soviet Russia at once."

At this period the Chinese Communists were not very much tainted with opportunism so that we could conduct the strike of the railroad workers on February 7, 1923, and the "May 30th" movement of 1925, since we were not hindered by the policy of the K.M.T. and at times severely criticized the compromising policy of the K.M.T. As soon as the proletariat raised its head in the "May 30th" movement, the bourgeoisie was immediately aroused.

At the enlarged conference of the Central Committee of the C.P., held in Peking in October of the same year, I submitted the following proposal to the Political Resolution Committee; Tai Chi Sao's pamphlets were not accidental but the indication that the bourgeoisie attempted to strengthen its own power for the purpose of checking the proletariat and going over to the counter-revolution. We should be ready

The following document, originally entitled "Appeal to all the Comrades of the Chinese Communist Party", is of enormous importance to every revolutionary worker throughout the world. That is why the Militant has decided to publish it in full despite its length. The Stalin-Bucharin apparatus has for years suppressed the point of view of the Bolshevik Opposition on the Chinese revolution. With equal ruthlessness, it has sought to prevent the movement from knowing just how it destroyed the Chinese revolution with its Menshevik policies. The document by comrade Tchen is a contribution of primary importance towards clarifying the concealed points. It is interesting to observe that comrade Tchen was not only the founder and leader of the Chinese Party for years, but its secretary at the time of the 1925-27 revolution. As he relates he carried out the Stalin-Bucharin policies faithfully, and earned some very sharply critical remarks from Trotsky at that time. All the more significant now is his acknowledgement of the correctness of comrade Trotsky's viewpoint and criticism. The Chinese, the Indian—in fact, all the colonial and semi-colonial—revolutions cannot be understood today, or the correct policies adopted for their victory without understanding the yesterday. The Stalinists—for cause!—sought and still seek to conceal their disgraceful record of yesterday, and thus prevent progress for today and tomorrow. Comrade Tchen's document, on the contrary, helps make possible tomorrow's success. We urge all readers to follow it closely.—Ed.

revolution peasant Soviets should be organized.

In 1922, at the second conference of the Chinese Party the policy of the joint front in the democratic revolution was adopted, and based upon this we expressed our attitude towards the political situation. At the same time, the representative of the Young Communist International, Dalin, came to China and suggested to the Kuo Min Tang the policy of a joint front of the revolutionary groups. The head of the Kuo Min Tang, Sun Yat Sen rigidly refused it only allowing the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Youth League to join the Kuo Min Tang and obey it, denying any union beyond the Party.

Soon after the adjournment of our Party conference the Communist International sent its delegate, Maring, to China inviting all the members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to hold a meeting at the West Lake of Hangchow, in Chekiang Province, at which he suggested to the Chinese Party that it join the Kuo Min Tang organization. He strongly contended that the Kuo Min Tang was not a party of the bourgeoisie, but the joint party of various classes and that the proletarian party should join it in order to improve this party and advance the revolution.

At that time, all the five members of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P.—Lee-Shu Chang, Chang Teh Li, Tsai Ho Sung, Kan Chiun Yu and I—unanimously opposed the proposal. The chief reason was: To join the Kuo Min Tang was to confuse the class organizations and curb our independent policy. Finally, the delegate of the Third International asked if the Chinese Party would obey the decision of the International.

Thereupon, for the sake of respecting international discipline the Central Committee of the C.P.C. could not but accept the proposal of the III International and agree to join the Kuo Min Tang. After this, the international delegate and the representatives of the Chinese Party spent nearly a year to carry on the reorganization movement of the Kuo Min Tang. But from the very outset the Kuo Min Tang entirely neglected and refused it. Many times Sun Yat Sen said to the delegate of the International: "So far the Chinese C.P. has joined the Kuo Min Tang; it should obey the discipline of the K.M.T. and should not openly criticize it. If the Communists do not obey the Kuo Min Tang I shall expel them from it; if

immediately to withdraw from the Kuo Min Tang. We should maintain our political countenance, lead the masses and not be checked by the policy of the Kuo Min Tang. At that time both the delegate of the III International and the responsible comrades of the Central Committee unanimously opposed my suggestion, saying that it was to propose to the comrades and the masses to take the path of opposing the Kuo Min Tang. I, who had no decisiveness of character, could not insistently maintain my proposal and respect international discipline and the opinion of the majority of the Central Committee.

Chiang Kai-Shek's coup d'Etat on March 20, 1926 was made to carry out Tai Chi Sao's principles. Having arrested the Communists in large numbers, disarmed the guards of the strike committees of Canton and Hong Kong of the visiting Soviet Russian group (most of the members of this group were members of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R.) and of the Soviet advisors, the Central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang decided that all Communist elements retire from the supreme party headquarters of the K.M.T., that criticism of Sun Yat Senism by Communists be prohibited, and that the list of the names of the members of the Communist Party and of the League, who joined the K.M.T. be handed over to the latter. All these we accepted.

At the same time we resolved to prepare our independent military forces in order to be equal to the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek. Comrade Peng Shu Chih was sent to Canton as representative of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party to consult the International delegate about our plan. But the latter did not agree with us, and endeavored his best constantly to enforce Chiang Kai-Shek. He rigidly advocated that we exhaust all our strength to support the military dictatorship of Chiang Kai-Shek, to strengthen the Canton government, and to carry on the Northern Expedition. We demanded that he take 5,000 rifles out of those given to Chiang Kai Shek and Lee Chi Shing, so that we might arm the peasants of Kwantung province. He refused, saying: "The armed peasants cannot fight with the forces of Chen Chuin Ming nor take part in the Northern Expedition, but they can incur the suspicion of the Kuo Min Tang and make the peasants oppose it."

This was a most critical period. Concretely speaking, it was the period when

the bourgeois K.M.T. openly compelled the proletariat to follow its guidance and direction, that the proletariat was formally declared by us to surrender to the bourgeoisie, to follow it, and be willing to be subordinates of the bourgeoisie. (The international delegate said openly: "The present period is a period in which the Communists should do the coolie service for the Kuo Min Tang.") By this time, the Party was already not the party of the proletariat, having become completely the extreme Left wing of the bourgeoisie, and beginning to fall into the deep pit of opportunism.

After the coup of March 20, I stated in a report to the III International my personal opinion that cooperation with the Kuo Min Tang by means of joint work within it should be changed to cooperation outside the K.M.T. Otherwise, we would be unable to carry out our own independent policy or secure the confidence of the masses. After having read my report, the international put an article by Bucharin in Pravda, severely criticizing the Chinese Party on withdrawing from the Kuo Min Tang, saying: "There have been two mistakes: the advocacy of withdrawal from the yellow trade unions and from the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee; now the third mistake has been produced: the Chinese Party advocates withdrawal from the Kuo Min Tang." At the same time, the head of the Far Eastern Bureau, Wu Ting Kong was sent to China to correct our tendency to withdraw from the K.M.T. At that time, I again failed to maintain my proposal strongly, for the sake of honoring the discipline of the International and the opinion of the majority of the members of the Central Committee.

Later on, the Northern Expedition Army set out. We were very much persecuted by the K.M.T. because in The Guide we criticized the curbing of the labor movement in the rear, and the compulsory collection of the military fund from the peasants for the use of the Northern Expedition. In the meantime the workers in Shanghai were about to rise up to oust the Chihli-Shantung troops. If the uprising were successful, the problem of the ruling power would be posed. At that time, in the minutes of the political resolution of the Enlarged Conference of the Central Committee, I suggested:

The Chinese revolution has two roads: One is that it be led by the proletariat, then we can reach the goal of the revolution; the other is that it be led by the bourgeoisie, and thus the latter must betray the revolution on the road. And though we may cooperate with the bourgeoisie at the present we must nevertheless seize the leading power. However, all the members of the Far Eastern Bureau of the III International residing in Shanghai unanimously opposed my opinion, saying that such an opinion would influence our comrades to oppose the bourgeoisie too early. Further, they declared, if the Shanghai uprising succeeds the ruling power should belong to the bourgeoisie and that it was unnecessary to have any delegates of the workers to participate. At that time, I again could not maintain my opinion because of their criticism.

(To Be Continued)

A PILLAR OF STALINISM

One of the principal points of support of Stalinism in Czecho-Slovakia has been "comrade" Julo Vercik. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Party, Communist International and in that capacity one of the most fearless and consistent knights in the struggle against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism," against Left dangers and Right dangers, or any other danger his employer told him to fight. His vigor in fighting against deviations from Stalinism was hardly exceeded by that of Browder or Harrison George. Now he has found a new master. The pillar of Stalinism has just shifted his membership to the . . . Social Democratic party of Czecho-Slovakia. If it isn't Besedovsky, it's sure to be Vercik.

Subscribe to
the Militant

Molotov's Prosperity in Knowledge

Among other pearls presented by Molotov to the Sixteenth Congress, there is the following thought, nay, a whole web of thoughts:

"It is worth recalling in this connection some of Trotsky's declarations made several years ago. Trotsky contended more than once, that 'since the imperialist war in Europe no development of the productive forces has been possible! (L. Trotsky, Europe and America, 1926), that to Europe's share remains only 'absolute stagnation and dismemberment' (L. Trotsky, Five Years of the Comintern). This did not prevent (!) the 'Left' Trotsky from becoming later on (!) the bard of American prosperity. In reality, his speeches about the fact that America would put Europe on 'rations' were a peculiar re-singing (?) of the theory of 'exceptionalism' which afterward (!) became the fundamental basis of the Right wing renegades in the American Communist Party. In this instance, too, Trotsky, under 'Left' phrases, dragged a thoroughly Right opportunist line hostile to the Comintern." (Pravda, July 8, 1930).

Please note the tenor of Molotov's thoughts. Trotsky contended several years ago that Europe is confronted with stagnation and decline. "This did not prevent the 'Left' Trotsky from becoming later on the bard of American prosperity." Why should this particularly have "prevented Trotsky?" Does Europe's stagnation exclude the development of America? On the contrary, it was precisely the growing might of the United States that I connected with Europe's stagnation. In one of the reports on this subject, I said:

"The unparalleled economic superiority of the United States, even independent of the conscious policy of the American bourgeoisie, will not permit the rise of European capitalism. American capitalism, driving Europe ever further into an impasse, will automatically drive it to the road of revolution. This contains the most important key to the world situation." (L. Trotsky, Europe and America, page 64).

What is the meaning of the so-called contradiction of which Molotov attempts to accuse me? It means that our accidental theoretician is always disposed to "enter with both feet" into some kind of a periodical mess.

Insofar as Europe is concerned, I was not alone in saying after the war that all the roads of development are closed to European capitalism—this same thought is expressed in all the basis document of the Comintern: in the manifesto of the Second Congress, in the programmatic thesis on tactics of the Third Congress, in the resolution of the Fourth Congress, and repeated by the Fifth Congress (when in some respects it was already incomplete). In the broad historical sense, this contention is true even today. If Europe's production is now about 113 percent of the pre-war figure, it means that the per-capita income of the adult population did not grow in the sixteen years, and for the toilers—it decreased. In the report to which Molotov refers, I said: "European capitalism has become reactionary in the absolute sense of the word, that is, not only does it not lead the nation forward but it is even incapable of retaining for it the standard of living it reached the past. This is the economic basis of the present revolutionary epoch. Political ebb and flow develop on this basis but do not change it." (Europe and America, page 72).

Or perhaps Molotov disputes this thought?

It is doubtless that Europe rose out of the destruction and decline of the first post-war years, and for the second time straightened out after the convulsions of the Ruhr occupation. This became possible, however, only because of the continuous chain of defeats of the European proletariat and the colonial movements. When, a day after the war, or in 1925, in foreseeing great social struggles in England or a revolutionary situation in China, we spoke of the inextricable position of European imperialism, we naturally made the point of departure in our calculations the victory of the proletariat, and not its defeat. At that time we did not really foresee the exploits of Stalin-Molotov in England, China, as well as in other countries. At any rate, not to their full extent. And there is no doubt—this is in no way a paradox—that Stalin and Molotov did more than all the statesmen of Europe to preserve and stabilize, to save European capitalism. Naturally, against their own will.

But this does not improve matters.

What does it mean to be the "bard" of American prosperity? America has the advantage over Europe which a big monopoly trust has ever dispersed, middle and small enterprises competing among themselves. To point out this advantage and to reveal its tendencies, does not mean to become a "bard" of trusts. By the way, the petty bourgeois dough-heads more than once called the Marxists the "bards" of big capitalist enterprise.

Molotov, however, forgets that the Fifth Congress of the Comintern simply overlooked America, while the Sixth Congress included in the program a note on this same correlation of America and Europe which Stalin attempted so helplessly to deny. Molotov recalls the rations. Even this prognosis is borne out at every step. What is the Young plan if not a financial ration? And didn't America put the British Navy on a ration? This is only a beginning.

Molotov himself finally came to the thought, (or maybe he was prompted) that "by the Kellogg Pact, she (America) strives to make the decision of the question of the future imperialist war dependent upon its will." Even though not an original admission, nevertheless a valuable one. But this means precisely that America is striving (and in part succeeds) to put European imperialism on rations. By the way: if this is the objective significance of the Kellogg Pact—and this is just what it is—how it is that Stalin and Molotov dared to adhere to it?

In 1924, in the report on "Europe and America" (this is just the report Molotov has in mind) we said, in connection with the naval rivalry between the United States and Great Britain: "But we must add: when England's position becomes such that it must openly accept the American ration, it will not be done directly by Lord Curzon—he will not do, he is too proud—no, this will be entrusted to MacDonald . . . Here the pious eloquence of MacDonald, Henderson, the Fabians, will be required in order to press on the English bourgeoisie and persuade the English workers, 'What, then, shall we go to war with America? No, we are for peace, for agreement.' And what does agreement with Uncle Sam mean? To go on rations—this is the only agreement, there is no other. And if you do not want to—then prepare for war." (L. Trotsky, Europe and America, page 30-31).

It so happens that in politics, no matter how artful, some things can be foreseen. Molotov very deeply despises such an occupation. He prefers not to see even what is happening before his very nose.

Further: why did Molotov drag in "prosperity"? In order to reveal his own education? We readily believe that after the designation of Molotov to the post of leader of the Comintern, tongues of flame came down to him, as happened at one time to the apostles, after which he immediately began to talk in unknown languages. But "prosperity" is nevertheless irrelevant. Prosperity has a conjunctural significance and means flourishing, in the sense of a commercial-industrial ascent. But my comparison of America and Europe was based upon fundamental economic indices (national wealth, income, mechanical power, coal, oil, metal, etc.) and not on the conjunctural fluctuations of those indices. Molotov evidently wants to say: Trotsky glorified the might of America, and yet, look, the United States is going through the most acute crisis. But does a crisis deny capitalist might? Didn't England, in

the epoch of its world hegemony, know crises? Is capitalist development in general conceivable without crises? Here is what we said on this score in the Criticism of the Program of the Comintern:

"We cannot enter into a consideration of the problem of the time of the American crisis and its possible depth. This is not a question of program but of conjuncture. For us, of course, the inevitability of a crisis is absolutely unquestionable and, considering the present world expansion of American capitalism, its great depth and sharpness is not excluded. But the efforts to minimize or weaken the importance of North American hegemony on this ground is not justified by anything, and can only lead to most profound errors of a strategic character. On the contrary, in a critical epoch the hegemony of the United States will prove even more complete, more open, more ruthless, than in the period of boom. The United States will try to overcome and get out of its difficulties and helplessness primarily at the expense of Europe. . . ." (Page 10, American Edition).

Further on, we expressed regret that "this trend of thought has found absolutely no expression in the draft program of the Comintern" (Page 11).

It so happens that in economics as well as in politics—even to a greater extent than in politics—some things can be foreseen. But we already know: Molotov does not care for this frivolous occupation.

A few words remain to be said on the concluding part of the web of Molotov's thoughts: Trotsky's views in regard to America's placing Europe on rations were, don't you see, a "peculiar re-singing (?) of the theory of exceptionalism which afterwards (!) became the fundamental basis of the Right wing renegades in the American Communist Party." (What kind of a re-singing is that which comes before the melody itself? But let us not be severe with Molotov the orator and author: we are occupied here with the thinker).

The "Right wing renegades"—are Lovestone and Co., who, back, in 1924 were already tired of criticizing my views on the inter-relationships of America and Europe. Here Molotov has actually given us nothing but a re-singing. The theory of exceptionalism, or peculiarities, was really given its most consummate and reactionary expression by Stalin and Molotov who, in 1924, announced to the whole of humanity that in contrast to all the other countries of the world, the U. S. S. R. has the possibility of constructing socialism within its national boundaries. If we take into consideration that the whole historical mission of our Party is the construction of socialism, it may be said that from the viewpoint of this task the exceptionalism of the U. S. S. R. has according to Stalin, an absolute character. No matter what exceptionism was sought for the United States by Lovestone and Co., it could not be higher than the one Stalin secured for the U. S. S. R. by the decrees of the Comintern.

Further: Didn't the program of the Comintern nevertheless recognize the world capitalist hegemony of the United States? Neither Greece nor Belgium nor a number of other countries possess this "small" peculiarity. Aren't we therefore correct in saying that the world hegemony of the United States represents its exceptional peculiarity? Or perhaps Molotov has arrived at a refutation of the program of the Comintern which was written by Bucharin several months before he was declared a bourgeois liberal?

"Trotsky drags an opportunist line under Left phrases." In what sense is the statement of the world domination of the United States a "phrase" and just why is it a "Left" phrase? It is quite impossible to understand anything. Instead of thoughts,—a sort of rotted chaff. No matter what you touch, it crumbles.

But the whole point is that after the Soviet Union is abstracted theoretically from the rest of humanity, Molotov demands that all the rest of the countries should give up pretensions at peculiarities, and even more, at exceptionism. And indeed, would it be easy to direct half a hundred Communist Parties if, relying upon peculiarities, they would refuse to step forward simultaneously with the Left foot at Molotov's command? After all, one must sympathize with a leader. . . .

In the article "Two Conceptions" (see The Militant, Vol III, No. 19 and 20), we showed in detail the whole inconsistency of Stalin's (and that means Molotov also) understanding of internationalism. The opportunism of Lovestone, Brandler and their partisans lies in the fact that they demand the recognition for themselves of those national socialist rights which Stalin considers a monopoly of the U. S. S. R. It is not for nothing that these gentlemen carried through the whole campaign against "Trotskyism" shoulder to shoulder with Molotov. And this campaign embraced, more or less, all the questions of Communist world outlook. Even now, Lovestone declares that what divides him from the Comintern leadership are tactical differences, but from the Left Opposition—besides tactical—also programmatic and theoretical differences. And this is absolutely true.

That America's position is exceptional will not be denied even by the valorous Czech soldier, Schwejk who, it is said, has become a fellow champion of Smeral. But Lovestone's national opportunism does not in the least flow from this exceptionalism. The basis of this opportunism is the program of the Comintern which speaks of the world hegemony of the United States, that is, of its exceptionalism, but does not draw any revolutionary conclusions because it does not speak of the inseparable bond between American "exceptionalism" and the "exceptionalism" of the other parts of the world. Here is what our criticism of the program says on this score:

"On the other hand, it has been left entirely unmentioned—and this is not the least important phase of the same world problem—that it is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundations of its structure—the antagonisms between the east and west, the class struggle in old Europe, uprisings of the colonial masses, wars and revolutions. This on the one hand transforms United States capitalism into the basis counter-revolutionary force in the present epoch, becoming constantly more interested in the maintenance of order in every corner of the globe, and on the other hand prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion of this already dominant and still increasing world imperialist power." (Page 9, American edition).

If Molotov does not agree with this, let him object. We are ready to learn. But instead of analytical objections, he presents us with his own declaration of his prosperity in knowledge, which has not, however, been proved as yet. And in general, it occurs to us that it is in vain that Molotov mortifies the flesh with knowledge. Even Ecclesiastes said: "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." —T.

THE LATEST PAMPHLET BY COMRADE LEON TROTSKY

The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation

JUST WRITTEN : : JUST PUBLISHED



A keen analysis of the latest turn in policy of the present leadership of the Communist International in connection with an examination of the results of the recent elections in Germany. Comrade Trotsky reveals the relationship of forces between the proletariat, the big and small bourgeoisie, and their political parties, and presents the perspectives for the great dilemma in Germany: Communism or Fascism.

10 cents a copy : : 7 cents in bundles.

Order Now From
THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue New York, N. Y.

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN

BY LEON
TROTSKY

Ground Rent, or, Stalin Deepens Marx and Engels

In the beginning of his struggle against the "general secretary," Bucharin declared in some connection that Stalin's chief ambition is to compel his recognition as a "theoretician." Bucharin knows Stalin well enough, on the one hand, and the A B C of Communism, on the other, to understand the whole tragedy of this pretension. It was in the role of a theoretician that Stalin appeared at the conference of the Marxian agronomists. Among other things, ground rent did not come out unscathed.

Only very recently (1925) Stalin judged that it was necessary to strengthen the peasant holdings for scores of years, that is, the actual and juridical liquidation of the nationalization of the land. The People's Commissar of Agriculture of Georgia, not without the knowledge of Stalin, it is understood, at that time introduced a legislative project for the direct abolition of the nationalization. The Russian Commissar of Agriculture worked in the same spirit. The Opposition sounded the alarm. In its platform, it wrote: "The Party must give a crushing rebuff to all the tendencies directed towards the abolition or undermining of the nationalization of land, one of the pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Just as in 1922 Stalin had to give up his attempts on the monopoly of foreign trade, in 1926 he had to give up the attempt on the nationalization of land, declaring that "he was not correctly understood."

After the proclamation of the Left course, Stalin not only became the defender of the nationalization of land, but he immediately accused the Opposition of not understanding the significance of this whole institution. Yesterday's nihilism towards nationalization was immediately converted into a fetishism. Marx's theory of ground rent was given a new administrative task: To justify Stalin's complete collectivization.

Here we must make a brief reference to theory. In his unfinished analysis on ground rent, Marx divides it into **absolute** and **differential**. Since the same human labor applied to different sections of the land yields different results, the surplus yield of the more fertile section will naturally be retained by the owner of the land. This is **differential** rent. But not one of the owners will give to a tenant free of charge even the worst section as long as there is a demand for it. In other words, from private ownership of land necessarily flows a certain minimum of ground rent, independent of the quality of the soil. This is what is called **absolute** rent. In conformity with this theory, the liquidation of private ownership of land leads to the liquidation of absolute ground rent. Only that rent remains which is determined by the quality of the land itself, or, to state it more correctly, by the application of human labor to land of different quality. There is no need to elucidate that differential rent is not a relationship fixed by the section itself, but changes with the method of exploiting the land. These brief reminders are needed by us in order to reveal the whole paltriness of Stalin's excursion into the realm of the theory of the nationalization of land.

Stalin begins by correcting and deepening Engels. This is not the first time with him. In 1926, Stalin explained to us that to Engels as well as to Marx the A B C law of the unequal development of capitalism was unknown, and precisely because of this they both rejected the theory of socialism in one country which, in opposition to them, was defended by Vollmar, the theoretical forerunner of Stalin.

The question of the nationalization of the land, more correctly, the insufficient understanding of this problem by the old man Engels, is apparently approached by Stalin with greater caution. But in reality — just as lightly. He quotes from Engels' work on the peasant question the famous phrase that we will in no way violate the will of the small peasant; on the contrary, we will in every way help him "in order to facilitate his transition into associations," that is, to collectivized agriculture. "We will try to give him as much time as possible to consider it on his own piece of land." These excellent words, known to every literate Marxist, give a

clear and simple formula for the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry.

Confronted with the necessity of justifying complete collectivization on a frenzied scale, Stalin underlines the exceptional, the even, "at first glance, exaggerated" caution of Engels with regard to conducting the small peasant on the road of socialist agricultural economy. What was Engels guided by in his "exaggerated" caution? Stalin replies thus: "It is evident that his point of departure was the existence of private ownership of land, the fact that the peasant has his piece of land from which he, the peasant, will be parted with difficulty. Such is the peasantry in **capitalist countries**, where private ownership in land exists. It is understood that here (?) great caution is needed. Can it be said that here in the U. S. S. R. there is such a situation? No, it cannot be said. It cannot, because we have no private ownership of land which binds the peasant to his individual economy." Such are Stalin's observations. Can it be said that in these observations there is even a grain of sense? No, it cannot be said. Engels, it appears, had to be "cautious" because in the **bourgeois** countries private ownership of land exists. But Stalin needs no caution because we have established the nationalization of land. But did there not exist in bourgeois Russia private ownership of land alongside of the more archaic communal ownership? We did not acquire the nationalization of land ready made, we established it after the seizure of power. But Engels speaks about the policy the proletarian party will put into effect precisely after the seizure of power. What sense is there to Stalin's condescending explanation of Engels' indecision: The old man had to act in bourgeois countries where private ownership of land exists, while we were wise enough to abolish private ownership. But Engels recommends caution precisely after the seizure of power by the proletariat, consequently, after the abolition of private ownership of the means of production.

By contrasting the Soviet peasant policy with Engels' advice, Stalin confuses the question in the most ridiculous manner. Engels promised to give the small peasant time to think on his own piece of land before he decides to enter the collective. In this transitional period of the peasant's "deliberations," the workers' state, according to Engels, must separate the small peasant from the usurers, the tradesmen, etc., that is, to limit the exploiting tendencies of the Kulak. The Soviet policy in relation to the main, that is, the non-exploiting, mass of all the peasantry, had precisely this dual character in spite of all its vacillations. In spite of all the statistical clatterings the collectivization movement is now, in the thirteenth year of the seizure of power, really going through the first stages. To the overwhelming mass of the peasants, the dictatorship of the proletariat has thus given twelve years for deliberation. It is doubtful if Engels had in mind such a long period, and it is doubtful if such a long period will be needed in the advanced countries of the West where, with the high development of industry, it will be incomparably easier for the proletariat to prove to the peasant by deed all the advantages of collective agriculture. If we, only twelve years after the seizure of power by the proletariat, begin a wide movement, so far very primitive in content, and very unstable, towards collectivization, it is to be explained only by our poverty and backwardness, in spite of the fact that we have the land nationalized, which Engels presumably did not think of, or which the Western proletariat will presumably be unable to establish after the seizure of power. In this contrasting of Russia with the West, and at the same Stalin with Engels, the idolization of the national backwardness is glaringly apparent.

But Stalin does not stop at this. He immediately supplements economic incoherence with theoretical. "Why," he asks his unfortunate auditors, "do we succeed so easily (!!) in demonstrating, under the condition of nationalized land the superiority (of collectives) over the small peasant economies? This is where the tremendous revolutionary significance of the Soviet agrarian laws lies, which abolished absolute rent . . . and which established the nationalization of land." And Stalin self-contentedly, and at

the same time, reproachfully, asks: "Why is not this new (!?) argument utilized sufficiently by our agrarian theoreticians in their struggle against every bourgeois theory?" And here Stalin makes reference—the Marxian agronomists are recommended not to exchange glances, nor to blow their noses in confusion, and what is more, not to hide their heads under the table—to the third volume of "Capital" and to Marx's theory of ground rent. What heights did this theoretician have to ascend before plunging into the mire with his "new argument." According to Stalin, it would appear that the Western peasant is tied down to the land by nothing else than "absolute rent." And since we "destroyed" this monster, that in itself caused to disappear the mighty "power of the land" over the peasant, so grippingly depicted by Gleb Ouspensky, and by Balzac and Zola in France.

In the very first place, let us establish that **absolute rent was not abolished by us, but was nationalized, which is not one and the same thing.** Newmark valued the national wealth of Russia in 1914 at 140,000,000,000 gold rubles, including in the first place the price of all the land, that is, the capitalized rent of the whole country. If we should want to establish now the specific gravity of the natural wealth of the Soviet Union within the wealth of humanity, we would of course have to include the capitalized rent, differential as well as absolute.

All economic criteria, absolute rent included, are reduced to human labor. Under the conditions of market economy, rent is determined by that quantity of products which can be extracted by the owner of the land from the products of the labor applied to it. The owner of the land in the U. S. S. R. is the state. By that itself it is the bearer of the ground rent. As to the actual liquidation of absolute rent, we will be able to speak of that only after the socialization of the land all over our planet, that is, after the victory of the world revolution. But within national limits, if one man say so without insulting Stalin, not only socialism can not be constructed, but even absolute rent cannot be abolished.

This interesting theoretical question has a practical significance. Ground rent finds its expression on the world market in the price of agriculture products. Insofar as the Soviet government is an exporter of the latter—and with the intensification of agriculture grain exports will increase greatly—to that extent, armed with the monopoly of foreign trade, the Soviet government appears on the world market as the owner of the land whose product it exports, and consequently, in the price of these products the Soviet government realizes the ground rent concentrated in its hands. If the technique of our agriculture were not inferior to that of the capitalists, and at the same time the technique of our foreign trade, then precisely with us in the U. S. S. R. absolute rent would appear in its clearest and most concentrated form. This moment will have to acquire the greatest significance in the future under the planned direction of agriculture and export. If Stalin now brags of our "abolition" of absolute rent, instead of realizing it on the world market, then a temporary right to such bragging is given him by the present weakness of our agricultural export and the irrational character of our foreign trade, in which not only is absolute ground rent sunk without a trace, but many other things as well. This side of the matter, which has no direct relation to the collectivization of peasant economy, nevertheless shows us by one more example that the idolization of economic isolation and economic backwardness is one of the basic features of our national-socialist philosophy.

Let us return to the question of collectivization. According to Stalin it would appear that the Western peasant is attached to his piece of land by the tie of absolute rent. Every peasant's hen will laugh at his "new argument." Absolute rent is a purely capitalist category. Dispersed peasant economy can have a taste of absolute rent only under episodic circumstances of an exceptionally favorable market conjuncture, as existed, for instance, at the beginning of the war. The economic dictatorship of finance capital over the diffused village is expressed on the market in unequal exchange. The pea-

santry generally does not issue out of the universal "scissors" regime. In the prices of grain and agricultural products in general, the overwhelming mass of the small peasantry does not realize the labor power, let alone the rent.

But if absolute rent, which Stalin so triumphantly "abolished," says decidedly nothing to the brain or heart of the small peasant, then differential rent, which Stalin so generously spared, has a great significance, precisely for the Western peasant. The tenant farmer holds on to his piece of land all the stronger the more he and his father spent strength and means to raise its fertility. This applies, by the way, and not only to the West but to the East, for instance, to China with its districts of intensified cultivation. Certain elements of the petty conservation of private ownership are inherent here, consequently, not in an abstract category of absolute rent, but in the material conditions of a higher parcelized culture. If it is comparatively easy to break the Russian peasants away from a piece of land, it is not at all because Stalin's "new argument" liberated them from absolute rent but for the very reason for which, prior to the October revolution, periodic repartition of land took place in Russia. Our Narodniki idolized these repartitions as such. Nevertheless, they were only possible because of our non-intensive economy, the three-field system, the miserable tilling of the soil, that is, once again, because of the backwardness idolized by Stalin.

Will it be more difficult for the victorious proletariat of the West to eliminate peasant conservation which flows from the greater cultivation of small holdings? By no means. For there, because of the incomparably higher state of industry and culture in general, the proletarian state will more easily be enabled to give the peasant entering collective farms an evident and genuine compensation for his loss of the "differential rent" on his piece of land. There can be no doubt that twelve years after the seizure of power the collectivization of agriculture in Germany, England or America will be immeasurably higher and firmer than ours.

Is it not strange that his "new argument" in favor of complete collectivization was discovered by Stalin twelve years after nationalization had taken place? Then why did he, in spite of the existence of nationalization in 1923-1928 so stubbornly rely upon the powerful individual producer and not upon the collectives? It is clear: Nationalization of the land is a necessary condition for socialist agriculture but it is altogether insufficient. From the narrow economic point of view, that is, the one from which Stalin tackles the question, the nationalization of land is precisely of third rate significance, because the cost of inventory required for rational, large scale economy exceeds manifold the absolute rent.

Needless to say that nationalization of land is a necessary and most important political and juridical pre-condition for socialist reconstruction of agriculture. But the direct economic significance of nationalization at any given moment is determined by the action of factors of a material-productive character.

(To Be Continued)

N. Y. OPEN FORUM EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT

Nov. 22: Thirteen Years of the Russian Revolution

—JAMES P. CANNON

Nov. 29: Unemployment and Revolutionary Tactics

—MAX SHACHTMAN

Dec. 6: Prospects for the New Unionism

—JAMES P. CANNON

at the Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

All Invited : : : : Admission 25c

Auspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Young Vanguard

The Struggle of the Plumbers Helpers

In 1927, while carrying on the fight for recognition and affiliation of the plumbers helpers to the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, a section of the A. F. of L., a fight absolutely necessary in their struggle for organization, it was well known that it was led by a militant body with a Left wing program. There is no question that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were well aware of this. It is one of the main reasons why they did not yield when it came to the question of recognition.

The plumbers helpers as a body began to acquaint themselves with the class struggle and the Left wing movement through their own participation in the conflict, through trade union classes, and their own organ, the **American Plumbers Helper**.

A Militant Policy

At all the meetings, classes and in all the propaganda carried on within the organization, a definite and set policy was at all times directed towards unity with the plumbers and the rest of the building trades, and affiliation to the "mother" body of journeymen. This policy, which was and is correct, was a stepping stone of the organization.

During this period of organization which was carried on by the A. A. of P. H., much contact was established with the Left wing movement, participation as a mass organization (not as a mere group) at various conferences, not only morally assisting, but also financially at times. One can say that the organization was a militant one fighting for principles of working class unionism.

With the loss of the strike and mistakes committed by the Young Communist League, the organization began to decline. When the dwindling away of the forces of the helpers began there was absolutely nothing done to save an excellent organization from decay.

There was a great opportunity to rally the helpers to battle when the 5-day week was instituted in the building trades in August 1929, which meant that the wages of the helpers decreased from \$22 to \$20 a week, causing many a spontaneous strike which occurred with no effect, because there was no organization to take advantage of such struggles. Admitting that certain factors were not ripe, yet nothing was done by the Left wing group of plumbers helpers within the Y. C. L. due to a number of reasons, one of which was the fear of allowing three young Opposition sympathizers, who were active among the helpers, to gain prestige among their fellow workers.

Due to a strike on the job in January 1930, the helpers again started to organize with eight numbers at the outset. This organization, the United Association of Plumbers Helpers, has 160 members today. With the beginning of this new helpers organization, the definite aim was pushed to the foreground by the helpers who were in the last union, to organize the trade, to carry on with the slogans which these workers had learned were correct. A series of immediate demands were adopted, calling for a living wage, organization with the adult group, double time for overtime, a chance to learn the trade, etc.

The Y. C. L. "Appears"

The Y. C. L., hearing of this revival, set to work by sending in a few ex-plumber helpers to "capture" the organization and model it according to the new "period." A "trade union" fight was incorrect at this time, according to them, an Industrial Pipe League was needed; affiliation to the United Association was wrong, to the T. U. U. L. was right, etc., etc.

In 1927, the T. U. E. L. carried on much activity within Right and Left wing unions through the various industrial groups of Left wingers. There is no question that the guidance and participation of the T. U. E. L. led to many a gain and victory for the workers. Yet the T. U. E. L. was not known to the plumbers helpers, not a single mention by any of the leading members of the organization was ever made of the T. U. E. L., and in fact, it did not bother the leaders of the T. U. E. L. whether there was such an organization of 3,500 helpers fighting for a union, or not.

Today, it is just the reverse. When the helpers are beginning to organize they must be stamped all over with "T. U. U. L.", must accept as gospel truth every word of the self-appointed leaders who are giving mis-guidance to the Left wing move-

ment, otherwise they are only "aiding the labor fakers."

Union plumbers, with whom the helpers must unite, as well as other building trades crafts, still belong to the A. F. of L. and have a craft ideology. Yet by merely saying to them, "Leave your organization and join the revolutionary unions," would have no impression whatsoever upon them.

Still, there is considerable opposition to the bureaucratic leaders of these trades unions, who should be combatted with a concentrated struggle to uphold union conditions and union traditions within the organizations.

A fight for the relief of the unemployed by shortening hours, by unemployment benefits, for 100 percent unionization of the job, amalgamation and other immediate demands, will not only bring the plumbers but also the other building workers into effective struggle for better conditions for themselves.

The plumbers helpers, if they are to organize effectively, must stress these very things, connect their struggle for organization with the every-day struggle of the building trades workers and act as pacesetters in the fight for militant unionism.

—J. SPRAGUE.

The Peasants' International and the Anti-Imperialist League

What is doing with the Peasants' International? It was created by the epigones for the special purpose of showing how people who correctly evaluate the peasantry carry on politics. From the very outset, we considered that the whole contrivance is dead and insofar as it is not dead—it is reactionary. At the Sixth Congress, Bucharin made excuses for the fact that he could not report anything (that is, anything good) about the Peasants' International. He extended an invitation to engage in "helping the Peasants' International to be transformed into a real, live organization." At the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Molotov, in his report, did not as much as mention the Peasants' International by a single word, just as if it had not existed. Does it mean that there was no success in transforming it into a "live organization?" But this was one of the biggest fruits of anti-Trotskyism!

The peasantry is the least international of all the classes in bourgeois society. A peasants' international is a contradiction within itself, not a dialectical but a bureaucratic one. An independent international union of the peasantry outside of the national sections of the Comintern is—we repeat again—either a dead swivel chair invention or a hothouse of bourgeois democratic careerism under camouflage. The Peasants' International should be openly liquidated, drawing from it all the necessary conclusions.

It is worth noting that under the cover of the Peasants' International, work in the village has been almost completely reduced to zero. At the Sixth Congress, Bucharin was forced to admit: "In the peasant districts our influence did not grow but rather declined, and at that, in France as well as in Germany." This took place because "we" approached the peasantry from the viewpoint of the Peasants' International, that is astronomically. In reality, it was transformed into a hunt after the petty property owner as a property owner. The farm laborer and the semi-proletarian peasant were side-tracked. As a result—the weakening of Communism in the village. Molotov, in his report, passed over the work in the village in complete silence.

The Anti-Imperialist League is only a translation of the Peasants' International into the colonial language. Its conferences and work have had a purely decorative character. Munzenberg illustrated with Bengal lights the Left careerists of the Second International and tomorrow's executioners of the toiling masses in the colonies. The Bengalese illumination cost not a little, and left behind it an acrid odor and smoke under the cover of which the careerists, adventurers and candidates for executioners were accomplishing their deeds.

Let us not forget that the friendship of the Stalinists for the Kuo Min Tang

National Youth Committee

Several weeks ago, the national committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) elected a national youth committee to aid comrade Albert Glotzer, youth representative on N. C. to carry on youth activity. The national youth committee wherever feasible will form youth committees or youth sections of the branches of the League. Definite steps are to be taken for the organization of a functioning faction in the official Y. C. L. Wherever possible, as for example, in New York City, independent youth activity will be conducted side by side with the struggle against the false policies and leadership of the Communist Youth League. Efforts will be made to expand the **Young Vanguard** as the voice of the Communist Opposition Youth.

At present the committee is working on a statement which is to be issued in its name to the coming National Convention of the Y. C. L. This statement will also serve as a basis for a youth platform for the coming conference of our organization.

Branch secretaries or comrades responsible for youth work, are asked to send in reports of activities to the national youth committee (care of national office). Youth comrades should also write articles for the **Young Vanguard**.

Help the Militant to return to a weekly by getting subscriptions. Two dollars puts you on our mailing list for a year.

A Plan

For You to Study

This announcement is not intended for a certain type of "practical people." We mean the kind who always excuse the fact that they do not read and study the problems of the working class movement with the argument that they are "too busy doing practical work." Now, practical work is the life's blood of the revolutionary movement. But unless it proceeds from a clear understanding of fundamental principles, unless it is motivated by correct theories, it is just so much barrel thumping: lots of noise but no content. It is our misfortune that this sort of "practical work" (in reality, it is highly impractical) is all too prevalent in the revolutionary movement. So if you are that kind of a "practical" person, don't listen in on this!

We started out with a plan. In our files, we had assembled a pile of material by comrade Trotsky—articles, documents, pamphlets and books—as tall as your leg. Their very publication would be one of the most smashing blows ever dealt to Stalinist opportunist and falsification. A reading of them would advance the Communist movement immeasurably, for they deal with the fundamental problems of the Russian and international revolution from the Marxist standpoint. They are documents suppressed in the literal sense of the word.

But since our paltry income hardly enables us to publish even the Militant, we could not print these works. That's where our plan came in. We believed we could get small groups of comrades to sponsor these publications. That is, a group of militants would donate the money for a special fund to print this or that work by Trotsky. And the plan has met with enthusiastic response and has already borne fruit. The pamphlet on "The Turn in the Comintern and the German Situation" was sponsored by six comrades: Harry Milton, Sol Sarachik, Sylvia Bleeker, Fred Berensmeier, Peter Keppel and Kurt Ahrens. Their donations enabled us to publish it before anyone else in the world and to publish it at a low price.

Now we have another work coming off the press (it will be ready a week after this issue of the Militant appears on the stands). Four comrades: Max Engel, Philip Shulman, Martin Abern and Morris Lewit, gave the contributions that are making it possible to publish this booklet at a popular price. It is "The Strategy of the World Revolution", a masterful analysis of the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism and a criticism of the course of the Stalin-Bucharin leadership since 1923. You will want to read this 100-page booklet, the manuscript of which had to be smuggled out of Russia, because no worker can call himself informed on the great dispute in the movement unless he has read it.

The "sponsorship plan" enables us to sell it at 25 cents a copy, and at 18 cents if you take a bundle of 5 or more (all postpaid). Our editions are limited in number, and you'd better order quickly. It's the kind of a work that shapes the movement, as it was shaped by the gifted contributions of Lenin and Trotsky in the early days of the Comintern.

And by the way, the plan is catching hold! Toronto comrades write in that they would like to be sponsors for another pamphlet, and we don't propose to turn them down. Quite the contrary: we want more. We have on hand enough pamphlets and books to keep our sponsors going for a long time. There Trotsky's pamphlet on "World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan", a section of which the Militant already printed (that was only a taste of what's to appear). Then there is his great work on "The Permanent Revolution" recently written and being translated now. You've heard Stalinists of all shades fulminate against "Trotsky's permanent revolution", but they never told you what the theory really looks like! Well, here it is—a smashing refutation of all the critics of this Marxist theory, and an eye-opening analysis of its relation to Lenin's conception of the Russian and international revolution.

If you're interested (we don't mean only groups of the Opposition, but sympathizers as well) in our plan to publish the Marxist literature of the day at popular prices, drop us a line and we'll let you know the details. But in the meantime, don't wait a minute to place your orders for

"THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION"
by Leon Trotsky.

flowed parallel with their intimate block with the strikebreakers of the General Council of the British Trade Unions, and that both these amities were tied into a knot with the Anti-Imperialist League.

In the beginning of 1927, Munzenberg, the impresario of all the rotten and pompous performances, called together a congress of the League at Brussels. On this occasion, the central organ of the Comintern wrote, on February 25, 1927:

"It is no accident that the most active, inspiring (!) and leading role at the congress was played by the main active factors in the Chinese revolution: the Chinese trade unions, the Kuo Min Tang and the People's-Revolutionary army—on the one hand, and the representatives of the British proletariat, to whose share fell the central role of blowing up the intervention—on the other hand." (Communist International, 1927, No. 8, page 5).

"No accident!" It is no accident that at the Brussels conference the "inspiring" role was played by Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang, and the dear allies of the Anglo-Russian Committee!

The Anti-Imperialist League is a reserve Kuo Min Tangism on an international scale. The liquidation of the League, as well as of the Peasants' International is an unpostponable measure of revolutionary purification.

Opposition Group in Bulgaria

The International Secretariat of the Left Opposition informs us:

On October 19, 1930, a group of former members of the Bulgarian Communist Party (legal and illegal) adopted a resolution approving a manifesto issued by a group of Bulgarian comrades recently, which gives a Marxist evaluation of the revolutionary labor movement in the country, the situation in the international Communist movement, and condemning the theory and practices of the "third period." These comrades decided, further, to

"constitute themselves into a central Marxist workers' group 'Osвобождение', taking as their base the ideas of the Manifesto of the International Left Opposition."

The resolution also sends its revolutionary greetings to the victims of the bourgeois repression in Bulgaria and all other countries, and to the valiant comrades of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the Soviet Union and its leaders, comrades Trotsky and Rakovsky.

The formation of this group in Bulgaria is a step in a country where the collapse of the Centrist leadership has virtually stripped the movement of its power. The Bulgarian Opposition group is the second to be constituted in the Balkans, the first being the Left wing group in Greece. Our hearty salute and wishes for victory!

THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOL. III. No. 34

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

For the Thirty-Hour Week!

No Wage Reduction-For Social Insurance-Against the Petition Delusion-For Credits to Russia

The optimistic pledges of "recovery and stability"—the principal stock in trade of the capitalist politicians—have proved to be empty words calculated to soothe the discontentment of the workers. The crisis, instead of showing signs of let-down, is becoming deeper. It is drawing into its train ever new thousands of workers, and marches hand in hand with the winter months to spread misery, hunger and cold to every part of the land.

The Program of the Bosses

The capitalist class, and its agent Hoover, while doling out their measly charity to a few in order to allay working class resentment, retain their fundamental idea on how to solve the crisis. Their program is: "Deflate labor!" Wage-slashing, the lengthening of hours, the speeding up of labor, the "stagger plan" which means reducing the standard of living of the American workers at least half—these are the methods by which the ruling class is issuing out of its crisis at the expense solely of the workers.

It is well aware of what we have pointed out time and again. It knows that there will be no immediate recovery. Recovery is possible only by a new assault on the world market, with its attendant conflicts with other imperialist nations. A successful drive on the world market is possible, according to its program, only by cutting deeply into the standard of living attained by the working class in recent years. The Whaley-Eaton Service, a confidential bureau of American industrialists, reports in November, for instance, that "Some of the shrewdest men in Washington, therefore, while declining to say so publicly, believe

... the law of supply and demand will work in the case of labor, and wages will come down . . . It will be the spring of 1932 before conditions begin to be really satisfactory." (Our emphasis.)

No "satisfactory conditions" for eighteen months! In the meantime "wages will come down", and the unemployment army is presumably to remain unfed, unhoused and unclothed. The capitalist class, whose system produced the crisis, seeks to put the burden of it upon the working class exclusively. The job of the workers is to make the capitalist class, bloated by the billions extorted from labor, take the burden.

The frightful position of the unemployed workers must be relieved. But it is not by supplicating pleas to the bosses that relief will be attained. The latter will limit themselves to dribbling hand-outs until they are forced by the pressure of the masses to take some serious steps. The workers everywhere—working and workless—must adopt a program of action. The Communist and Left wing workers, the Unemployment Councils, must take the initiative to set a genuine mass movement into motion.

The central point in such a program must be the SIX-HOUR DAY AND THE FIVE-DAY WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY! If the eight-hour day was a slogan of the militants fifty years ago, the thirty-hour week is an even more timely one today, in consideration of the technical advance of industry alone. American industry, given a well-ordered and just economic system, can produce more than enough to satisfy the needs of the masses

if the workers toiled less than twenty hours a week. The bureaucracy in the labor movement sometimes talks about the thirty-hour week. It is up to the militants to put the ranks of the working class into action for this demand.

Credits to the Soviet Union

The need for social insurance—not by "joint contributions" of workers and employers but by employers alone—is a burning one for labor. Social insurance will not come as a result of "promises" by capitalist politicians. It will be produced as a result of unremitting struggle by the workers, by their pressure on the capitalist class, by demonstrating their strength in a solid united front. The A. F. of L. agents of capitalism are opposed to social insurance. They must be run out of the labor movement. Their "progressive" face-savers, the Muste group is for social insurance by the "peaceful" route. They have conceived the "audacious" plan of a national petition, begging Mr. Hoover and his associated labor-haters to "do something more than talk about the question." To turn the movement for unemployment relief, which has already taken the form of mass demonstrations throughout the country, away from militant struggle and into the quiet, respectable and futile channel of "petitioning" is to strangle the movement.

That is why we also vigorously oppose the "petition campaign" of the official Communist Party. The Party is creating the most destructive reformist illusions in the working class by its liberalistic campaign. It announces that its parliamentary "bill" will be backed up—not by the mass power and struggles of the workers, but that "the Bill will be backed up by a million or more signatures of unemployed and employed workers." (Daily Worker, November 19, 1930.) What has happened to the Stalinist fulminations of the "third period", the "struggle for possession of the streets," "revolutionary mass upsurge"? They have all been submerged under the stagnant waters of a "petition campaign."

The demand for social insurance will be realized only by working class struggle, relentless and militant, and not by Musteite or Stalinist petitioning. The Left wing workers must reject the curbing of the

mass movement by petition campaigns and expose their futility and illusoriness at every opportunity.

The third point in the program of action must be the demand for workers' delegations to the Soviet Union to study the Five Year Plan, and for the immediate extension of large, long-term credits to the Soviet Union which will not only aid it in its work to industrialize the country, but will be of immediate value to many of the unemployed workers who will obtain jobs by the re-opening of industries from which the Soviets purchase its machinery with the credits obtained. This demand must be raised in every trade union, in every workers' organization, and pushed through over the resistance of the bureaucrats, on the one hand, and the sectarian prejudices of the Stalinists, who oppose this demand, on the other.

General Unemployment marches now by the side of General Winter. They are ravaging the standards of the working class. Only the united front of the workers, irrespective of political or economic opinions, can put up a militant resistance to their advance. Only the unity of labor, expressed in stubborn struggle and mass action, can bring immediate relief to the suffering millions out of a job. Only their revolutionary action, leading to the overthrow of the bosses' power and the establishment of the workers' power, will bring permanent relief from unemployment, from war, from exploitation, in a word, from capitalism itself.

Mother Jones Dies

The death of Mother Jones at an age past a hundred removes one of the most picturesque figures in the labor movement of the United States for more than half a century, one whose name was associated with some of the most militant traditions of the American working class. Associated primarily with the miners' union, she led one militant movement after another until her name became anathema to the coal barons. It saddened those who had admired and loved her for her spirited and unrelenting loyalty to the militant movement to find her, towards the end, forsaking what she had stood for in the past. At the end, she became reconciled to her once mortal foe, Rockefeller, and contributed some of her last money to the professional labor skates of the Illinois "reorganized" miners' union. It is fortunate that her last actions cannot eliminate the splendid record of devotion she wrote for herself in the annals of American labor history.

TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Opposition) AND SYMPATHIZERS

All members and sympathizers outside of New York, Chicago, Minneapolis and Kansas City, are urgently requested to send in their names and addresses to the national office immediately. We have a special message for you. Just put your name and address on a piece of paper and state whether you are a member or sympathizer, address your envelope to The Militant, 25 Third Ave., N. Y. C.

N. Y. OPEN FORUM

EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT at the Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue
All Invited : : : Admission 25c
Auspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Will Release Comrade Malkin December 20

We have just received the welcome news that on December 20, the gates of Comstock, N. Y., Prison will be opened to release comrade Maurice L. Malkin. Comrade Malkin, together with his fellow-prisoner Franklin who was released a number of weeks ago, was one of the victims of the Mineola frame-up a few years ago in connection with the New York fur workers' strike. One of the most active militants in the Left wing and its union, and a foundation member of the Communist Party, he was railroaded to the penitentiary by the prosecution, and began to serve his term almost two years ago.

Comrade Malkin was the first rank and file member of the Party to rally to the banner of the Opposition when the members of the Central Committee that came forward to support it were expelled from the Party. While his imprisonment was still pending, the Party bureaucrats expelled him the moment he demanded the reinstatement of the Opposition. This did not prevent Malkin from becoming one of the most active militants in our movement and remaining an Oppositionist while incarcerated at Comstock. At one time, the Party bureaucrats attempted to extort a capitulatory statement from him through the shameful process of pressure upon his family, but in the long run their efforts proved unsuccessful, and comrade Malkin again issued a declaration affirming his convictions in favor of the views of the International Left Opposition.

The news of his release has been received with enthusiasm by the New York comrades, and preparations are being made to meet him as befits a revolutionary fighter. As he comes to Grand Central Station on December 20, he will be met by a large group of his comrades and fellow-fighters in the needle trades workers' Left wing, who remember him on dozens of picket lines and everywhere else that the struggle

was hottest. In addition, a New Year's entertainment is being arranged in his honor where the New York militants as a whole will have the opportunity of hearing him speak and renewing their acquaintance with a loyal fighter.

We are happy to welcome comrade Malkin back into the ranks of the active fighters for the working class and the Communist Opposition!

Christmas Time

CAN BE TURNED TO

Working Class Advantage

The bourgeoisie have psychologized the workers throughout the world into "giving" at Christmas time so as to further pile up their own profits. We cannot change this condition for years to come, but we can take advantage of the "give" spirit for working class interests. At this time of the year, when everybody loosens up, we can best collect for our cause.

The Militant is the only English paper that prints Trotsky's Marxian analyses of world events and the truth about the present situation in the Soviet Union. It also carries timely political and economic articles of special interest to the American workers.

SUSTAIN THE MILITANT

Buy a Christmas Coupon : 10c : Sell a Christmas Coupon

The Railroad Brotherhoods Meet

By ARNE SWABECK

Recently two events, little known and little noticed, have rendered splendid proof of increasing unemployment pressure by the rank and file, at least within certain sections of the trade union movement, to the point where some officials have felt compelled to endeavor to get into some sort of motion so as to stave off what they consider "something worse." They have, of course, been entirely overshadowed by the din of the noisy charity campaigns to which capitalism has resorted in every city. But they grew from the same cause, the unemployment crisis, and likewise materialized because of the fear of real working class action.

The Railroad Conference

The first event was the national conference of some seven hundred general chairmen and executive officers of the five railroad transportation brotherhoods, the Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Switchmen, convening in Chicago on Nov. 12 at the fashionable Palmer House, in the gorgeous main ball room, for a two weeks' session to consider the six-hour day. The second event was the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Nov. 16th, adopting a resolution for the shorter workday for all federal employees.

The Palmer House gathering had a good proportion of paid officials, though some were specially elected delegates, more than fifty per cent being actual workers. It came about entirely as a result of the growing pressure from below, from among the railroad workers for relief in the present heavy unemployment situation. At the inception, the conference selected a committee of 25, representing equally all the five trades present, to work out a program of action. This committee submitted a majority and a minority report. The majority report, which is most significant, recommended a campaign for the six-hour day, without any reduction in the day's pay, to be obtained by all organizational measures possible, the not the strike weapon. It had the backing of the Firemen, Trainmen and Switchmen. But during the days of sharp debate the representatives of the Engineers and Conductors absolutely refused to go along with this program and instead backed the minority report which provided for a request that President Hoover call the railroad executives, financiers, and bondholders together and endeavor to have them stop their present drastic retrenchment and lay-off policy.

Meanwhile, the Chicago Tribune appeared with editorials paying some pious attention to the stress of the railroad workers but admonishing them not to help tax the industry out of business and thus "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs." The railroad executives also managed, opportunely enough, to make their big splurge about an allegedly new policy of "maintaining and expanding" present employment on the roads, which will eventually turn into the opposite, like all the other "golden" promises. Evidently it helped. On the last day of the conference the five brotherhood presidents, always eager for a compromise and the eradication of class lines, threw themselves into the breach of the sharp differences, proposing that all agree to unite on first trying out the minority plan of appeal to Hoover before the majority project of eventual strike is to be further considered. It carried.

The resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor states that industry is paralyzed, commerce is bankrupt, unemployment is growing due to increased mass production, a situation which can be met only by the palliative measure of reduction of working hours without reduction in the standard of living. It calls attention to the more than one million federal employees working as high as twelve hours a day and places this as a direct government responsibility. From this it proceeds to petition the A. F. of L. to urge President Hoover to proclaim the shorter workday and shorter work week in all governmental employment, national, state and local, adding that this is not a radical measure

but a "hope to inspire confidence in government, respect for law," etc.

"The Capitalist System is Shot"

The animated discussion, lasting a whole session, brought out much sharp criticism of the utter failure of the A. F. of L. executives, conservative delegates exclaiming: "The capitalist system is shot, if we don't do something, somebody else will." Others piped up: "Yes, now we are all radicals and revolutionists" but put heavy emphasis on labor party ballots. Throughout, a sharp undercurrent of pressure, with its reaction, some cunningly contemplating, others merely hesitant, some willingly, but above all a fear of real working class action.

What the actual results will be of the railroaders appeal or of an A. F. of L. request to Hoover for either proposals need not be the least in doubt. Designed purely to prevent what has been named "something worse", it will mean for those workers who may cherish hopes, only new disappointments, but also added experience. Nevertheless, these manifestations of pressure of discontent from the masses and the slight response, no matter what the motive or design of the latter, is significant. It points but further to the beginning of the upward curve of working class struggle in the United States. It also propounds again, rather forcefully, the question of just what part can and must the demand for a shorter workday without reduction in pay play in revolutionary unemployment tactics.

* * *

It is imperative that the tactics of the revolutionary forces at all times correspond closely to the level and to every

stage of development of objective conditions, and be in harmony with the readings of the subjective factors, becoming sharper and bolder with the rise of the level. In this instance, it means the development of the economic crisis and the readiness for struggle of the working class in general and its unemployed section in particular. The curve has been continually downward. The crisis has moved step by step to greater severity, greater unemployment and, at the end of 1930, is still moving in that direction. Unquestionably, general discontent is spreading among the working masses suffering the wants of unemployment with wage cuts and more speed-up for those having jobs. No let up in the capitalist offensive but the workers' discontent so far expressed, in its political sense, is chiefly in the "stupendous" step from the republican to the democratic party. These demands for the shorter workday without reduction in pay are the early signs of their pressure showing concrete manifestations.

The Party's Tactics

The exact opposite of corresponding with these developments have been the unemployment tactics pursued by the Communist Party leadership. It started from the top and coming downward, not increasing in boldness or sharpening its line, but modifying it, turning to the Right and losing its revolutionary basis. The very beginning was made with the organization of unemployment councils—without preparations, without mass propaganda, without mass basis but voluminous in demands. Next came the concentration on the social insurance bill (purely a parliamentary proposal, of the kind which will most likely not even reach parliament and thus at

best be able to move workers only toward a social reformist direction). The third step has now been reached in the complacent settling down to collecting signatures for this bill.

The mass propaganda, which should have preceded organization, was neglected. The councils did not grow out of a movement, did not represent the unemployed, could not gain their adherence and have remained for all practical purposes almost non-existent. The party proceeded from the premise, of a "revolutionary upsurge of the American working masses" and was stunned by the Democratic landslide. Will it now jump back and endeavor to fill the gap; when there should be a sharpening of its line and a greater balance?

Much of the necessary mass propaganda and preparation must still be done. Correct issues, demands and slogans are still to be formulated and undoubtedly the demand for the six-hour day with no reduction in pay can become a powerful lever to help set the masses into motion. A concentrated propaganda campaign now could soon lead to the organizational steps and become real preparations for the coming stage of working class offensive.

* * *

It is well, in this connection, to remember the great movement for the eight-hour day of the Eighties. Following upon a decade of unexampled growth and expansion of industry and immediately upon the heels of a severe economic crisis — very similar to the present moment—it became a sharp offensive struggle immensely advancing the working class movement of those days. The Chicago revolutionists, the Haymarket martyrs—commonly dubbed anarchists — showed their ability to turn this eight-hour day demand into something more than just a reform measure. They gave it militant content and made it an integral part of the general struggle against the capitalist system.

There is much for us to learn from this.

Lessons of the Marine Workers Union Struggle

The developments in the Marine Workers Industrial Union are an instructive lesson in the incalculable harm that can be brought upon the revolutionary trade union movement by a policy and administration of bureaucratic Centrism in the Party, which inevitably exerts its devastating influence upon the Left wing unions. These injuries react upon the Party and upon the movement as a whole. For years now the Centrists have been squandering the capital accumulated by the revolutionary leadership of the early years of the Communist International. More than that, they have been drawing heavily on the future, and even the regenerated movement, purged of the Centrist bureaucracy and its treacherous policy, will be a long time restoring its prestige and repairing the damage done.

The events in the Marine Workers Industrial Union are mainly a repetition of what took place before in other unions under Stalinist direction, with the difference that they were longer in coming to a head and therefore more violent in their explosion. They brought out into clear relief the effects implicit in the situation in all the other unions. The adherents of the Left Opposition in the M. W. I. U. sought from the very outset to keep the revolt of the rank and file militants in Communist channels, and to direct it to the advantage of the revolutionary movement undermined by the bureaucrats. The task was rendered doubly difficult by the provocations of the officialdom and the machinations of the Right wing liquidators who, here as always, fasten themselves on to the reactionary prejudices in the workers' ranks.

The Warnings of the Opposition

Almost a year ago, in writing on the bureaucratic course in the National Miners Union, we warned that one of its dangers would be a recrudescence of syndicalism. "If syndicalism (that is, anti-political party; anti-political action; belief in the labor union as the all-sufficing instrument of the working class) is the punishment meted out to the revolutionary movement for the sins of party opportunism and vulgar parliamentarism, it is also one of the ways in which workers frequently repay

the workers' political party for mismanagement and for dominating the trade union with the rigidity, bureaucratic arbitrariness, mechanical and formalistic transference of the party into the union which is typical of Stalinism. We warned about such an eventuality months ago in our comments on the Belleville conference. The sudden spread of erroneous syndicalist conceptions among the Illinois miners may be put entirely at the door of the Party bureaucrats." (Militant, March 1, 1930.)

Anarcho-syndicalism, Lenin justly observed, is the twin brother of opportunism. At the same time it is the price the Communist movement must pay for opportunist policies and the abuse of Party authority. This phenomenon is revealed classically in the M. W. I. U. The danger was implicit in the whole situation, and what we wrote in the foreword to the "Rank and File Marine Workers' Statement" published a month ago in the Militant, was but a restatement of what we had said many times in conferences with the proletarian Opposition in the Union. In every discussion with them, we insisted that Stalinist Centrism cannot be answered by the reactionary and bankrupt dogmas of anarcho-syndicalism. Our aim was to drive the legitimate protest of the Communist and Left wing workers deeper into the Party and the Union. We insisted on an appeal against expulsion by the Party bureaucrats, an appeal to the Party workers, a resistance to the last of expulsion from the Union, to carry the fight to the last ditch in the organization so as to strengthen its unity on the basis of a correct policy. In short, we stood for a Communist fight against the Centrist bureaucracy.

The Reactionary Role of the Right Wing

At this point the provocations of the bureaucrats were grist to the mill of unprincipled and treacherous elements which calculated upon diverting a number of workers in the Opposition from the path of Communism into the stagnant backwaters of syndicalism. The manoeuvres of the Lovestone adventurers, also facilitated the aspirations of the reactionary syndicalist elements.

How characteristic it is that the Party and Union bureaucrats made no attempt to answer the just and legitimate criticisms and grievances of the rank and file Opposition! On the contrary, hiding their own blunders and protecting their own puppets, they launched the standardized campaign of abuse and slander against the workers.

Lenin did not fight syndicalism by venomous attacks upon the workers who had fallen victim to this inverted phase of opportunism. Instead, he hit ten times harder at the opportunists whose crimes and stupidities were responsible for the manifestations. The tactics pursued by the Party and Union bureaucracy played the game of precisely those elements who sought to alienate the Communist workers from the Communist movement and draw them into a sterile, anti-Communist sect. And who are these elements? Aping the slogans of the Gompers school, they raised the cry of "no politics in the union", meaning thereby no revolutionary politics. They are people who, aspiring to leadership themselves, raised the cry of "no leaders whatever," in order to protect themselves from competition.

But such slogans did not prevent these elements from shady dickerings with the Right wing adventurers, and even other groups less savory, and this, in turn, did not prevent Lovestone from exploiting these reactionary sentiments to combat the efforts of the Left Opposition to hold the movement to a Communist road. Like their brothers-in-arms of the French Right wing, Lovestone & Co. leaped at the opportunity of making common cause with anarcho-syndicalist elements to fight against Communism and the Communist Party.

The False Tactics of the Syndicalists

The Left Opposition was obliged to break with the elements following such a course. We are in no sense interested in forming a united front of everybody against Communism. On the contrary, we aimed to unite the revolutionary workers for a fight to regenerate the Communist and Left wing movement, and thereby to strengthen the unity and resources of the Union. We disagree profoundly and give no support whatsoever to the elements following such a course.

Continued at Bottom of Next Page

T.U.U.L. and Amalgamated

By ALBERT ORLAND

The policies of the Left wing in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have gone through a zig-zag and finally entered a blind alley. With the organization of the Men's Clothing Branch under the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the liquidation of the T. T. U. L. group in the Amalgamated after the second convention of the N. T. W. I. U. held last June, the Left wing forces in the clothing industry have been dissipated. Only a very small fraction, consisting of the most docile elements and loyal Stalinists joined the new union. The great majority of the sympathizers and supporters of the Left wing, not in agreement with the new line, were left to shift for themselves.

The Left wing in the Amalgamated has thus completed its last cycle of the "second period." The old leadership of the Amalgamated T. U. U. L. was expelled as Right wingers for their insistence upon maintaining the Left wing in the Amalgamated and the application of the so-called "united fronts." The new union by decision of the convention, pledged itself to the adoption of a more revolutionary form and policy adapted to the "third period", namely, the organization of shop committees and the formation of the real united front from below to conduct struggles for economic conditions under the leadership of the N. T. W. I. U.

However, the work of drawing members into the new union and of organizing the shop committees soon proved too difficult for the weak forces of the Amalgamated Section and the confusion in the ranks of the Left wing and the broad masses of the clothing workers condemned all their attempts to futility from the beginning.

The Left Wing at Low Ebb

The Left wing during its entire period of existence in the A. C. W. has built itself a record of unprincipledness and incompetence through its false and confusionist policies. Its adventurist united fronts with Hillman in the years of its greatest influence in the New York organization and later on with all sorts of careerists who used the Left wing in order to climb on its back to paid offices in the A. C. W., has destroyed the confidence of the workers in it and their hope for a change in their conditions. The activity of the Left wing in the A. C. W. at the time of the organization of the Men's Clothing Section of the N. T. W. I. U. was at its lowest ebb. The new section did not come as a result of the radicalization of the clothing workers and as the culmination of their struggle with the A. C. W. leadership, but was merely an act of servility on the part of the "third period" bureaucrats to the Stalinist apparatus. Indeed, the organization of the Men's Clothing Section was rather belated. Had it not been for the Right wingers in charge of the T. U. U.

Continued from Previous Page)

ever to those expelled to the Communist workers in the Party ranks. Likewise, we can have nothing in common with the standpoint of those who, instead of fighting in the M. W. I. U. to safeguard its unity and correct its course, yield to provocation and run away from the fight against Mink, Johnstone & Co. to form an absolutely artificial organization which has neither a basis in the class struggle nor any possibilities for extended life.

As far as the members of the Left Opposition and their collaborators are concerned, no provocation by bureaucrats can divert them from the course we mapped out long ago. We will continue to fight on the platform of Communism. Any diversion from this path plays the game of the Minks, temporarily at least, for it consolidates their position even if upon the basis of a still narrower union. Their hold, of course, remains a precarious one, for they will run their heads into the wall of their own mismanagement as before, arousing the rank and file revolt which will strengthen the influence of the revolutionary movement among the marine workers and weaken the hold of those who so systematically cast shame and discredit upon our cause. This rank and file movement, absorbing the lessons of the recent events in the M. W. I. U., we will continue to support, and assist to a triumph that is equivalent to the victory of the revolutionary cause over that of opportunist-adventurism.

L. in the Amalgamated, the Left wing would have been abandoned a year before and the Amalgamated members urged to join the new union.

Is it any wonder that under such conditions the work of the Men's Clothing Section could not make any headway in spite of its revolutionary tactics, that their talk about shop committees and united fronts from below have remained empty phrases? Having given up contact with the masses the Left wing deprived itself of the opportunity of regaining confidence among them and participating in their struggles. The few isolated shop committees of picked Left wingers do not reflect the mood of the masses in the shops and are still less capable of stimulating mass struggles.

Here is clearly demonstrated the ruinous effect of the "third period" policy in the trade union movement.

The Workers Do Not Follow

The necessity for the organization of the new unions two years ago was explained by the T. U. U. L. leadership by the readiness of the masses to leave the old unions and their fear of lagging behind the masses. But where are the masses in the clothing industry today? Has there been a sudden change in their ideology or their conditions that they have so cruelly disappointed the bureaucrats? Surely, nothing of the sort happened. Simply, they do not seem inclined to play the game of the Stalinist faction in the Communist movement in the latest change of policies and leadership.

The tactics of working within the old unions that was given expression in the organization of the T. U. E. L., a few years ago was based on the conception of the trade unions as organizations embracing the broad masses of the workers in a given industry. The conservative or reactionary character of a trade union was explained by that very fact, because the workers as a mass are not class conscious as yet. It was the duty of the Communists, as the class conscious vanguard, to penetrate these mass organizations and by participation in their struggle, gain influence and leadership there. This tactic ac-

Social Reformism in the United States

Those who hold the position that reformism must develop in the United States are wrong. Trotsky pointed out that America does not have to pass through a period of reformism but this does not mean America will not. When conditions cause a Leftward movement in America today both reform and revolution gain but the ratio depends to a large extent upon the tactics and strategy of the Communists.

Most likely a period of reform will develop but it will be distinguished from European reformism because historical conditions (decay of capitalism) will limit it to a short duration. Developing capitalism in the past could offer reforms through pressure of the workers and the reformist parties but in this period even American capitalism and its reformist parties have little of material value to offer the workers. Decadent capitalism, internationally characterized by keener competition, intensified contradictions, mass production, rationalization, organic unemployment disintegration of the skilled strata, etc., are the objective conditions which narrow the material base of social reformism. But from this we cannot conclude, as the Stalinists still say, "the 'fascization' of reformism 'socialist fascist' and that the road in America is a sharp line of demarcation of 'class against class', 'revolutionary upsurges' and the radicalization is a continuous Leftward swing.

Reform Parties and Reform

Reform parties and reforms are two different things. Reform parties grow on reforms but the former can outlive the latter just like antiquated structures of the past exist today and will be carried over in the future. Their growth and living force depends upon material conditions but structures, customs and ideologies are used by reaction after the material conditions are swept away and before new conditions and new generations move on.

When Capitalism can not rule as a bourgeois republic it uses reform (Socialist, etc.) as long as possible and when

polices were applied. It was the opportunist application of the united front by the T. U. U. L. leadership of the "second period" that was responsible for the losses in the old unions, but not the idea and the united front policy as such.

The pernicious "third period" policy did not, however, fail to produce—on the other hand—some awakening in the minds of a great many Left wing workers. The Centrist leadership has already realized that its new "revolutionary" policy brought disastrous results and made a swift turn backwards into the opposite direction. This new turn has already been applied in some of the branches of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and notice of it has been served upon the Men's Clothing Section.

At this writing, the full implications of this turn are not yet clear to us. It has not yet gone through the Party fractions, and is naturally causing new confusion in the ranks. Judging from the past, however, it is to be expected that this turn will be a repetition of the old zig-zag in a new cycle unless an awakening takes place in the minds of the Party members to the real problems involved in changing revolutionary tactics and the trade union movement, and they act accordingly.

The latest turn in the trade union tactics is not an isolated phenomenon in the official Communist movement. It is a reflection of the general turn in the tactics of the C. I. noticeable in all fields and organizations under its control. The "third period" ideology has given way under the stress of reality and forced the official party leadership not only to change policies but gradually to abandon the terminology and the talk about the "third period" itself. But as with all the changes made by the official leadership in the past, without a frank analysis and criticism of the mistake made.

Under such conditions it is difficult to believe that the Party membership will learn anything from their latest experience with the "third period" policies and their origin, and the official leadership will be given a new lease of life to continue on their worn-out zig-zag path that has caused so much injury to the Communist and revolutionary movements. At any rate, this will be the result unless a thorough analysis and a fundamental criticism is forced through in the ranks.

this is no longer possible, capitalism resorts to open dictatorship (Fascism). It is most likely, too, that American capitalism will try reform before using open dictatorship. In 1918, the German capitalists used the reformist parties and reforms to their advantage against the workers but in 1923 the material base for reforms in Germany was lacking and instead of reforms the workers were beaten down to a lower standard of living by a reform party without reforms. Today the new instrument of fascism is being shaped to take the helm in place of the reform party, the social Democracy, which must be discarded to fight the workers and the Communist vanguard.

In Russia in 1917 the breakdown of the economic system eliminated the material base for the reform party to carry out its reforms yet the reformist parties existed and thrived from February to October. The reformists without a material base were doing a good job for capitalism. They failed because of a Marxian party, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Capitalist reforms as a material concession in Russia had reached an end with the breakdown of the system and these reforms could only be fulfilled through a transformation (revolution) with workers' reforms under the Soviets. The fast tempo of the Russian reformists from February to October was a reflection of the fast tempo of social changes, but nevertheless, the reformist parties played their role in spite of the death of the material base.

When the objective conditions are favorable and reform wins, as in Germany in 1923, Great Britain 1925, and in the United States today—the lack of success on the part of the workers falls on the shoulders of the party which calls itself the vanguard, the Communist. Today, with objective conditions so favorable, greater responsibility falls upon the shoulders of the Communist Party and this means primarily on the Left Opposition. We cannot skip necessary evolutionary steps toward revolution but we can, as Marxists shorten

Litvinov at Geneva

The den of thieves and pirates located at Geneva is once more bustling with "disarmament" activity. This time it is the regular meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, in which, like all its prototypes, the various imperialist powers gather in an attempt to secure by agreement a more favorable position in the armed camp presented by the capitalist world today. No simpler and more final reply to the deceit of these innumerable conferences can be made than the fact that there are more men under arms today than there were before the world war; that bourgeois statement can declare without shocking anybody that Europe is closer to "convulsions now than at any other time since 1914"; that since the above-mentioned commission was established, the five largest imperialist powers have increased their arms budgets by 27 percent.

The Soviet Delegation

At the present session of the Commission, there is a Soviet delegation with Litvinov at its head. We have had occasion in the past to point out the opportunist tenor of the whole foreign policy of the ruling faction in the Russian Communist Party. It rings out brazenly in the conference under discussion. We quote from an "irreproachable" source (Comintern cablegram to *Daily Worker*, November 7, 1930) the remarks made by Litvinov, which would delight the heart of a Left social democrat, or even an honest bourgeois pacifist of The Nation type, but which are repelling to a revolutionist who has learned from Lenin:

"The Soviet Union, Litvinov said, considered the war danger indissolubly connected with capitalism but believed it possible to minimize (?) the danger by real (!) disarmament, and therefore presented two proposals, one of complete disarmament, and an alternative of partial (!) disarmament."

Lenin, while not being so "clever" a statesman as Litvinov, not to speak of the latter's master, Stalin, was nevertheless content with replying to both of them in advance:

"The Kautskyan preaching of 'disarmament', which is addressed chiefly to the present governments of the imperialist great powers, is a vulgar piece of opportunism, of bourgeois pacifism, actually calculated—in spite of the good intentions of the gentle Kautskys—to divert the workers from the class struggle. For such a propaganda is calculated to inspire the workers with the thought that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are NOT bound by thousands of threads of finance capital and tens or hundreds of corresponding (i. e., predatory, greedy, preparatory to imperialistic aggression) SECRET TREATIES between themselves." (The Disarmament Cry, *Sbornik Sozialdemokrata*, December 1916).

The Stalinist press, in this country as elsewhere, grows positively purple with enthusiasm at the petty bourgeois conduct and policy of Litvinov-Stalin. Lenin's teachings on the reactionary-utopian slogan of "disarmament" under capitalism, have been entirely lost to the Stalinists. Like the petty bourgeois press, it helps to foster the most dangerous pacifist illusions in the minds of the workers. In "Notes on the Problems of Our Delegation at the Hague"—a document also directed at establishing the Bolshevik conception of the struggle against war—Lenin writes:

"The press of the dominating class obscures the issues by spreading lies about it in vast numbers of copies against which the weak socialist press is entirely powerless, the more so that in the time of peace they maintain a radically wrong attitude towards this very question. The Communist press in the majority of countries also disgraces itself."

The Stalinist course at Geneva, and the panegyrics of the *Daily Worker* do not detract from, but rather emphasize, the truth of these words, all of which, particularly the last sentence, are fresher today than ever.

their duration and even alter their quality. Since the objective conditions favor us, the battle between reform and revolution now primarily rests upon a Marxian party of dialectic revolutionists, not only to explain correctly the conditions but to present the program, and the program of action to remake them, connecting today's activity with our goal. The Communist can only be equal to this task by basing himself upon the program of the Left Opposition and we of the Left must intensify our activity and concretize our program. —OEHLER.

Stalin Grants Two Interviews

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Taking advantage of the unusual interest aroused by the rumor of his assassination, Stalin has availed himself of the columns of the capitalist press of the world to expound his viewpoint on a number of questions of the hour. More than a year ago, comrade Trotsky, placed in a somewhat similar situation by the sensation aroused by his deportation to Turkey, also made use of the capitalist press to publish the standpoint of the Communist Opposition, so as to acquaint the workers of the world with what it really stood for.

In both cases, the utilization of the enemy press was quite justified, for the dramatic interest centering around the individuals in question made it possible for them not only to give expression to the cause they defend, but virtually to compel the bourgeois press to print whatever they said. The Stalinists, at the time of Trotsky's articles in the capitalist press, pretended a virtuous indignation of which they are really incapable. We saw nothing reprehensible in the action at that time, and just as little in Stalin's today. What the revolutionist is concerned about is, **WHAT** is said and for what purpose, for the bourgeois press of the world is still read in preference to the strictly working class press.

What Trotsky Did

Trotsky seized the opportunity to present the revolutionary point of view to the worker-readers of the bourgeois press, to make an ardent defense of the October revolution against the onslaughts of the world bourgeoisie and the sapping work of the Thermidorians in the Soviet Union. His articles constituted a Bolshevik banner, a rallying point, a cry to awaken the world working class to the dangers menacing the proletarian dictatorship.

How do matters stand, however, with Stalin's interviews (New York **Telegram**, November 24, and New York **Times**, December 1)? Their principal virtue—perhaps their only virtue—is the fact that they are an accurate picture of Stalin, his dull empiricism, his vulgar "practicality", his ignorance and contempt of Bolshevik theory and principle. So striking are all these traits, that even the **Daily Worker** does not dare as much as to mention the outstanding point in his interview, while the **Freiheit** editors consider it either so scandalous or so insignificant, that they do not even report it by a single line! A few quotations will make clear the reason.

The International Stalinist strategy in the Communist movement centers around the slogan, theory, and agitation for the "Defense of the Soviet Union against the War Danger." The prevailing theory is that if the Soviet Union can merely prevent **military intervention**, then a self-sufficient socialist society can be constructed within national boundaries. The abstract cry "Defend the Soviet Union" is daily dinned into the ears of the official Communist Party press readers. Stalin—assuming that he intended to direct his remarks to the workers, and not to Messrs. Hoover, Adolph Ochs and Roy Howard—should have emphasized this danger and called upon the workers to ward it off. Instead, he said everything he could to minimize this danger, and even to eliminate it. We quote from the Duranty dispatch to the **Times**. (Duranty is one of the staunchest supporters of the Stalin regime and his reports may be relied upon for accuracy—insofar as he quotes Stalin, at least.)

"Too Late"

"Both of them (i. e., the so-called hot-headed bourgeois and the cautious bourgeois) would readily crush a weak enemy if it could be done with little or no risk, but for the moment no such easy and profitable adventure offers itself. They might have tried it against the U. S. S. R. five or six years ago, but they waited too long. It is now too late."

"Stalin hurled out the last words without raising his voice but with a sudden access of restrained power that had an impact like a blow."

On the same day, the printers in the **Daily Worker** were setting up headlines, some of which read: "Canadian Boss, Deterring and Standard Oil for War on U. S. S. R.", "Latest Steps in Anti-Soviet War Plot" (eight are listed), with a leading editorial to the same effect. But if it "is now too late," if the bourgeoisie has "waited too long" (we believe neither of these "soliciting" opines), why all the excitement about the war danger against the U.S.S.R.?

Not content with this smug assertion,

Stalin continues his remarks, and goes from bad to worse.

"Can capitalist and Communist systems co-exist peacefully," asked Lyons of the United Press.

"It is possible," Stalin replied, "and the best proof is that they have lived peacefully side by side since the conclusion of our civil war and the intervention period." (**Telegram**, November 24.)

To make sure of this incredible declaration, Duranty asked a few days later: "You see, then, no reason why capitalist and Communist systems should not exist side by side without fighting?"

"They have not fought for ten years," said Stalin dryly, "**which means they can co-exist.**" (**Times**, December 1.)

Lenin, who lived neither in the "third period" nor in the period of Stalin's wisdom, was of a fundamentally different opinion, that is, he defended a Marxist position while Stalin defends the standpoint of blind liberalism. One can quote from his writings and speeches a thousand sentences which are a crushing refutation of Stalin's astounding remarks. We take a few at random.

"World imperialism side by side with a victorious onslaught of the social revolution **cannot get along together.**" (Vol. 15, page 175.)

"We do not live merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end, one or the other must triumph." (Vol. 17, page 197.)

"As long as we still have capitalism and socialism we cannot live peacefully—either one or the other will be the victor in the end. The obituary will have to be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet republic. Now we have only a respite in the war." (Vol. 17, page 398.) And so on, ad infinitum.

"The Ten Years of Peace"

Stalin's ten years of "socialist-capitalist peace" cover the period of the Arcos and Peking raids, the attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the breaking of relations with Russia by England and France, the murder of Voikov in Poland, the permanent conspiracies of all capitalist countries against the U. S. S. R. (culminating in the very trial now going on in Moscow!), and other facts far too numerous to mention. Obviously, if this is the "peaceful co-existence," what will "war" resemble?

That is why the **Daily Worker**, which quoted much from Stalin's interview (November 5), did not even mention the quotation we made above. Why not? Either it is a mis-quotation, in which case it should obviously be exposed. Or else it is correctly reported, in which case it is of such tremendous importance that it should be blazoned in the headlines. Of course, the simple truth is that neither the **Daily Worker** nor the **Freiheit** dared to reprint these thoroughly reactionary words of Stalin—they were too strong for the stomach. (The **Daily Worker** made up for its whipped-dog silence on Stalin by publishing a hysterical column of pernicious anaemia by Browder, denouncing the Opposition as . . . counter-revolutionists and stool pigeons. And there is nothing surprising in this, for even medical science teaches us that a poisoned organism, like an attack of rabies, always brings foam to the mouth and prevents coherent speech. Browder, we therefore assume, is a subject for treatment by a science other than political, and we do not feel ourselves competent to effect any cures or give any advice in that sphere.)

We learn further from Stalin the exact reason for the disgraceful conduct of the Soviet delegation to the Geneva arms, and even for its participation.

"Stalin has no hope that anything constructive will come out of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Nevertheless he said he felt the Soviet government could not abstain from any effort (so!), however weak, toward peace. He said Litvinov might succeed in injecting a few healthy clauses (now then!) here and there. 'Anyway,' he said, 'it can't do any harm to participate in the conference.'"

But these very same "reasons" can be advanced to justify joining the League of Nations, that is, the Black International which fathers the Disarmament Conferences. And, further, if one finally decides to participate in the "disarmament" conferences, it should not be done in the "diplomatic" manner of Litvinov and Stalin (to which we refer elsewhere in this issue) but

"It can't do any harm." No, none except to create the illusion in the minds of the workers that the League of Nations and its subsidiaries can be reformed step by step by means of "injecting a few healthy clauses here and there," which means, in reality, giving the imperialist war mongers and their machinations a convenient shield from the distrust of the world proletariat.

The Daily Worker Silent Again

Here again, the **Daily Worker** maintains a tight-lipped silence. Not a word of quotation or comment on Stalin's remarks about the Geneva Conference and Litvinov's participation. Isn't it pertinent to inquire about the reason for the omission? Has Stalin one theory of the revolution or working class readers who buy the capitalist press, and another theory for the readers who buy the **Daily Worker**? Which theory does he believe? Which shall we believe? And above all, which theory is believed or should be believed by the workers, who still read a thousand **Telegrams** and **Timeses** to one **Daily Worker**?

There is one more point in Stalin's interviews, the one the bourgeois press underlined: trade with the United States. "If it cannot establish political ties with the United States, the Soviet Union at least desires to strengthen its economic ties with America. And America being a great, wealthy, technically progressive and developed country, must appreciate the advantages of such economic intercourse as much as we do." (**Telegram**, November 24.)

Stalin Catches Up with the Opposition

As it stands, no serious person can have objection to it. But there is nevertheless a contradiction here. A number of months ago, dealing with the state of world unemployment on the one hand, and the difficulties being encountered by the Five-Year Plan on the other, comrade Trotsky advanced the idea that the Communists in the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries should elaborate an international campaign aiming at the extension of large, long-term credits to Russia for the purchase of machinery to assist the Five Year Plan, and to ameliorate to an extent the sufferings of the unemployed by the fact that certain industries would be set going through Soviet orders for machinery. Our readers are sufficiently acquainted with the proposal to obviate any elaboration of it here.

Weisbord's Proposals on Unemployment

A number of inquiries concerning our position on the articles by comrade Albert Weisbord in which he advanced "A Concrete Program on the Unemployed" have been received. The article was printed as a contribution to the discussion. It does not coincide with our point of view.

We are in agreement with those points in Weisbord's articles which deal with the concrete steps to be taken to organize the unemployed workers and their families, that is, into block committees in the proletarian quarters, into a form of tenants' leagues for the purpose of resisting evictions for non-payment of rents, etc., etc. This task has been neglected by the movement up to now and must be carried out. Our divergences with Weisbord occur chiefly at the point where he sets tasks for this movement, where he estimates—by implication at least—the period of development the movement as a whole finds itself in, and where he repeats his proposals in relation to the Party and to the Lovestone faction.

It is false to state that "the whole immediate objective of the unemployment movement is to seize things necessary to live." The acquisition of living necessities and resistance to evictions is indeed one of the principal tasks not only of the unemployed, but of their fellow-workers still at work, but not the "whole" of it. The principal problem is the mobilization of the employed and unemployed into a united movement for a struggle around three principal demands: the six-hour day and five-day week without wage reductions, social insurance, and immediate relief by the state and the employers. The so-called "food riots" are a by-product, and under certain conditions an aid, in the fight for these demands, and require a previous deep-going organization of the masses, the arousing of their sentiments for struggle, and establishment of safeguards against the degeneration of such a movement into petty-bourgeois-anarchist swamps. But they are far from the "whole immediate objective."

Matters are worse with the perspectives of struggle of this movement, which involves an estimate of its state of development. Instead of a criticism of the Party

immediately met with violent resistance by the whole Stalinist apparatus. Browder and the other Jorges poured sulphur and pitch upon it. It was denounced as little, if any, better than "social-fascism." In the first place, it ran counter to the canonized theory of a self-sufficient socialist society in Russia. Secondly, it was a proposal to "help capitalism solve its unemployment crisis." Thirdly, fourthly, fifthly and tenthly, it was proposed by the Opposition which, as every member of the Political Bureau is taught in the Lenin School, is counter-revolutionary. Now the idea has been taken off the index expurgatorium and the official imprimatur affixed to it by the hand of Stalin himself. Listen to how he laughs out of court yesterday's pitiful arguments of Browder and Co.:

"They provide equipment and technical help don't they? And we pay them, don't we, for everything—pay top prices, too, as you and obey know. You might as well say that we are arming Americans and helping to maintain their capitalist system against ours. No," he continued more softly, "**that is nonsense.** That isn't the point at all." (**Times**, December 1.) (What a scathing remark to make about so loyal a servitor as Browder!)

There remains, however, a difference between Stalin's appeal for trade relations and the Opposition's. The first is not only not addressed to the workers, but it does not even mention their role in it, the manner in which the interests of unemployed and employed are so directly connected with the welfare of the Soviet Union and its economic advancement. Instead, it is addressed to the bourgeoisie. It is quite true that they must be spoken too as well, but then Stalin should at the same time apologize to the workers for having permitted Molotov and Manuilsky and their lesser lights to denounce the Opposition because we proposed—among other things—an economic collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and the Mueller government in Germany and the MacDonald regime in England. And we are still waiting for the American Party chiefs to accept the logic of Stalin's statements and the proposals of the Opposition to launch a campaign along the lines sketched in our plan. It is overdue.

or its "third period" absurdities and monstrous exaggerations in connection with the slogan for "fighting the police", Weisbord only deepens its error. The class conscious vanguard is exceedingly small today. It is confronted by a working class virtually everywhere on the defensive, and its main problem is the organization of a defensive resistance to the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. The Party mistakes this defensive for an offensive, and half its blunders are rooted in this radically false conception.

Weisbord, however, even goes further, and arrives at the extremely ultra-Leftist conception of an impending revolutionary situation in the country. No other view can explain such terms as these, in consideration of the present relation of forces in the country: "The Party wants to fight the police. Good." And further: "Here (in proletarian neighborhoods) the fight can spread. The police cannot easily surround it . . . Shops and factories can be pulled on strike and swept into battle. In short, here the police are weakest and the workers strongest. Through the fighting squads organized by the block groups, a whole section of the city could be held." Since cities, or sections of them, are not held merely for the holding, but because the question of seizure of power has been raised, Weisbord's views are not only harshly out of harmony with the views of the Opposition but also with the elementary realities of the situation. Less emphasis on "fight the police" (it is clear, the workers must defend themselves ardently against police attacks and brutalities, but certainly not in an offensive sense, with a view to "holding a whole section of the city") and more emphasis on the practical needs and interests of the movement, which correspond to its stage of development—those are urgent requirements of the moment.

Further, we disagree sharply with Weisbord's ridicule of the proposals advanced by the Left Opposition for long-term credits to the Soviet Union as a means of ameliorating the hardships of the unemployed in capitalist countries and of the Five Year Plan in Russia. Such credits will not only permit Russia to purchase

(Continued on Page 8)

How Stalin-Bucharin Destroyed the Chinese Revolution

(Continued from Last Issue)

About the time the Northern Expeditionary took Shanghai in 1927, what Chiang Kai paid great attention to was the selection of the Shanghai municipal government and how to unite the petty-bourgeoisie (the middle and small traders) for opposing the big bourgeoisie; Peng Shu Chih, Lo Yih Nieng became very angry, and tore it to the Shanghai municipal government was not a central problem. The central problem was that if the proletariat did not overpower the military forces of Chiang Kai-Shek, the petty bourgeoisie would not stand for us and that Chiang Kai-Shek must, under the direction of the imperialists, massacre the masses. The Shanghai municipal government would not only be a phrase then, but a defeat throughout China would take place, for when Chiang Kai-Shek openly betrayed the revolution it would never be an individual action, but the signal for the bourgeoisie in the whole country to go over to the reactionary camp. At that time, Peng Shu Chih went to Hankow to state our opinion before the International delegate and the majority of the members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and to consult them on how to attack the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek. But they did not care very much about the coup of Shanghai, but telegraphed to me several times urging me to go to Wuhan, in Hupeh province. They thought that the nationalist government was at Wuhan at that time, so all important problems should be solved there. At the same time, the International telegraphed to us instructing us to hide or bury all the weapons of the workers to avoid the military conflict between the workers and Chiang Kai-Shek, in order not to disturb the occupation of Shanghai by the armed forces. Having read this telegram, Lo Yih Nung became very angry, and tore it to bits. At that time I again obeyed the order of the International and could not maintain my own opinion. Based upon the policy of the International towards the Kuo Min Tang and the imperialists, I issued a shameful manifesto with Wang Chin Wei.

The Proposal to Withdraw from the K.M.T.

In the beginning of April I went to Hankow. When I first met Wang Chin Wei I heard from him some reactionary words, far different from what he said while in Shanghai. I told this to Borodin; he said that my observations were right and that as soon as Wang Chin Wei reached Wuhan he was surrounded by Hsu Chien, Kuo Meng Yu, Chen Pung Po, Tan Yien Kai and others, and became gradually colder. After Chiang Kai-Shek and Lu Chi Shung continually massacred the workers and peasants, the Kuo Min Tang hated the power of the proletariat more every day, and the reactionary attitude of Wang Chin Wei and of the Central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang developed rapidly. At the meeting of our Political Bureau, I made a report on the status of the joint meeting of our Party and of the Kuo Min Tang: "The danger of co-operation between our Party and the Kuo Min Tang is more and more serious. What they tried to seize on seemed to be this or that small problem; what they really wanted was the whole leading power. Now there are only two roads before us: either to give up the leading power or to break with them." The attendants answered my report with silence. After the coup of May 21 at Changsha, in Huhan province, I twice suggested withdrawal from the Kuo Min Tang. Finally, I said: "The Wuhan Kuo Min Tang has followed the steps of Chiang Kai-Shek!" At that time only Yen Pih Si said: "Indeed!" and Chow Eng Lai said: "After we withdraw from the Kuo Min Tang the labor and peasant movement will be freer but the military movement will suffer too much." All the rest still answered my suggestion with the attitude of quiet. At the same time I discussed this with Chih Chiu Bai. He said: "We should let the Kuo Min Tang expel us, we cannot withdraw by ourselves." I consulted Borodin. He said: "I quite agree with your idea but I know that Moscow will never permit it." At that time I once more observed the discipline of the International and the opinion of the majority of the Central Committee and was unable to maintain my own

opinion. From the beginning I could not persistly maintain my opinion; up to this time I could no longer bear it. Then, I tendered my resignation to the Central Committee. The chief reason for the resignation was: "The International wishes us to carry out our own policy, on the one hand, and does not allow us to withdraw from the Kuo Min Tang on the other. There is really no way out and I cannot continue with my work."

From the beginning to the end, the International recognized the Kuo Min Tang as the main body of the Chinese national democratic revolution. In the mouth of Stalin the words "leadership of the Kuo Min Tang" were shouted very loudly (see "The Error of the Opposition" in "Problems of the Chinese Revolution"). So it wished us throughout to surrender in the organization of the Kuo Min Tang and to lead the masses under the name and the banner of the Kuo Min Tang. Up to the time when the whole Kuo Min Tang of Feng Yu-Hsiang, Wang Chin Wei, Lang Lin Chih, Ho Chin etc., were openly reactionary and abolished the so-called three points policies: to unite with the Soviet Union, to allow the C. P., to join the Kuo Min Tang and to help the labor and peasant movement, the International instructed us by telegram: "Only withdraw from the Kuo Min Tang government not from the Kuo Min Tang." So, after the "August 7" Conference, from the Nanchang uprising to the capture of Swatow, the Communist party still hid under the blue-white banner of the Left clique of the Kuo Min Tang. Among the masses it seemed that there was trouble within the Kuo Min Tang, but nothing more." The young Chinese Communist Party, produced by the young Chinese proletariat, had not had a proper period of training in Marxism and class struggles. In the beginning of the founding of the Party, it was confronted by the great revolutionary struggle. The only hope of avoiding any very grave error was the correct guidance of the proletarian policy of the International. Under the guidance of such a continuously opportunist policy how could the Chinese proletariat and the Communist Party clearly observe their own future? and how could they have their own independent policy? They only surrendered to the bourgeoisie step by step and subordinated themselves to the bourgeoisie. So when the latter suddenly massacred us we did not know what to do about it. After the coup of May 21 at Changsha, the method given to us by the International was:

(1) Confiscate the land of the landowners from the lower strata, not to use the name of the nationalist government, but do not touch the land of military officers. (Not a single one of the bourgeoisie, land-

lords, tuchuns, and gentry of Hunan and Hupeh provinces but was the kinsman, relative or old friend of the officers of that time. All the landowners were directly or indirectly protected by the officers. To confiscate the land is only empty words if it is conditioned by "do not touch the land of the military officers.")

(2) Check the peasants' "over-zealous" action with the power of the Party headquarters. (We did execute this shameful policy of checking the peasants' over-zealous action; afterwards the International criticized the Chinese Party as having "often become the obstacle of the masses" and considered it as one of the greatest opportunist errors.)

(3) Destroy the present unreliable generals, arm twenty thousand Communists and select fifty thousand worker and peasant elements from Hunan and Hupeh provinces for organizing a new army. (If we could get so many rifles, why should we not directly arm the workers and peasants and why should we still enlarge the new troops of the Kuo Min Tang? Why could not we establish the Soviet of workers, peasants and soldiers? If there are neither armed workers and peasants nor soviets who and how can we destroy the said unreliable generals? I suppose that we should still pitifully beg the Central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang to discharge them. That the delegate of the International, Lois, showed Wang Chin Wei the instruction of the III International, was of course for this purpose.)

(4) Put new working and peasant elements into the Central Committee of the Kuo Min Tang to take the place of old members. (If we have power to deal freely with the old Committee and reorganize the Kuo Min Tang, why could we not organize Soviets? Why must we send our worker and peasant leaders to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, who have already been massacring the workers and peasants? and why should we decorate such a Kuo Min Tang with our leaders?)

A "Revolutionary" Court

(5) Organize a Revolutionary Court with a well-known member of the Kuo Min Tang as its chairman in order to judge the reactionary officers. How can the already reactionary leader of the Kuo Min Tang judge the reactionary officers in the Revolutionary Court?

Those who attempted to execute such a policy within the Kuo Min Tang were still opportunists of Left tendency. There was no change at all in the fundamental policy; it was like taking a bath in a urinal vessel! At that time, if we wanted to carry out the Left policy of revolution, the fundamental policy had to be changed. That is, the Communist Party had to with-

draw from the Kuo Min Tang and be really independent. It had to arm the workers and peasants, as many as possible, establish the Soviet of workers, peasants and soldiers and seize the leading power from the Kuo Min Tang; otherwise, no matter what kind of Left policy was adopted, there was no way to realize it. At that time the Central Political Bureau wired to the Communist International to answer its instruction: we accept the instruction and will work according to its direction but it cannot be realized immediately. For all the members of the Central Committee recognized that that instruction was an impractical method. Even the participant of the meeting of the Central Committee, Fanck (it was said that he was the private deputy of Stalin) also thought that there was no possibility to carry it out. He agreed with the telegraphic answer of the Central Committee, saying: "We can only say so in our answer." After the "August 7" Conference, the Central Committee endeavored to propagate that the cause of the failure of the Chinese revolution was that the opportunists did not accept the instructions of the Communist International (of course, the instructions were the above mentioned one; besides these, there were no instructions!) to change the tactics at once; we did not know how they could change the policy within the sphere of the Kuo Min Tang and who were the so-called opportunists.

Where Responsibility Lies

As the Party has committed such a fundamental error, the other bigger and smaller subordinate errors, of course, would continually take place. I, whose perception was not clear, whose opinion was not decisive, sank deeply in the atmosphere of opportunism, sincerely carried out the opportunist policy of the Third International; I unconsciously became the tool of the narrow faction of Stalin; I could not save the Party; and the revolution. All this, both I and other comrades should be responsible for. The present Central Committee said: "You attempt to put the failure of the Chinese Revolution on the shoulders of the Third International in order that you might throw off your own responsibility!" This statement is ridiculous. Nobody can permanently withhold his right to criticize the opportunism of the Party leadership, or to return to Marxism and Leninism because he has himself committed opportunism. At the same time, nobody can take the liberty of avoiding his responsibility for executing an opportunist policy because opportunism came from high places. The source of the opportunist policy is the Third International; but why did not the leaders of the Chinese Party make a protest against the Third International, but sincerely carried out its policies? Who could remove this responsibility? We should very frankly and objectively recognize that all the past and present opportunist policies come from the Third International. The Third International should bear the responsibility. The young Chinese Party has not yet the ability of itself to invent any theories and settle any policy; but the leading organ of the Chinese Party ought to bear the responsibility for blindly executing the opportunist policy of the Third International without a little bit of judgment and protest. If we mutually excuse each other and all of us think that we have committed no mistakes, was it then the error of the masses? This is not only too ridiculous but also does not take any responsibility towards the revolution! I strongly believe that, if I, or other responsible comrades, could at that time have had a clear recognition of the falsity of the opportunist policy; a strong argument against it, even to the point of mobilizing the entire Party for an ardent discussion and debate, as comrade Trotsky has been doing, the result would inevitably have been a great help to the revolution and would not have made the revolution such a shameful failure, though I might have been expelled from the Third International and a split in the Party might have taken place. I, whose perception was not clear and opinion was not decisive, did not do so after all! If the Party were to base itself on such past mistakes of mine or on the fact that I strongly maintained the former erroneous line, in order to give me any severe punishment, I would earnestly accept it without uttering a word.

(Continued in Next Issue)

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

By **LEON TROTSKY**

A brilliant summary and analysis of the policies pursued since 1923 by the leading group in the Communist International on the most important problems confronting the revolutionary movement « « « An invaluable contribution to the issues of the day and an indispensable part of every worker's library » » »

One Hundred Pages

25 cents a copy :: 18 cents in bundles

ORDER FROM THE MILITANT, 25 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Life of the Exiled and Imprisoned Russian Opposition

By N. MARKIN

The Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (December 1927) placed the Opposition outside of the ranks of the Party and sanctioned the state repressive measures taken against it. In the course of 1928 thousands of Oppositionists were arrested and sent into exile. Despite all that, the curve of development of the Opposition for the entire year of 1928 was vigorously on the ascendant. At the beginning of 1929 the G.P.U. ferociously ransacked the Opposition organizations all over the U.S.S.R. Simultaneously the repression not only increased in quantity but also achieved a new quality: the creation of Solitaries; depriving the deported of their work, transferring them to unhealthy places, reducing their maintenance by half; the expulsion of comrade Trotsky; general provocation and so on. In the economic and political domain, the year 1929 was characterized by the accentuation of the Left zig-zag of Centrism, necessitated by the kulak grain strikes in 1928.

The Crisis in the Opposition

The combined influence of these two factors, the ruthless repression and a certain division brought about by the Left turn of Centrism—placed the Opposition before a grave crisis in the summer of 1929. A wave of capitulation passed over the places of deportation. In August 1929 comrade Rakovsky and others made their well known declaration. This declaration was an attempt to realize a united front with the Party. It established certain modifications of the official course, and based on these, expressed anew the desire to defend and to struggle for its ideas within the frame work of the Party, underlining at the same time that the only serious guarantee for the turn was a change of regime in the Party. Rakovsky's declaration—as was evident—was rejected. This served as an additional test of the Party regime by showing the Opposition elements who were seriously doubtful, all the superficiality and the insincerity of Centrism's Leftward turn. The August declaration of Rakovsky brought into circulation extensive theses and submitted the policy of Centrism to a profound and compact criticism. The response of the apparatus to the declaration of Rakovsky forced the Opposition to declare again and precisely that it will not only continue, but enlarge and intensify its factional work.

In the same period comrades Rakovsky and Trotsky again put forth the question of the Party as the central problem of the revolution. Certain capitulators have deluded themselves (and deluded others) with pseudodialectic arguments, in the sense that the correction of the economic line will of itself entail an improvement of the regime in the Party. "It is an absurdity", comrade Trotsky wrote to the Russian comrades, "to believe that the Five Year Plan can modify automatically the regime of the Party. On the contrary, the change of regime in the Party is not only the premise of ultimate successes, but also a certain guarantee against the dangers which grow more rapidly than the successes." And on several later occasions: "The Party regime constitutes a mortal danger precisely towards economy." Rakovsky and other Russian Opposition comrades wrote in the same vein.

However, the Left course of Centrism began, toward 1930, to transform itself into an ultra-Left policy which expressed itself in the "industrialization course", and "complete collectivization." The Left Opposition did not allow itself to be carried away by the Stalinist "dizziness." On the question of our attitude towards the new ultra-Left course, it reenforced its cohesion, while holding to its previous strategy of collectivization and industrialization. The Russian Opposition launched the tactical slogan: Slow down! Retreat! This slogan was unanimously approved by the Russian Left Opposition. Later on, the new course was replaced by a still newer one, in which the elements of adventurist leaps were joined with those of panicky retreat. It is in such a situation that the Sixteenth Congress met, and brought about a new aggravation of the Party regime. "The preparation of Bonapartism insofar as it concerns the Party, has been accomplished. In the Party the plebiscitary regime has been definitely installed," comrade Trotsky wrote to the U. S. S. R.

For the Opposition, the preparation of the Congress expressed itself in a mad reenforcement of reprisals*. The Opposition presented to the Congress a declaration ("of the 7": Rakovsky, Muralov, Kossior, Kasparova, Grunstein, Zinzadze, Aussem.) All these comrades are Opposition leaders and among the oldest members of the Party. Some time before this declaration to the C.C., to the C.C.C. and to all the members of the Party, a long principle declaration called "The April declaration of the 4": Rakovsky, Kossior, Kasparova, and Muralov. Around this declaration a vast polemic developed in the deportation camps and in secret (in the U.S.S.R.)

The Ideological Life of the Opposition

It must be said that from the day of its birth, the Opposition in deportation began to live an intense ideological life. Not only are timely economic, political, tactical and strategical questions profoundly studied and heatedly discussed, but even the most abstract problems of philosophy. The Solitaries have become revolutionary universities. Numerous serious Marxist works have been produced by the pens of deported Oppositionists. The ideological level of the Russian Opposition cadres may be considered, without any exaggeration, as exceptional. In ridding themselves of the capitulatory ballast, in gaining cohesion under the fire of repression, it is the firmest and most valiant revolutionists who have remained in the deportation.

During this current year, the exchange of ideas has been rendered very difficult by an almost complete postal blockade. That is why the study of questions often does not emerge from the limits of the isolated centers of the deportation.

Certain differences—though not of principle—have been provoked by the following theses in Rakovsky's April declaration: "Before the Party is posed the question of supplying the country with food stuffs and with agricultural raw materials by reinforcing the construction of the Soviet farms, at the same time maintaining the rhythm of industrial development." Some of the comrades found a contradiction to the slogan of "retreat" in these theses. Their argument can be summed up in this: "It is our duty to subject the bureaucratic rhythms to a merciless criticism and not to maintain them. The period of ultra-Left adventurism in the Centrist policy of industrialization is not yet at an end."

On the other hand, the comrades who supported the theses of comrade Rakovsky countered with the following argument: "The period in which the articles and letters of Trotsky and Rakovsky (which called for beating a retreat and not for maintaining the rhythms) belong, is distinct from the period of the declaration . . . In the present period, after the collapse of the 'complete collectivization', it is collectivization itself which is in danger. Not only is the 'five-year plan in four years' threatened but the realization of the 'five-year plan altogether, and to support the slogan of a relaxation of the rhythm in such a situation is profoundly wrong." The Editors of the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition* have not had the opportunity to express themselves fundamentally on this question, since it had not yet received the April Declaration at that time. They simply stressed that "it is of course understood that we are for the 'maximum rhythms' provided they are economically and politically possible," and that it is not this question—despite all its seriousness—which is of decisive importance at present but rather that of the "methods of economic direction and of the life of the Party with whose aid the rhythms have been elaborated, realized and checked."

The Social Nature of the State

Another question which has provoked a broad discussion is that of the social character and perspectives of the Soviet state, and the question which is bound up with this, namely, of the social essence of the Soviet bureaucracy (or of the degree of the divorce between the bureaucracy and the masses, as some of the comrades pose the question), a phenomenon hitherto unknown in history and which has consequently not been analyzed as yet by Marxist thought. To what degree can the bur-

* We will not stop at this question, which has been sufficiently illuminated in the Opposition publications.

eaucracy be considered as a class, as an embryo of a class? Can it become a class? Such are the questions which are at the center of the analysis and discussion on the Soviet system. Evidently, it is not a question of a rigid, that is to say, of a metaphysical formula, but of the analysis of perspectives and the orientation of living processes. According to the Moscow correspondent of the *Russian Bulletin*, this tendency is indicated by comrade Rakovsky "as being the possible line of transformation of the proletarian state into a bureaucratic state with Communist vestiges."

"The great merit," writes the same correspondent, "of the documents written by comrade Rakovsky since 1928, is the profound penetration and entirely concrete analysis of his process. The new declaration in question, in enhancing this analysis and extending it to the new supplement of the Soviet bureaucracy—the nascent collective farm bureaucracy—interested in preserving the current state of affairs, not only establishes that bureaucratic atrophy threatens to denature the social content of the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R., but outlines in broad strokes the characteristics of the bureaucratic order which can follow the Soviet order, while remaining in the domain of real phenomena."

Concerning the bureaucracy, comrade Rakovsky writes: "Under our very eyes, there has been formed, and is still being formed, a large class of rulers which has its own interior groupings, multiplied by means of premeditated cooptation, direct or indirect (bureaucratic promotion, fictitious system of elections). The basic support of this original class is a sort, an original sort, of private property, namely, the possession of State power. The bureaucracy possess the state as private property" wrote Marx ("Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law").

The colony of deportees at X . . . formulates the question as follows: "We are of the opinion that the bureaucracy is not a class and will never become one. We believe that the bureaucracy, the leading stratum of society, will degenerate that it is the germ of a class which will not be bureaucratic at all . . . The bureaucracy is the germ of a capitalist class which dominates the state and possesses the means of productive collectively."

The Slogan of a Coalition C. C.

Difference in tactics, and partially in principle, were evoked by another question. In one of his letters in May, Rakovsky issued the slogan of a *coalition* Central Committee (Left, Center and Right). Unfortunately, the inadequacy of our information does not permit us to summarize the opinions on this point. A comrade writes: "I believe that this slogan has a foundation (economy is balked, all the factions must take this fact into account and join in following a single tactical line in spite of the diversity of their strategical lines. This slogan can become popular among the masses. It is another question to know if there are any reasons for being optimistic about its possible realization. The general secretary (Stalin) will not join the coalition, and with Party opinion dispersed, it may not be able to exert enough pressure. However, these considerations are not a decisive argument against the slogan. We must work and fight for its realization. In this way we will point out the concrete road—naturally, an imperfect road, but the situation allows of no better one—for the concrete abolition of the political monopoly of the Centrists."

Let us quote an extract from the theses of an authorized comrade, now incarcerated in Solitary:

"The present state of the proletarian dictatorship can be characterized above all by the extreme nature of the bureaucratic degeneration of its apparatus and, so to speak, by the bureaucratic envelopment of the proletarian dictatorship."

The theses say that the economic organs, "seized by panic before the growing elements of catastrophe, seek to overtake this delay by incessantly exceeding the predetermined projects, above all, by excessive increase of the exploitation of the workers and the lowering of their living level. . . . As a result of the super-industrialization, the condition of the workers is worsening. The workers are obliged to adapt themselves to a reduction in real wages and the exhaustion of physical efforts."

The theses define the policy of Centrism in the country in the following manner: "The political consequences of the peasant policy conducted, can throw back the Sovietization of the country for many years and make us return to the old times of War Communism. The whole policy will be discredited, and the most irremediable discredit will affect in principle, even the policy of collectivization and industrialization, that is all the teachings of Lenin."

"The principal misfortune," the theses say finally, "consists in the fact that, while there is a possibility of a reaction, and sometimes even of a decisive influence on the direction of policy by organizing the resistance of the Opposition in the proletarian sector of the Party to the sliding of Centrism to the Right, with the existing regime this resistance cannot take a sufficiently active form to permit making a radical end to this policy of the Right and ultra-Left leaps, and to realize the reformation of the Party leadership."

The Opposition's Growth

The above-quoted theses touch the decisive problem of the Russian Opposition, consequently, the future of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. All the facts show the sympathy existing in the working class towards our ideas, but the weakness of the Opposition organization prevents the crystallization of these sentiments and their necessary development. "Interest towards us is undubitably growing, we are weak, although we have numerous supporters." In August, we heard from Kharkov: "One feels that a certain additional push is needed, a new experience, so that what is covered with ashes will flame up again. The work must be organized in a more regular and systematic manner, the Bulletin made to appear more regularly, and we need a well functioning internal organization. On this point, comrades in various sections believe that this push is not far off."

In one of his last letters to the Russian Oppositionists comrade Trotsky raises the question in the following way: "Since the mass of the Party is definitely dispersed, then the sole means of heightening the chances for the development of the October revolution and Lenin's Party by the Reformist road, requires the creation of a well-functioning centralized organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists, armed with sufficient technical means for reacting systematically upon the dispersed public opinion of the Party . . . A half-passive policy in the future would mean, not to mention other things, the gradual physical destruction of our best cadres."

The principal obstacle on this road is obviously the repression and above all, provocation. The G. P. U. floods not only our isolated groups of deportees but also the prisons with provocateurs. Provocation is Stalin's main weapon against the Opposition. At the same time, as we have said, the ground for the development of the Left Opposition is very favorable. Facts like the election of a worker Oppositionist as chairman of the factory council, the refusal of the workers to elect another in spite of the rabid pressure of the apparatus, and finally his arrest by the G.P.U. (Mechanical Shops, Kharhov), the successful organization of collections among the workers on the Moscow-Kazan railway, upon their own initiative, for aid to the deportees and their families, the steady torrent of new deportees, the almost daily arrests of new Oppositionists, generally still members of the Party—all this proves that the Opposition is not stifled. And in spite of the incessant arrests, the G. P. U. cannot exhaust the reserves of the Opposition, since they are steadily renewed.

New Deportations

A special and very characteristic phenomenon is the arrest of capitulators, that is, of former Oppositionists who signed the declaration of Radek or Smirnov. Capitulators imprisoned and deported a second time are not isolated cases, but constitute a large phenomenon of their type. It shows, on one hand, that among the capitulators, after the return to Moscow, there is manifested again "relapses into Trotskyism", and on the other, the great fear of the apparatus even for the cadavers of the Opposition—the capitulators.

In recent letters (October), the comrades communicate that these phenomena not only do not cease, but on the contrary increase. Capitulators are mentioned who arrived in deportation in September or October, that is, more than a year after their capitulation.

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN

By LEON
TROTSKY

(Concluded from Last issue)

This is revealed with adequate clarity in the question of the peasant's balance of the October revolution. The state as the owner of the land, concentrated in its hands the right to ground rent. Does it realize it from the present market in the prices of grain, lumber, etc.? Unfortunately, not yet. Does it realize it from the peasant? With the multiplicity of economic accounts between the state and the peasant, it is very difficult to reply to this question. It can be said—and this will by no means be a paradox—so that the “scissors” of agricultural and industrial prices contains the ground rent in a concealed form. With the concentration of land, industry and transport in the hands of the state, the question of ground rent has for the peasant, so to speak, a bookkeeping and not an economic significance. But the peasant is little occupied with precisely this bookkeeping technique. He draws a wholesale balance to his relations with the city and state.

It would be more correct to approach this question from another angle. Because of the nationalization of land, factories and mills, the liquidation of the foreign debts, and planned economy, the workers' state acquired the possibility to reach in a short period high speeds of industrial development. On this road, there was undoubtedly created one of the most important premises for collectivization. But this premise is not a juridical, but a material-productive one: it expresses itself in a definite number of plows, binders, combines, tractors, grain elevators, agronomists, etc., etc. It is precisely from these real entities that the collectivization plan should proceed. This is when the plan will be real. But to the real fruits of nationalization we cannot always add nationalization itself, like some sort of a reserve fund out of which all the excesses of the “complete” bureaucratic adventures can be covered. This would be the same as if having deposited his capital in the bank, one would want to use his capital and the interest on it at the same time.

This is the conclusion in general. But the specific, individual conclusion may be formulated more simply:

“Tomfool, Tomfool.

“It were better that you stayed in school”—than to leave for distant theoretical excursions.

The Formulae of Marx and the Audacity of Ignorance

Between the first and third volumes of “Capital”, there is a second. Our theoretician considers it his duty to commit an administrative abuse of the second volume, too. Stalin has to cover up quickly from criticism the present policy of compulsory collectivization. Since there are no necessary arguments in the material conditions of economy he looks for them in authoritative books with the result that he inevitably looks for them every time on the wrong page.

The advantages of large scale economy over small, agriculture included, are proved by all capitalistic experiences. The possible advantages of large-scale collective economy over dispersed, small economy were established even before Marx by the Utopian socialists and their arguments remain basically sound. In this sphere, the Utopians were great realists. Their Utopia began with the question of the historical road of collectivization. Here the direction was indicated by the Marxian theory of the class struggle in connection with the criticism of capitalist economy.

“Capital” gives an analysis and a synthesis of the processes of capitalist economy. The second volume examines the imminent mechanism of the growth of capitalist economy. The algebraic formulae of this volume prove how, from one and the same creative protoplasm—abstract human labor—the means of production are crystallized in the form of constant capital, wages—in the form of variable capital, and surplus value, which is afterwards transformed into a source of additional constant and variable capital. This in turn permits the acquisition of greater surplus value. Such is the spiral of extended reproduction in its most general and abstract form.

In order to prove by what process the different material elements of the economic process, commodities, find each other inside of this unregulated whole, or more precisely, by what process constant and variable capital accomplish the necessary balance in the different branches of industry with the general growth of production, and on the other—enterprises producing articles of consumption. The enterprises of the first category have to supply machines, raw materials and auxiliary materials as well as to the enterprises of the second category. In turn, the enterprises of the second category have to cover their own needs, as well as the needs of the enterprises of the first category with articles of consumption. Marx reveals the general mechanism of the accomplishment of this proportionality which creates the basis of the dynamic balance under capitalism.* The question of agriculture in its mutual relation to industry therefore rests on an altogether different plane. Stalia evidently simply confused the production of articles of consumption with agriculture. With Marx, however, enterprises of capitalist agriculture (only **capitalist**) producing raw materials enter automatically into the first category. In so far as agricultural production has peculiarities that contrast it to industry as a whole the analysis of these peculiarities begins in the third volume.

The Process of Extended Reproductions

Extended reproduction occurs in reality not only at the expense of surplus value created by the workers of industry itself and capitalist agriculture but also by the influx of fresh means from the outside: from the pre-capitalist village of the backward countries, colonies, etc. The acquisition of surplus values from the village and colonies is conceivable once more, either in the form of unequal exchange or compulsory expropriation (primarily through taxes, or, finally, in the credit form savings bank, loans, etc.) Historically, all these forms of exploitation combine in different proportions and play a no lesser role than the extortion of surplus value in its “pure” form; the deepening of capitalist exploitation always goes hand in hand with its broadening. But the formulae of Marx that interest us very carefully dissect the live process of economic development, clearing capitalist reproduction from all pre-capitalist elements and transitional forms which accompany it and which feed it, and at the expense of which it develops. Marx's formulae dealt with a chemically pure capitalism which never existed and does not exist anywhere now. Precisely because of this, they revealed the basic tendencies of **every** capitalism, but precisely of **capitalism** and **only** capitalism.

To anybody having an understanding of “Capital”, it is obvious that neither in the first, second nor third volumes can an answer be found to the question of the tempo the dictatorship of the proletariat should adopt in collectivizing peasant economy. All these questions, as well as scores of others, were not solved in any books and could not be solved because of their very essence.* In essence, Stalin in no way differs from the merchant who would seek guidance in Marx' simplest formula M-C-M (money-commodity-money), as to what and when to buy and sell to obtain a bigger profit. Stalin simply confuses theoretical generalization with practical prescription, not to speak of the fact that the theoretical generalization itself is related by Marx to a completely different problem.

Stalin Refers to Marx

Why, then, did Stalin have to refer to the formulae of extended reproduction which he evidently does not understand? The explanations of Stalin himself in regards to this are so inimitable that we are compelled to quote them literally: “The Marxist theory of reproduction teaches that contemporary (?) society cannot develop without annual accumulations, and it is impossible to accumulate without extended reproduction year in and year out. This is clear and evident.” It cannot be clearer. But this is not taught by Marxist theory, for it is the general property of bourgeois political economy, its quintessence. “Accumulation” as a condition of development “of contemporary society” is precisely the

great idea which vulgar political economy cleared of the elements of the labor theory of value which had their foundation in classical political economy. The theory which Stalin so bombastically proposes “to draw out of the treasure of Marxism” is a commonplace, uniting not only Adam Smith and Bastiat but also the latter with the American president, Hoover. “Contemporary society”—not capitalist, but “contemporary”—is used with the object of extending Marxist formulae also to “contemporary” socialist society. “This is clear and evident.” Right here Stalin continues: “Our large scale centralized socialist industry develops according to the Marxist theory of extended reproduction (!) because (!!) it grows yearly in scale, has its accumulations and advances with seven league boots.” Industry develops according to the Marxist theory—an immortal formula:—in absolutely the same way as oats grow dialectically according to Hegel. To a bureaucrat, theory is the formula of administration. But the immediate essence of the matter does not lie in this. “The Marxist theory of reproduction” refers to the **capitalist** mode of production. But Stalin speaks of Soviet industry, which he considers socialist **without any reservations**. In this manner, according to Stalin, “socialist industry” develops according to the theory of **capitalist** reproduction. We see how incautiously Stalin slipped his hand into the “treasure of Marxism.” If two economic processes: anarchical and planned, are covered by one and the same theory of reproduction, which is built up on the laws of anarchical production, then this itself reduces to zero the planned, that is, the socialist beginning. However, these two are only the blossoms—the berries are still ahead.

The best gem extracted by Stalin from the treasure is the above-underlined little word “because”: socialist industry develops according to the theory of capitalist industry, “because it grows yearly in scale, has its accumulations and advances with seven league boots.” Poor Theory! Unfortunate treasure! Wretched Marx! Does it mean that the Marxian theory was created especially as a basis for the necessity of yearly advances and, at that, with seven league boots? But what about periods when capitalist industry develops at a “snail's pace”? For those instances, apparently, Marx' theory is rejected. But all capitalist production extends cyclically through prosperity and crises; it means that it not only does not advance with seven league, or any other boots, but marks time and retreats. It appears that Marx' schema is not suited to **capitalist** development, for the explanation of which it was created, but for that it completely answers the nature of the “seven league” advances of **socialist** industry. Aren't these miracles? Not limiting himself to the teachings of angels with regard to the nationalization of land, and occupying himself at the same time with the basic correction of Marx, Stalin at any rate marches . . . with seven league boots. In the meantime, the formulae or “Capital” crack under his hours like nuts.

But why did Stalin need all this? The puzzled reader will ask. Alas! We cannot jump over stages, especially when we can hardly keep up with our theoretician. A little patience, and all will be revealed. Immediately after the point analyzed here, Stalin continues: “But our large scale industry does not exhaust all of our national economy. On the contrary, in our national economy, small peasant holdings are still predominant. Can it be said that our small peasant holdings develop according to the principle (!) of extended reproduction? No, it cannot be said. Our small peasant holdings . . . do not always have the possibility of realizing even simple reproduction. Can we move forward with an accelerated tempo our socialized industry, having such peasant economy as a basis . . . ? No, we cannot. Further on, the conclusion follows: complete collectivization is necessary.

Stalin Discloses the Un-Marxian Village!

This point is still better than the preceding one. From the somnolent banality of exposition every now and then rockets of audacious ignorance explode. Does the peasant, that is, **simple commodity** economy, develop according to the laws of

capitalist economy? No, our theoretician replies in terror. It is clear: the village does not live according to Marx. This matter must be corrected. Stalin attempts, in his report, to reject the petty bourgeois theories on the stability of peasant economy. However, becoming entangled in the net of Marxian formulae, he gives this theory a most generalized expression. In reality, the theory of extended reproduction, according to the idea of Marx, embraces capitalist economy as a whole not only industry but agriculture as well, only in its pure form, that is, without its pre-capitalist remnants. But Stalin, leaving aside, for some reason, handicraft and guild occupations, poses the question: “Can it be said that our small peasant holdings develop according to the principle (!) of extended production? No, he replies, “it cannot be said.” In other words Stalin, in the most generalized form, repeats the assertions of the bourgeois economists that agriculture does not develop according to the “principle” of the Marxian theory of capitalist production. Wouldn't it be better, after this, to keep still? After all, the Marxian agronomists kept still listening to his shameful abuse of the teachings of Marx. Yet, the softest of answers should have sounded thus: Get off the tribune immediately, and do not dare to deliberate on problems about which you know nothing!

But we shall not follow the example of the Marxian agronomists and keep still. Ignorance armed with power is just as dangerous as insanity armed with a razor.

The formulae of the second volume of Marx do not represent guiding “principles” of socialist construction, but objective generalizations of capitalist processes. These formulae, abstracted from the peculiarities of agriculture, not only do not contradict its development but fully embrace it as **capitalist** agriculture.

The only thing that can be said about agriculture in the framework of the formulae of the second volume is that the latter pre-suppose the existence of a sufficient quantity of agricultural raw materials and agricultural products for consumption, for insuring extended reproduction. But what should be the correlation between agriculture and industry: as in England? or as in America? Both these types conform equally to Marxist formulae. England imports articles for consumption and raw materials. America exports them. There is no contradiction here with the formulae of extended reproduction, which are in no way limited by national boundaries, and are not adapted either to national capitalism or, even less, to socialism in one country.

If people should arrive at synthetic feeding, and at synthetic forms of raw material, agriculture would be completely reduced to nothing, being substituted by new branches of the chemical industry. What would then become of the formulae of extended reproduction? They would retain all their validity to the extent that the capitalist form of production and distribution would remain.

Agricultural bourgeois Russia, with the tremendous predominance of the peasantry, not only covered the demands of the growing industries, but also created the possibility of large exports.

These processes were accompanied by the strengthening of the Kulak top and the weakening of the peasant bottom, their growing proletarianization. In this manner, in spite of all its peculiarities, agriculture on **capitalistic** foundations developed within the framework of those very formulae with which Marx embraced the whole of capitalist economy—and **only** capitalist economy.

Peasant Economy and “Socialist” Industry

Stalin wants to come to the conclusion that this is impossible “to base . . . socialist construction on two different foundations: on the foundation of the greatest and most consolidated socialist industry and on the foundation of the most dispersed and backward small commodity peasant economy.” In reality, he proves something directly contrary. If the formulae of extended reproduction are equally applicable to capitalist and socialist economy—to “contemporary society” generally—then it is absolutely incomprehensible why it is impossible to continue the fur-

(Continued on Page 8)

Pollack Case: A Statement of Fact

The Daily Worker of November 15, 1930, prints a statement by the Party Control Commission which announces the expulsion of comrade Sylvan A. Pollack on the grounds that he acted as an agent for the police when, together with four other Party comrades, he was arrested for sedition in Scranton, Pa., last July. An accusation of this kind involving the integrity and membership of a comrade in the movement, must be considered and answered.

Comrade Pollack has been a supporter of the Opposition for about a year now, and a member of the New York branch of the Communist League for almost the same time. The accusation made against him, as an aftermath of the Scranton police raid, was reported to the national committee, which forthwith instructed him to demand of the Central Control Commission of the Party a hearing of the charges and an immediate decision. This was imperative in the case, since it is impossible to have such a question hanging fire for any length of time. If the individual in question is a police agent, every day of his membership is injurious to the movement; if the charge against him is false, every day that it stands without being wiped out impairs the ability of the comrade to function in the movement, and, therefore, is equally injurious to the latter.

Following the publication of the Control Commission statement, the national committee of the League once more considered the question and decided that absolutely no credence could be placed in the charges made against comrade Pollack, for the following reasons.

1. His previous record in the movement, membership in the Socialist party, foundation member of the Communist Party in 1919, active speaker, writer and organized for the Party for 11 years entrusted with numerous posts of importance and responsibility.

2. Previous arrests: during the Palmer Red Raids in 1919, during the needle trades strike in 1925, during the picketing of the Hungarian Consulate, etc., and his conduct in these arrests which was irreproachable and never met with any criticism.

3. Despite the fact that the first and second hearing of the case before the Control Commission occurred at the end of July and beginning of August, no action was taken against him until December. Since July no new material was presented to the Commission to warrant either the delay or the expulsion almost four months afterwards. The Commission, in other words, did not take the charges seriously, knowing that they were made for ulterior motives in the first place. This is demonstrated further by the fact that comrade Pollack was not only allowed to retain membership in the Party, but was permitted to occupy important and responsible posts, as editor of *Solidarity*, official organ of the Workers International Relief, and agit-prop director of that organization.

4. The Control Commission resurrected the Scranton charges only after comrade Pollack was accused of "Trotskyism" through the intermediary of a disreputable individual named Eisenman previously expelled from the Y. C. L. as a degenerate and a white chauvinist. The Commission immediately demanded Pollack's suspension from the post of W. I. R. editor until the "Trotskyism" charges were investigated, a demand it did not make when Pollack was accused of being a police agent.

The national committee of the League therefore declares the scurrilous statement of the Party Control Commission to be a disgraceful attempt at a frame-up to discredit the Opposition as a whole and comrade Pollack as an individual militant. His membership in the Opposition, now of a year's standing, remains unaffected, and he is entitled to the full confidence of revolutionists.

We append here a statement on the simple facts in the case, made before our committee by comrade Pollack.

National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

COMRADE POLLACK'S STATEMENT

The Control Commission charges that I led the police to the rooming house of Slinger and Little. On whose say so are these charges made? At the hearing held in Scranton on July 12, when we were held for the Grand Jury, the Deputy Sher-

iffs who arrested us without warrants so testified. The word of the police is believed in preference to a communist.

It came about this way: The defense attorney had made the police witnesses admit that the arrests were made without a warrant. To justify their actions the police stated they did not need any warrants because when Joe Tash, was arrested the night before the rest of us, he gave them the key to the headquarters where I was taken into custody when I came there the following morning about 8 o'clock. If Tash, gave them the key, they were his "guest", was their argument. To continue their line of reasoning I was hustled into the police car and forced to accompany the police when they went to the rooming house and arrested Slinger and Little. Here they claimed that they were my "guest" and did not need any warrant. At the Control Commission hearing, in an effort to prove that I told the police where the rooming house was located, I was asked what conversation, if any, took place between the police and myself when driving from the office to the rooming house, which is only a distance of about three blocks. I told the C. C. that the only conversation that took place was that one of the deputy sheriffs asked me if I wanted a cigarette and I refused. In the C. C. statement, in an attempt to show that I was friendly with the police it is turned around and made to read that I offered the cigarettes to the police.

After my arrival in Scranton in July to take over the post as International Labor Defense district organizer, I found out for the first time that before my arrival Frankfeld, district organizer of the Party, had the local Party Bureau pass a motion against my being given that position. This was sent to the national bureau of the I. L. D., which refused to give it any consideration. When I arrived in Scranton, Frankfeld was antagonistic from the start, the local functionaries of the Party and Union all being resentful that their protest

was not acted upon favorably. Frankfeld has had a personal dislike for me since 1925 when I was an active supporter of the Ruthenberg group and he as now, a supporter for the Foster group. Therefore, when the arrests took place, Frankfeld saw an opportunity to get revenge. After we were arrested, Slinger, and Little were among the first released on bail. They got out the next morning while Tash and myself stayed in five days. On my release on bail I was informed by Frankfeld that the local Party Bureau, had, on his motion, gone on record that I should be brought up on charges. I went to New York and appeared before a meeting of the National Bureau of the I. L. D., and stated that due to the fact that the local comrades were antagonistic towards me I preferred not to continue to work in that field, especially if I was to be brought up on charges in the Party. Jakira and Darcy laughed at the charges and tried to persuade me to return to the anthracite as organizer. Little also attended this meeting and told of the charges, as representative of the Scranton Party Bureau. He was not taken seriously. This was quite logical. Then I was not known as a Trotskyist.

The next week comrade Gibarti, international representative of the W. I. R., persuaded me to become the agit-prop director of the W. I. R., and in that position I continued until I was brought up on the charges of "Trotskyism."

If it were not that I wish to limit this statement to a simple declaration of the facts in my case, it would be instructive to describe the conduct in this whole affair of such comrades as Freeman Thompson and Dan Slinger, and it would not rebound to their credit. However, this can be reserved for some future and more appropriate date.

—SYLVAN A. POLLACK.

If the number on your wrapper is

59

then your subscription to the *Militant* has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Weisbord's Proposals

Continued from page 4

urgently needed machinery here, but, by setting a number of industries in motion and thereby providing jobs, will clearly establish the direct community of interests of the jobless workers and the proletarian state.

Finally, we are totally at variance with Weisbord's views on relations with the Lovestone group, stated in his original declaration, and repeated in the articles in question. His insistent demand for a bloc with the Right wing vitiates all his claims of adherence to the tested standpoint of the Communist Opposition. The fact that this demand is carried out in practice by him (bloc with Lovestone in the liquidationist "textile committee") only makes the matter worse. This proposal will continue to meet with as intransigent opposition from us as any attempt to establish it as a platform, or part of a platform, for the Marxist section of the movement.

A DANCE IN CHICAGO

The Chicago branch of the League has arranged a proletarian entertainment and dance to be held Saturday night, December 13, at 1118 W. Madison St. Among the features on the program will be a reading of his poetry by Ralph Chaplin, piano and violin selections by Ernest Moeller and David H. T. Kahn, singing by Miss Edna Kunin, recitals, dancing, etc., etc. It will be, say the Chicago comrades, one of the best entertainments held in the city for long time. In addition, there will be music and dancing, and refreshments for all. Admission is twenty-five cents and all friends and comrades are cordially invited to be present on time so that a full evening's comradely entertainment may be had.

CHICAGO STUDY CLASS

Chicago workers interested in the study of Marxism are urged to attend the class in that subject conducted by the Communist League branch. It meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1214 Washtenaw, with comrade Hugo Oehler as director of the class. The question method is the one followed. All are invited.

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN - : - by LEON TROTSKY

Continued from Page 7

ther development of economy on the very foundation of the contradictions between city and village, upon which capitalism reached an immeasurably higher level. In America, gigantic industrial trusts develop even today, side by side with the farmer regime in agriculture. The farmer economy created the foundation of American industry. It is precisely on the American type, by the way, that our bureaucrats, with Stalin at their head, orientated themselves openly until yesterday: the powerful farmer at the bottom centralized industry at the top.

The ideal equivalent of exchange is the basic premise of the abstract formulae of the second volume. Nevertheless, planned economy of the transition period, even though based upon the law of value, violates it at every step and creates mutual relations between different branches of industry and primarily between industry and agriculture on the basis of unequal exchange. The decisive lever of compulsory accumulation and planned distribution is the government budget. With a further development, its role will have to grow. Financial credits regulate the mutual relations between compulsory accumulation of the budget and the processes of the market in so far as they retain their force. Not only the budgetary, but also the planned or semi-planned credit financing which insures the extension of reproduction in the U.S.S.R., can in no way be summed up in the formulae of the second volume, the whole force of which lies in the fact that they ignore budgets or plans or tariffs, and in general, all forms of governmentally planned influence that establish the necessary regulations over the play of blind forces of the market, which are disciplined by the law of value. No sooner would we "free" the internal Soviet market and abolish the monopoly of foreign trade, than the exchange between the city and village would become incomparably more equalized, accumulation in the village—it is understood, Kulak, farmer-capitalist accumulation—would take its course and it would soon reveal that Marx' formulae apply also to agriculture. On this road, Russia would in a brief period be transformed into a colony upon which the industrial

development of other countries would be based.

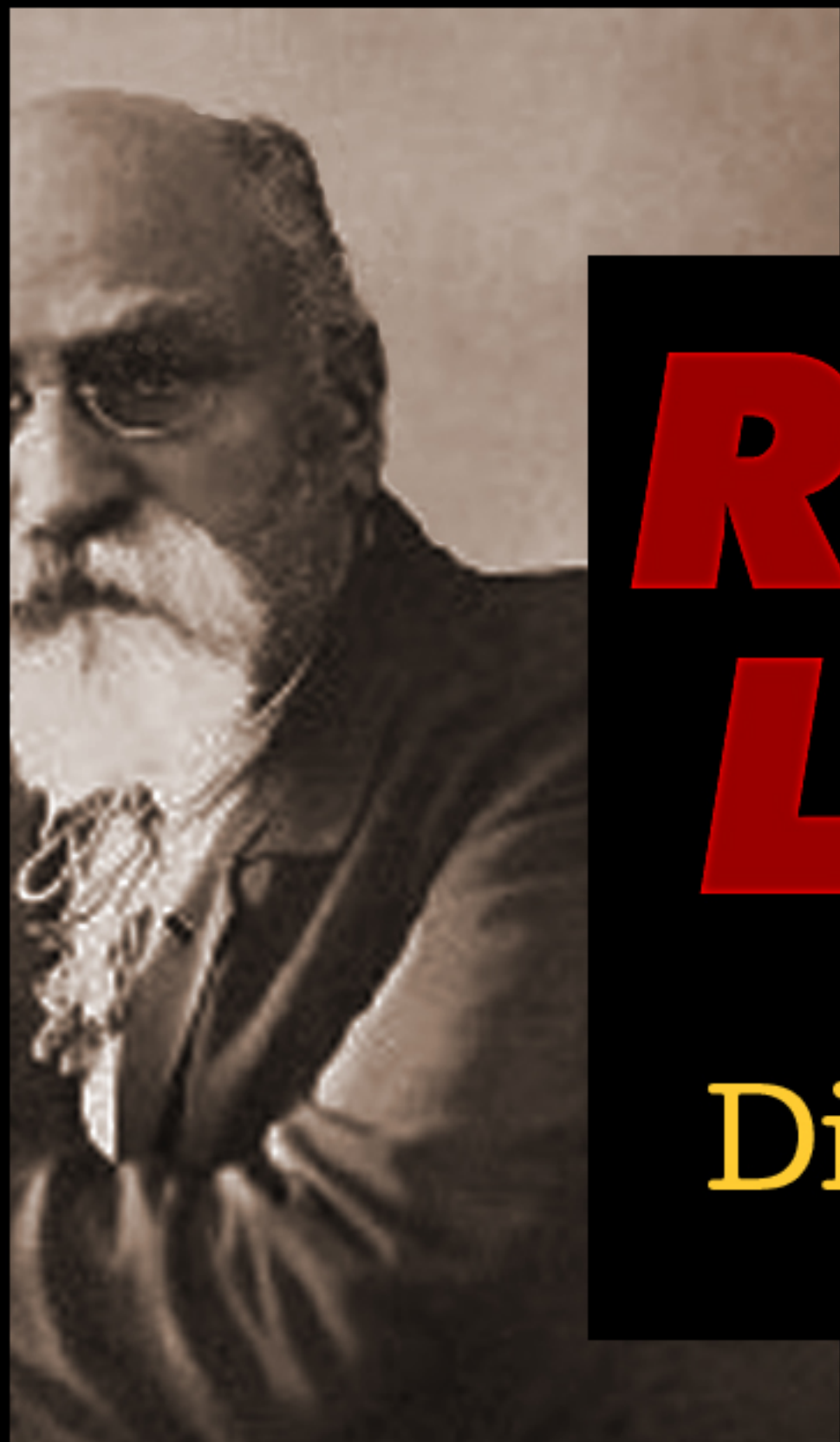
In order to motivate this same complete collectivization, the school of Stalin (there is such a thing) has made use of the stark comparisons between the tempo of development in industry and agriculture. Crudely of all, this operation is performed, as usual, by Molotov. In February 1929, Molotov spoke at the Moscow district conference of the Party: "Agriculture in recent years has noticeably lagged behind industry in the tempo of development. . . . For the last three years, industrial production increased in value by more than fifty percent and the products of agriculture—all in all—by seven percent." The comparison of these two tempos is economic illiteracy. By peasant economy they include, in reality, all branches of economy. The development of industry has always, and in all branches, taken place at the expense of the reduction of the specific gravity of agriculture. It is sufficient to recall that metallurgical production in the United States is almost equal to the production of farmer economy at a time when, with us, it is one-eighteenth of agricultural production. This shows that in spite of the high tempos of recent years, our industry has not yet emerged from the period of infancy. In order to eliminate the contradictions between city and village created by bourgeois development, Soviet industry must first surpass the village to an incomparably greater degree than bourgeois Russia did. The present breach between state industry and peasant economy did not proceed from the fact that industry surpassed agriculture too greatly—the advanced position of industry is an internationally historical fact and a necessary condition for progress—but from the fact that our industry is too weak, that is, it has gone ahead too little to have the possibility to raise agriculture to the necessary level. The aim, of course, is the elimination of the contradictions between the city and the village. But the roads and methods of this elimination have nothing in common with the equalization of tempos of agriculture and industry. The mechanization of agriculture and the industrialization of a series of its branches will be accompanied, on the contrary, by the re-

duction of the specific gravity of agriculture as such. The tempo of the mechanization we can accomplish, is determined by the productive power of industry. What is decisive for collectivization is not the fact that metallurgy rose in recent years by a few score percent, but the fact that our metal per capita is negligible. The growth of collectivization is only of equal significance to the growth of agriculture itself in so far as the first is based on the technical revolution of agricultural production. But the tempo of such a revolution is limited by the percent specific gravity of industry. The tempo of collectivization must be combined with the material resources of the latter and not at all with abstract statistical tempos.

"Capital" and Socialist Reproduction

In the interests of theoretical clarity, it should be added to what has been said, that the elimination of the contradictions between city and village that is, the raising of agricultural production to a scientific-industrial level, will mean the triumph not of Marx' formulae in agriculture, as Stalin imagines but on the contrary, the elimination of their triumph in industry. Because socialist extended reproduction will not at all take place according to the formulae of "Capital", the central point of which is the pursuit of profits. But all this is too complicated for Stalin and Molotov.

Let us repeat in the conclusion of this chapter that collectivization is the practical task of eliminating capitalism and not the theoretical task of its development. That is why the Marxian formulae are not applicable here from any point of view. The practical possibilities of collectivization are determined by the productive-technical resources at hand for large scale agriculture and the degree of readiness of the peasantry to pass from individual to collective economy. In the long run, this subjective analysis is determined by the very same material-productive factor: the peasant can be attracted to socialism only by the advantage of collective economy, supported by advanced technique. But instead of a tractor, Stalin wants to present the peasant with the formulae of the second volume. But the peasant is honest and does not want to deliberate over what he does not understand.



Riazanov Library

Digitization Project